



REFERENCES TO THE WORD

“NARRATIVE” and “STORY”

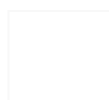
in Truth and Reconciliations Commissions Reports of African Countries:

Liberia, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, South Africa

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THE CONFRONTING
ATROCITY PROJECT



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Note on Word Frequency Query:

Minimum 4 letter words were chosen (rather than 3 letter word length)

4 letter words were preferred so that years (such as 2020, 2021, and so on) can also be found.

Note on software:

The word references analysis was done by NVivo software.

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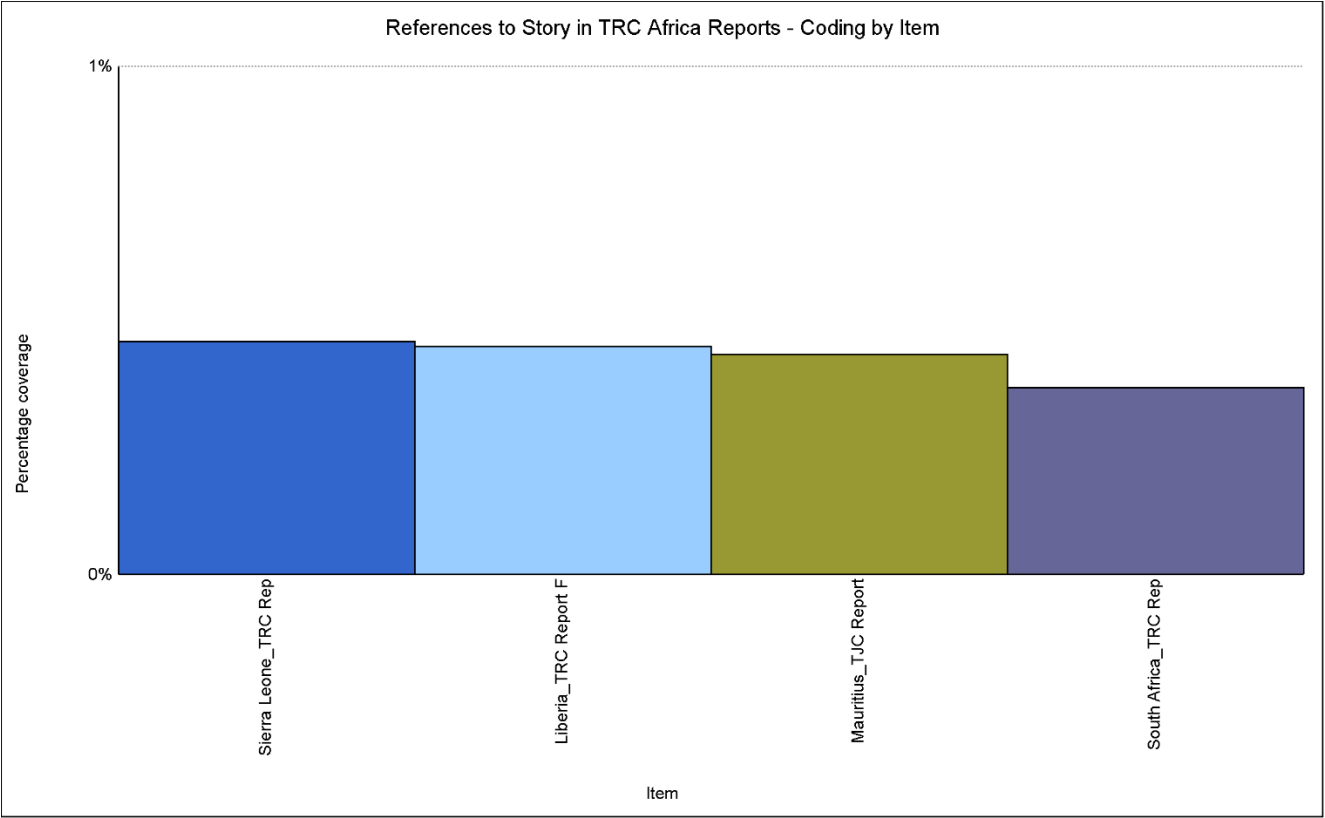
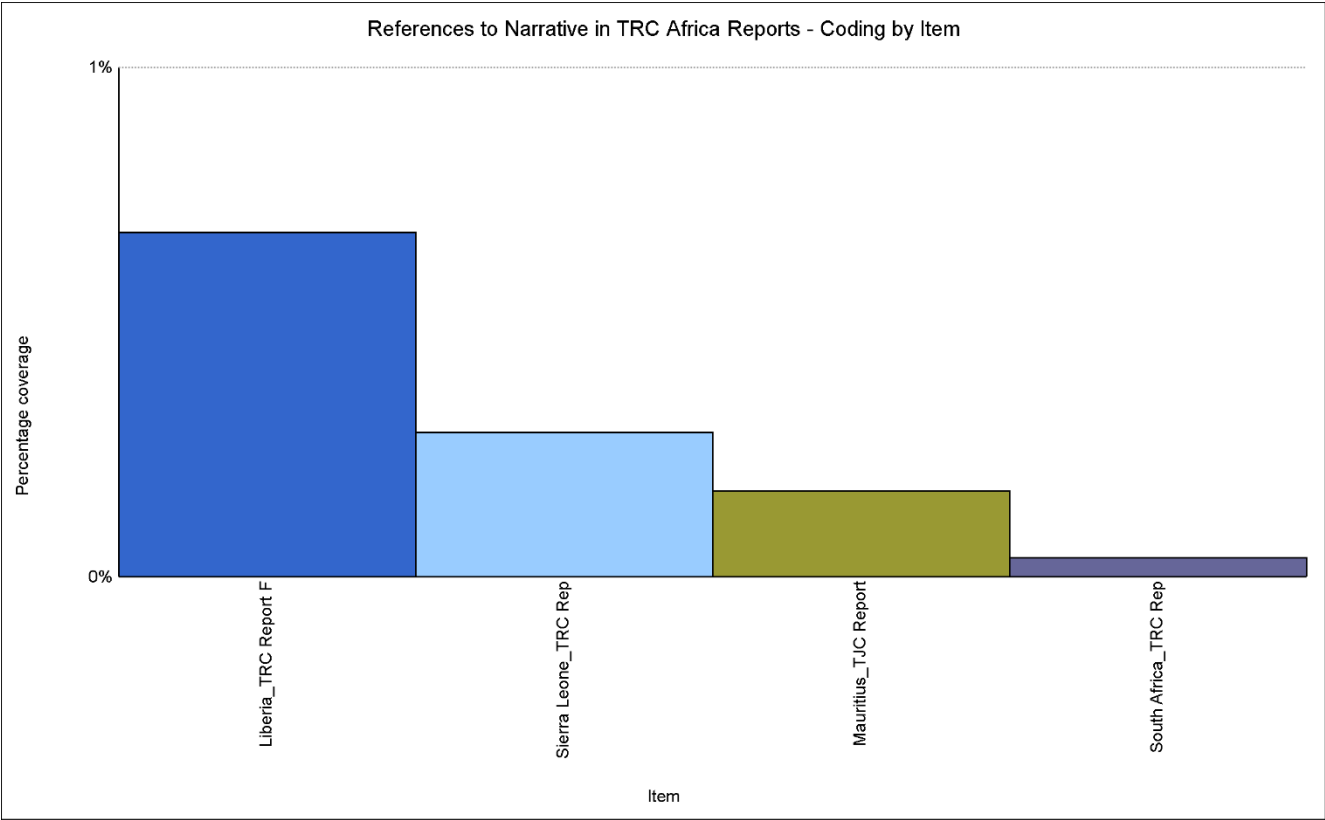
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**Word frequency query based on references to the word “Narrative”
Done for all reports on the mentioned African countries:
Liberia, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, South Africa**

