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Archbishop Tutu's message

WE SALUTE THE REMARKABLE magnanimity and generosity of spirit of those who have exposed their pain to the world. The vast majority should, by rights, be consumed by bitterness, anger, resentment and the desire for revenge. By displaying such willingness to forgive, they are paying a very high price for the freedom we are enjoying now. That price is many-faceted.

The suffering they experienced as a result of the violation.

Secondly, there is the fact that speaking about the violation was no guarantee it would be as helpful as it has turned out to be.

Thirdly, there is the concern that the perpetrators may get amnesty without even apologizing for what they did.

Fourthly, the victims have to give up the right to institute civil proceedings

for compensation and what reparation they may get will in no way match potential compensation.

For this high price, all they get is the knowledge that they are paying what should be paid if we want peace in our country.

We regret that there are still both victims and perpetrators who are not coming forward. We had hoped that they would not forfeit the possibility of healing the hurt. But there is something I would like to say to those perpetrators: You are free to hope you will get away with it, you are free to take the risk that you will not in fact be prosecuted if you don't ask for amnesty.

Being inhabitants of a moral universe, you should understand there is no lie which can prevail forever. The truth will eventually out and you will regret it if you did not take advantage of the amnesty provisions. When you come forward to confess you are guilty, you will lighten the burden for us all.

After all, it is better to live in a country which is stable and peaceful, where people are reconciled, than in one which is torn apart by strife because people are angry and wanting revenge.

Reconciliation is not easy. Stability and forgiveness are not easy to obtain. It is costly for those who come forward but they have to look at what would happen if they did not. We have seen how long it takes to convict even one person – two years and R5m for De Kock. And putting people on trail does not guarantee convictions. Courts need watertight proof beyond reasonable doubt. But we



are saying that this is the way we must deal with this for a specified time period so that we are not held hostage to the past. Once we have done this, we will close the book.

But there are others who need to be saluted for their role in our whole operation, and they are the NGO's and CBO's. Without them, it would have been impossible for the TRC to accomplish a difficult job and once the TRC has disappeared from the scene, we know these organisations will be there to take up the reins. We need them in the statement taking; we need them as counsellors, briefers and as a support those who have made themselves vulnerable in telling their stories.

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TRC 'puzzle' starts falling into place

THE PIECES of what people in the street often see as the "puzzle" of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are falling into place as the Commission nears the halfway mark of its life.

In its first few months, from December last year to April this year, the Commission was busy setting up its offices and staff. Many members of the public wanted to see action more quickly, but State officials who helped the Commission with the job said we had moved at break-neck speed by usual standards.

For the next four to six months the first key part of the puzzle began to be built. Victims and survivors from all sides of the political spectrum, not leaders but mostly so-called ordinary South Africans, told of their suffering during the apartheid era.

This led people in some communities to dub us "the Kleenex Commission" because of the tissues we gave to witnesses to wipe away their tears. And in many communities, the people asked: "But where are the perpetrators who committed these ghastly deeds? Why are they not coming forward as well?"

The Amnesty Committee – which makes the decisions on whether to grant amnesty to perpetrators – has been sitting since May but because they were dealing with prisoners whose crimes were already known, the hearings were not giving people the disclosures they expected.

But at last some gaps in the puzzle are beginning to be filled in. New stories from perpetrators are being heard as the Amnesty Committee begins to hear applications from perpetrators who are revealing new information about what they did under apartheid. And we hope that the summoning of people such as police generals to appear at investigative inquiries will also reveal information, although this will be released only later.

People often challenge the Commission on why the usual way of

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Urgent relief for victims proposed

THE REPARATIONS AND REHABILITATION Committee is currently developing proposals for Urgent Interim Reparation measures. This is to assist victims of human rights violations whose need for help is so great that they cannot wait until the Government implements the final recommendations of the Commission.

The law recognises that some victims cannot wait until the Commission's final report has been completed in March 1998, presented to the President, and finally tabled in Parliament. Only then can Parliament pass legislation which enables assistance.