[illegible]

**Word frequency query based on references to the word “Story”
Done for all reports on the mentioned African countries:
Liberia, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, South Africa**

[illegible]

Name: References to Narrative in TRC Reports

<Files\\AFRICA\\Liberia_TRC Report FULL> - § 15 references coded [0.68% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.05% Coverage

Between 2005-2006, approximately two hundred individuals were recruited nationwide from local communities as statement-takers and trained to solicit the voluntary narratives of individuals recounting their personal experiences and accounts of the conflict either as victims, witnesses, perpetrators, or as family members and loved ones from their communities. The statement forms were specifically designed to be gender sensitive, victim friendly, while special forms were designed for children statement-givers. This method employed a confidential interview using probing questioning techniques to assist the statement-giver in recounting traumatic events or experiences and to provide factual accounts or evidence of events that took place. Recommendations for how the TRC should proceed with its work and its final report were also solicited from those persons that participated in the process and the public in general. As a result of its careful statement-taking approach the TRC generated goodwill with the public and succeeded in obtaining over 20,000 statements from Liberians in Liberia and in the Diaspora including the U.S. and West Africa.

Reference 2 - 0.06% Coverage

Women Nearly 26,000 or 28% of reported violations were against women. While as a group men comprise a larger victim category than women, Liberia's various armed conflicts excessively affected women in various ways. As previously noted, women disproportionately suffered from sexual violence including gang rape, sexual slavery, outrages upon personal dignity, and torture, among others. Girls and women aged 15-19 comprise the largest category of reported cases of sexual violence. Women as old as eighty-years old were perversely dehumanized through gendered violence by, for example, being forced to have sex with their sons or male relatives and by having taboo objects such spoons, sticks, hot pepper and rifle buds forced into their vaginal and rectal areas. Women were kidnapped and forced into sexual slavery only to be passed around as 'wives' of roaming combatants. They were also forced to engage in hard labor making them both sex and labor relegating them to the status of chattel slaves. Women suffered the indignity of having the children that they bore after being raped and held as sex slaves summarily taken away from them by combatants at the end of armed conflict. Many women that testified before the TRC either through statement taking or the hearings gave thousands of heart breaking narratives about how they were brutalized during armed conflict.

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

Between 2005-2006, approximately two hundred individuals were recruited nationwide from local communities as statement-takers and trained to solicit the voluntary narratives of individuals recounting their personal experiences and accounts of the conflict; either as victims, witnesses, perpetrators, or as family members and loved ones from their communities. The statement forms were specifically designed to be gender sensitive, victim friendly, while special forms were designed for children statement-givers. This method employed a confidential

Reference 4 - 0.06% Coverage

used to answer research questions.

Collection of Statements: The TRC collected statements in several waves, based on the availability of funding. TRC statement-takers were carefully selected and trained on how to take down a narrative statement using the TRC's open-ended statement form. Each of the fifteen counties in Liberia received a team of statement-takers - slightly larger teams were assigned to more populated counties such as, Nimba, Bong, and Lofa, with the largest number of statement-takers assigned to Liberia's densely populated capital county, Montserrado.

Coding: Consistency in Meaning and Counting: As mentioned above, coding is the process by which the "countable units" violations, victims and perpetrators are identified in statements and transcribed onto coding forms. This process enables the TRC to count violations by county, by year, etc., in order to analyze the nature and patterns of human rights violations reported to the TRC. For example, what distinguishes "rape" from "sexual abuse"? The two categories must be defined so clearly that the people doing the coding apply the definitions in a standard way. That is, the definition must be so clear that if the same narrative statement is assigned to all of the coding staff, they would classify it in precisely the same way. We refer to these definitions as the controlled vocabulary.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Statement Taking: Recruitment, Training, Deployment

Between 2005 and 2006, approximately two hundred individuals were recruited from local communities nationwide to be statement-takers. They were trained to solicit the voluntary narratives of individuals recounting their personal experiences and accounts of conflict; either as victims, witnesses, perpetrators, or as family

Reference 6 - 0.08% Coverage

of events that took place.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) collected narrative statements from as many individual statement givers as possible about the violence they experienced or witnessed during the conflict. Each statement covers detailed insight into the nature of violations and experience of particular statement-givers. A quantitative analysis have been gathered which identifies patterns and trends of violations experienced or perpetrated by the statement-givers collectively. Together, the aggregate group of statements can magnify the voices of victims and provide a body of empirical data that can help in processes of acknowledgement, accountability, understanding and closure. Recommendations for how the TRC should proceed with its work and its final report were also solicited from those persons who participated in the process and the public in general. As a result of its careful statement-taking approach, the TRC generated the goodwill of the public and succeeded in obtaining over twenty thousand statements from Liberians in Liberia and in the Diaspora, including the USA and West Africa; excluding statements collected by the UNDP in a human rights violation mapping project to complement the work of the Commission.

The TRC collected narrative statements from as many individual statement givers as possible about the violence they experienced or witnessed during the conflict. Each statement offers detailed insight into the nature of violations, and experience of particular statement-givers. A quantitative analysis, as contained in Appendix< can identify patterns and trends of violations experienced or perpetrated by the statement-givers collectively. Together, the aggregate group of statements magnifies the voices of victims and

provides a body of empirical data that can help in processes of acknowledgement, accountability, understanding and closure.

Reference 7 - 0.09% Coverage

in contact with a statementtaker.

For these reasons and others, we emphasize that the statistics in this report only represent statements to the TRC and not all violence that occurred in Liberia during the TRC's mandated period. However, the TRC documented many tens of thousands of violations, indeed, the TRC documented more violations than any previous truth commission. These violations represent the experiences of approximately twenty thousand Liberians, and as such, are of great interest in their own right. The analysis of statements reflects 17,002 out of 17,416 statements entered into the TRC's database. The analysis excludes 414 statements because these statement-givers reported no violations within the TRC's mandate period, January 1979 to October 2003, or because the county or country where the statement was taken was not recorded. Even though the TRC could fill in the missing data (country, sex of statement giver, county of occurrence , etc. – as omissions or mistakes), the TRC conservatively elected to have them recorded as errors rather than filling in the missing data which could have been easily done since the uniqueness of Liberians names can clearly indicate sex without guessing, as the name may also indicate county of origin or county where the violations occurred by the name of towns or villages in the victim's narrative, and the country where the statement was taken in Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, the UK or the USA. The 17,002 statements included in the TRC analysis contain information about 86,647 victims and 163,615 total violations. Total violations here includes 124,225 violations suffered by individual victims (or 76%), 39,376 suffered by groups (or 24 %), and 14 by institutions (or a negligible 0.0%). Groups were coded when one or more victims suffered the same violation but could not be individually identified from the information provided in the statement. Information that could be used to identify an individual victim includes first or last name, sex, age or date of birth, tribe, or relationship to the statement-giver.

Reference 8 - 0.05% Coverage

leaders, as well as academics.

Statement forms and protocols were modeled after the process in Liberia with some modifications appropriate to the Diaspora context. The addition of disclosure form and resource information, as described above, was a key modification. Questions specifically relating to the experience of Liberians in flight and in the Diaspora also were added to the statement taking protocol. Diaspora forms and protocols were pilot-tested in late 2006. Volunteer statement-takers began taking statements in January 2007 in Minnesota. Project sites were added around the country and in the UK through January 2008. Statement taking continued through August 2008. The majority of TRC statements from the Diaspora were gathered during in-person interviews. In the United States and the UK, these interviews generally were one to two hours in length and took place in homes, designated statement-taking ,sites,' or in other locations of the statement giver's choosing. Interviews were conducted by a team of statement takers who then compiled a narrative summary of the statement giver's experiences, opinions and recommendations. As a result of an overwhelming demand from refugees in Ghana to provide statements to the TRC, interviews there

Reference 9 - 0.05% Coverage

hearings specifically looked at how the conflict uniquely effected or was affected by thematic elements of the conflict; such as motivations, inherent root causes, and the role of specific elements of our society. It provided a great opportunity for experts to lend their opinions on the roles that different components of the war played in the conflict. These experts spoke extensively about structural, historic and systemic patterns of violence; its causes and impact, on the state, victims and institutions, and sometimes international relationship. While victim hearings were personalized narratives, the thematic hearings were not about the personal experiences of the presenters, but the society as a whole. This nuanced version of history will seek to incorporate various levels of a national history that blend the stories of a diverse range of victims and perpetrators. Thematic hearings included: historical review, contemporary history of the conflict, women, children, the role of religious and traditional institutions, the media, youth, security, etc.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

out of the illicit relationship.

November, 2003: Persistent reports of killings, beatings, abduction and rape by MODEL forces were received. A 60-year-old man, narrated to Amnesty International how MODEL forces attacked Graie on November 1, 2003 burning most of the houses in Graie, Nimba county. Tied some people, beat them with cutlasses and stripped people-both men and women.

Reference 11 - 0.05% Coverage

were pervasive in Liberia.

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Liberia is a signatory to key international instruments protecting fundamental human rights, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Geneva Conventions, and numerous other instruments that protect the rights of specific groups, such as women and children. During both the Doe and Taylor regimes, the government refused to take responsibility for the actions of its functionaries or rein them for the atrocities they committed. Because of this, they were perceived generally to be aware or sanctioning these atrocities committed under their watch. Moreover, Doe, Taylor and their close associates were directly implicated by TRC witnesses in personally perpetrating human rights abuses. The fact that human rights abuses could be perpetrated with complete impunity was a defining feature of the TRC mandate period, and numerous statement givers narrated their futile attempts to obtain justice for abuses committed against them.

From the bloody coup that

Reference 12 - 0.04% Coverage

Christian faith, the land was inhabited by tribes and societies that practiced indigenous traditional religions as well as the faith of Islam. Although it is generally recognized that a majority of Liberians profess to align themselves with Christianity, there is extensive intermingling of traditional and faith-based practices among religious participants such that the faith of many Liberians is blended and integrates elements of both indigenous traditional and religious practices. Nonetheless, the prevailing historical narrative of Liberia is from a distinctively Christian perspective that has failed to recognize and accommodate the full breadth of Liberia's diverse religious and Traditional communities and their significant influences on the distinctive history and formation of a Liberian identity.