The TRC's proposal is that a structure should be established which enables:

- ❖ Regional Reparation and Rehabilitation Committees of the TRC to make preliminary recommendations on who should be awarded urgent interim reparation;
- ❖ The national Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee to ratify recommendations;
- ❖ The TRC to refer cases to an Urgent Interim Relief Desk in the Office of the President (outside TRC structures) for implementation of Urgent Interim Relief measures.

The TRC envisages it would be represented on the Government's Urgent Interim Relief Desk and thereby facilitate and monitor the reparations process.

The TRC envisages five categories of urgent interim relief:

- ❖ Ongoing emotional dysfunction
- ❖ Medical care and assistance
- ❖ Material or financial need and limitations
- ❖ Access to and continuation of education, and
- ❖ The duty and obligation to remember through symbolic measures and intervention.

The TRC document contains detailed descriptions of who would be eligible for reparation and rehabilitation in these categories. However, some extracts illustrate what would be possible.

To give a few examples drawn from our document, among those eligible for "emotional interventions" might be victims "whose emotional quality of life has been and continues to be severely affected as a result of the violation" and orphans who have "inadequate material support to meet their immediate emotional needs,"

One category eligible for "medical interventions" – and "material interventions" – might be victims "who are terminally ill and/or frail and will not survive beyond the life of the TRC."

Symbolic interventions for the terminally ill or frail could include:

- ❖ the clearing of victims' names, especially those with criminal records or considered to be informants,
- ❖ settling legal procedures,
- ❖ issuing death certificates for loved ones.

NOTE: The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee is presently consulting in and outside the TRC, about these proposals. They are by no means policy yet. Should you wish to make any recommendations, please contact Barbara Watson at 011 -333 6330 or Fax 011 -333 0832.

TRUTH TALK

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'Why we testified' – witnesses

HUNDREDS OF WITNESSES HAVE APPEARED IN PUBLIC HEARINGS NATIONWIDE TO SPEAK OF THEIR PAIN AND SUFFERING AS VICTIMS OF PAST CONFLICTS. **TRUTH TALK** INTERVIEWED SOME OF THEM TO HEAR WHAT MADE THEM TESTIFY, WHAT IMPACT IT HAS HAD ON THEIR LIVES AND HOW THEY PERCEIVE THE WORK OF THE TRC. THEIR FRANK VIEWS PROVIDE STRONG LESSONS FOR THE COMMISSION.

JOSIAH DLAMINI, NATAL

Josiah Dlamini's gave testimony at the second KwaZulu-Natal/Free State human rights violation public hearings.

He had been the lease holder of the Umlazi cinema in 1985 and had allowed United Democratic Front members to hold a memorial service for Victoria Mxenge who had been slain by unknown panga-wielding and balaclava-covered assassins. He told the commission that on the day of the memorial service the cinema was stormed by spear-wielding impis who started attacking the mourners, leaving 13 people dead.

Dlamini says he decided to come forward and testify to the Truth Commission because of this ghastly incident. He had also told the commission that after hiring out the cinema to the UDF, the KwaZulu Finance Corporation, which owned the building, conducted a witch-hunt against him. They evicted him and he was bankrupted when they literally threw his expensive cinematography equipment on to the street.

He is very positive about the Commission. He encourages others to approach it because he says it exposes the hurt some people have gone through and can help to redress their problems.

Dlamini, who lost a son in the political conflict in the region, struggles with the concept of amnesty. "I am disturbed about amnesty -I don't know how I can forgive my son's killers", he says.

On the other hand, he says, his religious conviction tells him to follow the example of President Mandela, who, despite being imprisoned for 27 years has come out embracing his oppressors in reconciliation.

HESTER GROBELAAR, KRUGERSDORP

Mrs Grobelaar's son was killed by his alleged comrades -members of a right wing group.

"I decided to testify so that people can realise that it didn't happen to other races only but also to whites. I am feeling disturbed and hope the truth will

come out. There are lots of unanswered questions that I need answered, such as who the killers are and why they killed my son. We have a right to know what happened in our country."

On amnesty, she says; "I don't think that people who killed others are normal thus I don't think they can stay with the community. These people who come forward to tell the truth need to be given the benefit of the doubt. I feel sorry for them."

SEIPOTI MHLANGENI, ZONE 5, PIMVILLE, SOWETO

Seipoti's husband Bheki was killed when he opened a parcel bomb, apparently intended for Dirk Coetzee.

"I decided to testify after hearing that De Kock, who is the one responsible for killing my husband, is going to ask for amnesty from the Truth Commission. I came to the TRC to oppose that application. I feel better after giving evidence, although I have not yet received what I am expecting from the Truth Commission. It provided me with therapy. I was able to speak and say what is inside me, and express my anger and my frustrations.

"I knew that De Kock killed my husband by a parcel bomb intended for Dirk Coetzee but I still don't know how my husband's name appeared on the parcel. I would like the Truth Commission to find out these facts and others.

"I will encourage people to come forward to the Truth Commission because it helps. There are people who have learnt what happened to their loved ones because of the investigations the TRC has conducted. I'm still not sure about amnesty, I am confused. I am a little bit scared in the sense that I don't know how the TRC is going to handle that. I am concerned that some of the culprits are going to get amnesty."

THOKOZILE LEGINA DLAMINI OF SANGWINI, PORT SHEPSTONE

Six IFP youth were killed in a hail of bullets at Mrs Dlamini's home in Port



Thokozile Legina Dlamini

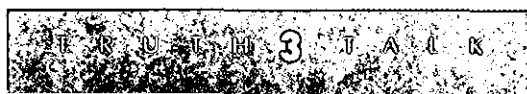
Shepstone.

"Please forgive my crying", says Thokozile Legina Dlamini of Nsangwini Port Shepstone as a TRC official begins to interview her. She is the Inkatha Womens Brigade woman in whose house six IFP youths died instantly when unknown assailants opened fire while they waited to be transported to Ulundi for a party function. Many others were injured. Thokozile is one of many Inkatha supporters who came forward to tell their stories at the Port Shepstone human rights violation hearings.

Her own daughter, Thandekile, was among the massacred and she says testifying has eased the pain she carried in her heart for the dead children. "It allowed me to release the acrimonious feeling I harboured and the burden of responsibility as the incident took place at my house". But even then she says she still worries about the plight of the other parents. She says she still senses the heavy pain which they harbour whenever she stares at them.

Although she believes the Truth Commission is doing the right thing, she says she couldn't bring herself to forgive the perpetrators if she got to know them,

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TRUTH BRIEFS

TRC VISIT TO RWANDA

A delegation of the TRC went to Rwanda under the leadership of Hlengiwe Mkhize, Chairperson of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.

The visit was to consult with the Rwandan government about its policy for victims of their countries' conflict.

COMMISSION RECEIVES INVITATION FROM QUEEN BEATRIX

TRC deputy chairperson Dr Alex Boraine and Gauteng Commissioner Convenor, Dr Fazel Randera recently met with Her Majesty Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands to discuss a subject familiar to the work of the commissionreconciliation.

Also invited were, Brigalia Bam, Rev. Dandala of the Central Methodist Church and Reverend Swanepoel of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The meeting was held at the Presidential Guest House in Pretoria. The queen, her husband and son and the Dutch Ambassador expressed a great interest in the work of the Commission and wished it well in this important task.

TRC GAUTENG RECEIVES STAR OF SILO AWARD

The TRC was presented with the Star of Silo award by the International Pentecostal Church at its headquarters in Zuurbekom on Saturday, October 5 1996.

Before a Church organisation of 20 000 people, Archbishop Desmond Tutu received the award from the head of the church, His Grace, The Comforter F.S Modise. The TRC delegation comprised of Fazel Randera, Khoza Mgojo, Russel Ally, Piet Meiring, Tom Manthata, Ruben Richards, Barbara Watson and Patrick Kelly.

The award was presented as a result of the TRC's contribution to love and caring for humanity.