The constitution of Liberia was

Reference 13 - 0.04% Coverage

Liberians living in the settlement.

Liberians in Buduburam narrated the same horrific stories of war trauma as their fellow Liberians in the U.S., the U.K., and Liberia. The defining feature was that many of these statement givers had been in Buduburam for up to 18 'wasted years.' During this time, Liberians in Buduburam have experienced the effects of 'donor fatigue' many times over, as initiatives have shifted, NGOs have come and gone, and UNHCR and Ghanaian policies fluctuated. And while the conditions on the settlement have certainly improved over the years – tents have disappeared and permanent structures have been erected, for example – the settlement still lacks many basic services almost two decades after the first refugees arrived. Running water is not available for any purpose and all water is trucked in for purchase. Access to food remains a problem for thousands in the camp. There are two parttime doctors working in a single clinic that serves the entire population. Sanitation is

Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

10.1.2. Antecedent Causes

Liberia's checkered history is replete with conflicts as we have narrated above. During the pre-colonial period, there were many conflicts and wars between the natives themselves until the colonial period from 1822-1847 when the settlers intervened and a crisis of different dimension surfaced. After independence in 1847 the new state of Liberia had its own set of conflicts bordering on legitimacy, inclusion and identity, land, and struggle for supremacy. For over a century

Reference 15 - 0.03% Coverage

reparations to the victims.

Memorialization

The increased recognition of memorialization within the transitional justice field is exemplified by the recommendations made by various truth commission reports, which endorse the idea of symbolic reparations in the form of memorials, sites of memory, commemorative days, the renaming of public facilities in the names of victims, and other artistic/cultural endeavors. Collective memories built around war and violence play an important role in the process of rebuilding positive ties between the different segments of a society. Particularly crucial in such a process are the public and private rituals and narratives that sustain collective and individual memories of the history,

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

political, economic and social space.

iii. To introduce "socio-biography" of groups and life histories of individuals, with particular emphasis on History and the forging of patterns in values, attitudes and behaviours. This is also a form of narrative therapy.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

What is the truth? Does factual evidence alone provide an indication of the truth? It is clear that the methodology of professional historians differs from other approaches to finding the truth. Critical evaluation of all available sources and their interpretation, as well as constructing a coherent narrative, are the classic processes of professional historians. However, there are other ways to arrive at 'truths' since a degree of subjectivity is inherent in the process of interpretation, and, hence, other interpretations are possible. There is, thus, not one objective Truth that the TJC has proposed. Truth is not necessarily the outcome of this Commission as not all facts are available, but rather part of the Truth. Much more needs to be done to uncover the whole Truth. Seeking the Truth is an ever-ending task.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

a. Trauma during the passage

Much has been written about revolts and mortality on board ships and very little will be said of this here. More recently, attention has been focused on the state of mind of slaves during the wait in the slave depot, and during the transportation on ships and the psychological trauma that ensued. If narratives of the passage abound for immigrants later in the century, they are sorely missing from the slavery records in the Indian Ocean; only the acts of slaves give us some indication of their state of mind.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

political, economic and social space.

- To introduce "socio-biography" of groups and life histories of individuals, with particular emphasis on History and the forging of patterns in values, attitudes and behaviours. This is also a form of narrative therapy.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

the New Year festivities.

Interviews

(a) The questionnaire was tested among individuals from various socio-professional categories perceiving themselves as slave descendants. After testing, it was obvious that the questionnaire could not be put to respondents as it was. It was too academic and hard and they quickly lost interest in answering. The team

members opted for an open question as a starter with other questions on particular subjects where it seemed necessary. It was more fruitful to let respondents narrate their own story around the topics which seemed important to them, while providing a leading thread.

But for the East and South-East (Flacq and Grand-Port Districts), it turned out to be a more "récit de vie" type of research. The questionnaire, in fact, dictated much more the interview, with the informant answering mostly to the questions asked to him or her rather than narrating his or her life or past experiences.

A major difficulty was the lack of understanding of the word 'descendants' by most respondents. This being the crucial entry point, it took time to make them talk about this topic, but the life narratives were easier. Respondents could reflect on their own lives and the lives of their families and organize their thought in a rational way

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

the majority) refused to answer.