PAARL EXHIBITION

Members of the Paarl community in the Western Cape gathered at the local museum on October 11 for the opening of an historic exhibition on the history of the Boland Town. The exhibition was opened by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

New developments within the Commission

BY DR ALEX BORAINÉ,
DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON, TRC

Ten months down the line the transparent and public Truth and Reconciliation Commission has had to take the step of hearing some submissions in camera. The Commission is bound by the Act (Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act) which makes it very clear that if we are seeking information about a specific event, there should be hearings. The reasoning behind the decision to hold in camera hearings is that many people would then be more willing to share information with the Commission. This way they do not have to fear the possible consequences or even have their colleagues know that they have shared this information.

Although the Commission follows a process of voluntary submissions, it has the power to subpoena people as well as to search for and seize material where it is not readily available. This is only done after we have done our level best to encourage voluntary participation. For instance, we approached the Ministers of Safety and Security as well as Defence and asked them to arrange for their senior staff to make submissions. In the case of the SAPS generals these were inadequate, vague and considered to be of little use. I wrote to General Johan van der Merwe and asked him to revise the submission to deal with specifics, not generalities. If he could not or would not do so, he would have to be subpoenaed. General van der Merwe said he could not amend the submission and agreed to being subpoenaed. So it was not a question of being tough. We went through all the steps. We generally only proceed with subpoenas if we have been given names in hearings or where people are totally opposed to the Commission and will not cooperate voluntarily.

Subpoenas have had to be issued not only to people directly involved in human rights violations, but who have information that we consider important to us. But that is for us to test. I think the public should give us a chance to see what good comes out of the closed hearings before they accuse us of not being transparent enough. The Commission has the discretion of disclosing the informa-



Dr Alex Boraine, Deputy Chairperson, TRC.

tion received in these closed hearings. Indeed, many of us argued strenuously for open hearings when it was suggested that all hearings be closed in line with other truth commissions around the world.

A further development is that we have decided to reduce the number of hearings because although our emphasis on public hearings is to give the nation a window into the very deep sufferings of the period 1960 to 1993 was correct, hearings have proved time-consuming. We have decided, therefore, to modify the approach and channel more resources and people into taking statements. This is because of the vast number of people who want to make statements but who could not be accommodated through the hearing process. This means that the number of statements in the final report to the President will be far higher than if we concentrated more on hearings and less on statement-taking. We are looking for more funds to enable us to move closer to NGOs and to use their staff as Designated Statement-Takers.

Thirdly, the Act also binds us to making findings. With the best will in the world we cannot accept that everything we are told is true or accurate. Information has to be corroborated. We have to be fair to victims and we cannot be unfair to those who are accused in an open hearing. The findings, therefore, are an opportunity to confirm that someone has suffered, that someone has lost a loved one. Only after the findings have been made can the victims qualify for reparation and rehabilitation.

What do citizens think about the TRC?

COMMUNICATIONS OFFICERS FAY KIPPIE, PHINDA KHUZWAYO, PHAKAMISA HOBONGWANA, MANSOOR JAFFER CONDUCTED SOME SNAP INTERVIEWS AROUND THE COUNTRY.

MS CATHY PHILLIPS, CAPE TOWN

I SUPPORT the idea of amnesty for ordinary people who were in many cases forced to get involved in unlawful activity. However, I am against amnesty being granted to those who gave the orders. These people should be punished.



It is important that the truth be told. In this respect the work of the Commission is good. People must know what happened in our past.

UBANDANCE SAMPSON, GREEN POINT, CAPE



THE TRUTH Commission is doing good work and helping a lot. It is unveiling many things which were previously hidden.

The TRC should help people by finding out exactly what happened to their brother, sister, mother or father.

People must be given amnesty. We must put everything behind us now and start afresh.

I hear about the Commission on TV every few days. I think the Commission can help a lot with reconciliation.

ERIC OLSEN, MECHANICAL ENGINEER, JOHANNESBURG

THE TRC to a certain extent does a good job but partially I think we should be looking forward and not backwards.

The Commission is trying to put the things of the past to rest and to find out what has happened in the past. I, however, do not think the Commission is succeeding.

I do not agree with amnesty across the board. But in many cases, the alleged perpetrators were not the final powers behind the act. They were just following orders.

Where appropriate, victims must be helped financially, even though it does not bring back their loved ones.

MR BENJAMIN RABAKI KUAPE, RISK CONTROL OFFICER, VOSLOORUS

I HAVE heard about the TRC on TV and the Commission came to the Vaal.

We should have had a Truth Commission long ago. The Truth Commission is trying to reveal what happened in the past. I believe we can come to grips with our past because now we can understand what happened in the past.

I agree with amnesty in some cases, but other have committed lots of injustices.

Victims can be helped financially but it will never bring back their families or loved ones. They will simply spend the money and never see it again.

MARY FLORENCE LOUW, HOUSEWIFE, JOHANNESBURG

I HAVE heard about the TRC from a friend who told me she went to the Truth Commission.

I don't quite know what the Truth Commission is doing, I still have to wait and see whether it can help us come to grips with our past?

I think that those people who committed crimes should come forward. I don't know what should be done to them. Only God will know.

SHELLEY BECKBESSINGER, SALES REPRESENTATIVE, DURBAN



SALES representative, Shelley, knows about the work of the Truth Commission through mass media like newspapers and television.

She says its good to confront people with what happened in the past but also feels that the exercise can also finds itself being used as a witch-hunt against some people. She would have preferred that the conflicts of the past should have been discussed instead of

dragging people to make elaborate statements about their transgressions. "When people are subpoenaed to come and answer questions it feels like they are on trial", she says. However, she believes its correct for the Commission to probe the past so that South African society can start again with the skeletons having been taken out of the cupboard. "I think all of us - black and white, should accept and come to terms with what happened because that hinges on the type of future we can expect. Shelley says those who acted under orders should be granted amnesty, but those who took charge of things and committed criminals acts should be held responsible and pay for it. It is those who gave orders who should be held responsible. Shelley recommends that victims and survivors should be looked after financially by every taxpayers, provided everybody pays tax.

MUSAWENKOSI RADEBE, DURBAN



The manager of the Resource Centre at Durban's cultural centre in the harbour area, Musa-wenkosi Radebe locates the aims and objectives of the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission in correct context as expected.

He sees the TRC as a nation-building project set up by the government to deal with the nightmare of our apartheid dark past. He says it is giving the victims and survivors who emerged from the violence of the past the opportunity to vent their feelings and tell their stories with the hope that they will come around to forgive the perpetrators of their oppression. The TRC will not succeed. His views are that the whole thing is a ploy to get Blacks to forgive their White oppressors. He firmly believes those who committed crimes against others should be dealt with and punished. He also does not believe that there can be reconciliation between perpetrator and victim.

Amnesty cut off date looms

BY MANSOOR JAFFER

THERE IS NO DIRECT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE judicial system and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, says Judge Hassen Mall, chairperson of the TRC's amnesty committee.

"We do not refer anything to the court and they do not refer anything to us. However, when appropriate, we do have access to court records."

He said that a large number of amnesty applicants were people serving terms of imprisonment who had obviously been tried and convicted in a court of law. He said it was necessary to have access to their court records in order to assess their applications.

The number of amnesty applications have increased in recent weeks as the cut-off date of December 14 fast approaches.

Just this week, 300 applications were received from the ANC office and 600 are expected from the Pan Africanist Congress. This would bring the total number of applications to just under 3 000.

Judge Mall told Truth Talk that decisions on a number of applications can be made from looking at documentation. This applied in cases where there was a political motive but no gross violation of human rights.

Where there were human rights violations -murder, torture, abduction or severe ill-treatment – there had to be a public hearing to which dependents of the victim or victims had to be invited and were entitled to oppose amnesty if they so chose.

He said that nobody could be prevented from applying from amnesty but pointed out that any interested party, including attorneys-general or public prosecutors, could oppose the granting of amnesty.

Judge Mall pointed out that it was theoretically possible for a person to apply for amnesty for three offences and only receive amnesty for two.

In terms of *The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995*, the commission is empowered to "facilitate the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all relevant facts relating to acts associated with a political objective and comply with the requirements of this Act".

In this respect the Act says that the violation must have occurred between 1 March 1960 and 5 December 1993. Amnesty can only be sought for a gross human rights violation committed with a political motive.

Other persons serving on the TRC's amnesty committee are: Judge Andrew Wilson, Judge Bernard Ngoepe, Adv. Chris de Jager, SC and Ms Sisi Khampepe.

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particularly, because she testified on behalf of many others whom she feels can't speak on that issue.

MICHELLE ASSURE, MITCHELLS PLAIN, CAPE TOWN

Michelle is the sister of ANC activist Ashley Kriel who was shot and killed at a house in Hazendal, Athlone by policeman Jeffrey Benzien on 9 July 1987.

Going to the truth commission has not really changed anything for me. I decided to testify because it was my late mother's wish to know the truth about Ashley's death. She did not feel happy at all about the outcome of the inquest which found no one to blame for Ashley's death.

I did not really have much hope. We just went there and we did not hear a word from the truth commission afterwards. I do not feel much different.

To a certain extent the TRC can bring about reconciliation, depending on what violations have been committed.

None of the perpetrators should be given amnesty – neither those who gave orders nor those who carried

them out. In what we doubt is a coincidence, we encountered my brother's killer at a robot, the day after we gave evidence at the TRC.

My sister asked him whether he felt good about what he did and whether he was going to tell the truth. He just kept

on grinning and said he had already told the truth.

I believe the man – Jeffrey Benzine – was already given amnesty before the TRC hearings. What is then the use of us having given evidence and his comrades were killed.



Archbishop Tutu chats to Mrs McGregor, mother of Paarl conscript Wallace McGregor who was killed on the border, at the opening of an exhibition on Paarl and the TRC. See story on page 4.

Senior journalists speak on Bisho massacre hearing

IN A FIRST FOR THE TRC, THE Bisho Massacre hearings of September 9-11 brought together victims of human rights abuses, alleged perpetrators and representatives of political parties.

The significance of this was spelt out by senior journalists who have been covering TRC activities around the country.

UNEARTHED

Sowetan political writer Mzimasi Ngudle contends that "by bringing perpetrators and victims together, the Bisho hearings went a long way in laying a basis for reconciliation."

"Save for Oupa Gqozo's missing testimony and Pik Botha's denial that the former South African government lacked the political will to avert the massacre, an almost complete picture of events leading to that fateful day was unearthed in only three days. The hearing was a timely recognition that the testimony of the victim without that of the perpetrators did little to expedite the objective of reconciliation."

Ross Calvin of the South African Press Association says; "The Bisho hearing was the best I have attended. It was important that many high profile people had to publically account for their actions, although their testimony tended to overshadow that of witnesses."

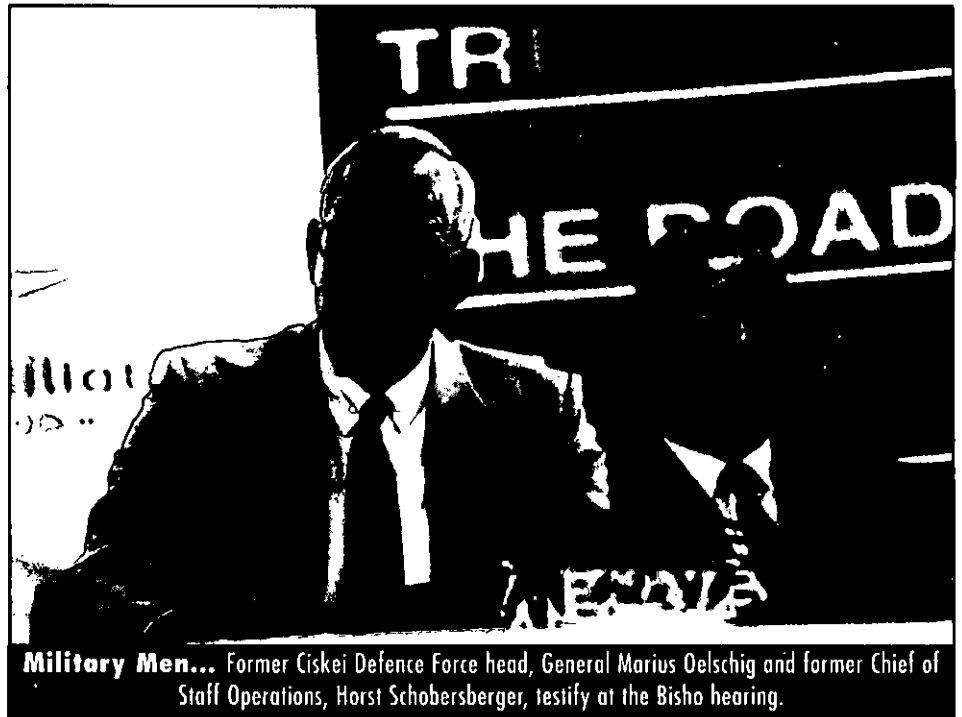
INFLUENCE

Daily Dispatch Political Reporter, Eric Naki, said the fact that the TRC managed to organise a hearing where both victims and alleged perpetrators appeared, was an indication of the influence and power of the Commission. It indicates he said, that "with a few exceptions, the commission had won acceptance from both parties to the past conflict."

The work of the Commission is gaining momentum and all sides seem to be willing to come forward to tell their side of the story."

"It was interesting to hear from people in decision-making positions, including Pik Botha, Ronnie Kasrils and Cyril Ramaphosa", he said.

"But, more important, was the focus on the role of the military in past conflicts. This differed from other hearings which almost exclusively honed in on the activities of the old security police.



Military Men... Former Ciskei Defence Force head, General Marius Oelshig and former Chief of Staff Operations, Horst Schobersberger, testify at the Bisho hearing.

FROM PAGE 2

achieving justice in any country is not used: namely through criminal trials. The reason lies in the negotiations which brought about our Interim Constitution, and as a result our first democratic elections in 1994. It was in those negotiations that our political representatives agreed that we should use amnesty as a way of getting to the truth and closing the book on our ugly past.

Traditionally, justice is about punishment, usually imposing fines or prison sentences. But the Commission is based on the idea of restorative justice, where although people escape jail, much more attention is paid to the interests of victims.

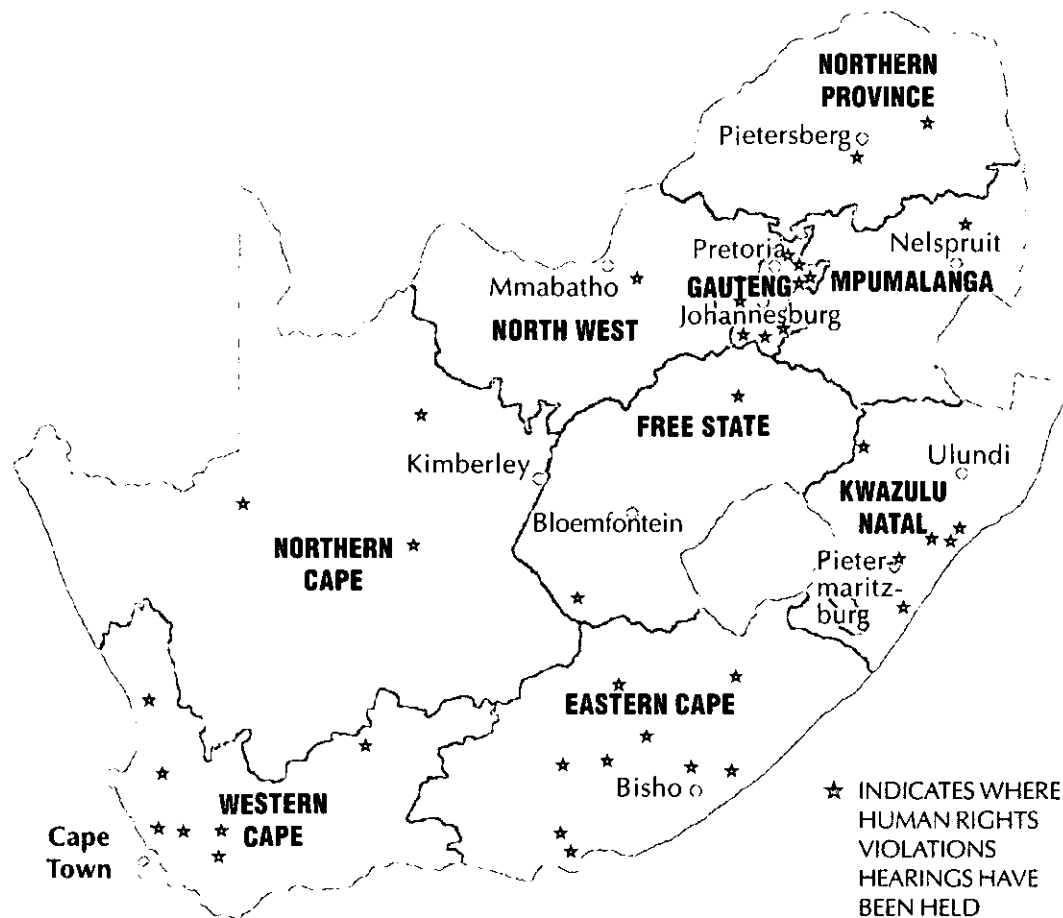
This brings us to the part of the puzzle which is probably the most crucial for the victims and survivors - the work of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee.

Because this Committee's work does not make headlines or radio and TV news, it is not widely known. But its importance was brought to public notice recently by Judge Ismail Mahomed, the Deputy President of the Constitutional Court.

Judge Mahomed said that amnesty and reparations are like both sides of a coin: there can't be one without the other. If the State removes people's right to sue others for the harm they have caused, or to have others prosecuted, then it must find another way of helping them.

The judge also made another very important point: he said that in fact under the normal legal system many South Africans who suffered under apartheid would not qualify for help. For example, for many people the law says it is too late to sue perpetrators. But the Commission can suggest to Parliament other ways of helping people instead.

Seeking the truth in every corner of the land



DATE	PLACE	DATE	PLACE
22-25th April	Peninsula (Cape Flats)	12-13 August	Port Shepstone
29-30 Apr.-2-3 May	Johannesburg	26-28 August	Uitenhage [Langa massacre]
29 Apr.-1-8 May	East London	29-30 August	Durban
7-9 May	Durban	2-5 September	Nelspruit
21-23 May	Port Elizabeth	09-11 September	Bisho [Bisho massacre]
10-11 June	Northern Cape (Kimberley)	11-12 September	Newcastle
18-20 June	Umtata	23-25 September	Duncan village
18-19 June	South Cape (East)	23-26 September	Klerksdorp
24-26 June	Boland (Breeriviervallei)	2-3 October	Northern Cape (Upington)
26-27 June	Port Elizabeth [Special hearings]	3-4 October	Thohoyandou
2-4 July	Bloemfontein	7-9 October	Karoo (Colesberg)
8-12 July	Mmabatho	8-10 October	Welkom
17-19 July	Pietersburg	14-16 October	Western Cape (Paarl)
22-26 July	Soweto	21 October	SADF and SANDF -submissions
23-25 July	Pietermaritzburg	21-23 October	Aliwal North
16-18 July	East London	24-25 October	Durban
22-24 July	Queenstown	24-25 October	Inquiry (Section 29)
5-7 August	Peninsula (Helderberg/Tygerberg)	28-30 October	Alexandria
5-8 August	Pretoria	4-5 November	Tembisa
12-13 August	Karoo (Beaufort West)	11-14 November	West Rand

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