(h) Very often, the informants were not able to specify the exact time of events they were narrating, which makes it difficult to date the facts. 'interiorised' the popular myths related to slavery.

In addition, some of them

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

respondents remember their dominant attitude.

For the respondents, the lives of their parent's grandparents and ancestors were characterised by poverty and hardships. However, they tend to associate what they have heard or seen about slavery on TV (fiction) about slavery to the sort of their grandparents. At times, their narration is driven by emotions related to their grandparent's hardships.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

they are descendants of slaves.

For the respondents, the lives of their parent's grandparents and ancestors are characterised by poverty and hardships. At times, their narration is driven by emotions related to their grandparent's hardships. Their fathers were hairdresser, carpenter, shoemaker, mechanic, reared barber animals, had seasonal work such as 'sofer kamion pandan lakoup' on sugar estates, coalmen. Six fathers went to the army. Mothers worked as maids, sewers, worked in aloe factories, planted

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

today other instruments are used.

Creoles have contributed to the language (Mauritian Creole) and lifestyle adopted by all Mauritians.

Creole oral tradition, narratives, music, instruments, sega, danse, theatre, poems are a rich part of Mauritian culture. In sports and physical activities, Creoles are bright.

In the field of education

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

to slavery and post-slavery.

For example, Antonio and Nicole narrated some myths and legends linked to Basin Zigret and Rwisio Harrison (Eng.trans. Harrison River) with some of them related to slavery. These myths and social realities, in keeping with Malinowski (Cited in Barnard and Spencer 2010), are functionally related and the former 'confirm, support and maintain the social state of affairs and provide an account of origins of people and their convictions.' They can be seen as a 'partial window' on the past.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...when my grandmother narrate those stories its extraordinary she told us there was a short man named Dedere living in the housing estate...she told they left Gabriel they went to see Segga [in] Yemen Gabriel was crying when coming Gabriel was with 2-3 of his friends he asked Gabriel why are you crying? He answered that they left and refused to take him that looking for a sardine box a sardine box for all to get in the sardine box and truly they went...but when you get in do not speak...do not speak do not laugh they landed I tell you long ago really it existed something weird that we do not believe but people say it existed...the secret they have they will fly they will go [in] a plane or an helicopter they will fly they will go in the sardine box if you speak it will explode where you are you fall where you reached you will fall there...)

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

retourne nou inn galoupe...89

(Eng. trans:...yes camp De Senneville on other side on Ramedenee over-there to watch TV...At that time one day we were going we saw the old man sitting under the Tamarind tree this old man I would tell you honestly if the Tamarind tree is there was at the entrance of the salt-pan and to go to his place you have time to come and go to Black River there ten times that we would not have reached his place...The way he walked I would have had time to come and go 10 times he could not walk and that day we saw him sitting there I witnessed not other people to narrated this is what I saw when we were walking we left...we heard dogs barking we saw two headlights passing there were only two headlights...what time was that? At around 7hrs – 7hrs15 only two headlights there was no car there were only two headlights that were passing and dogs were barking constantly this we witnessed...we came back on our steps and when we came back Tataz was not there usually if Tataz was walking when we came back we were running...)

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

library of Black America series.

27. Douglass, Frederick: Autobiographies: Narrative of The Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave; My Bondage and My Freedom; The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass. Literary Classics of the United States, INC. New York, NY, c1994.49

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

31. Federal Writers' Projects: Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States From Interviews With Former Slaves; typewritten records prepared by the Federal Writers' Projects, 1936-1938; assembled by the Library of Congress, Work Projects Administration, D.C; Library of Congress. Washington, 1941.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

75. Morgan, Kenneth: Bristol and the Atlantic Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century. Cambridge, c2003.
76. Moses, Sheila P.: I, Dred Scott: A Fictional Slave Narrative Based on the Life and Legal Precedent of Dred Scott. New York: Margaret K. McElderry Books, c2005.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

102. Gates, Henri Louis Jr. (ed): Classic Slave Narratives. New York, N.Y, Signet classic, 2002 103. Labarthe, Gilles & Savary, Claude (eds): Memoires d'Esclaves. Genève: Musée d'Ethnographie, c1997. 104. Northrup, Solomon: Twelve Years as a slave. Introduction by Philip S. Foner, rewritten by Eakin, Sue L., Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, c1970.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

of North Carolina press, c2008.

111. Yuval, Taylor & Johnson, Charles (eds): I Was Born a Slave: An Anthology of Classic Slave Narratives. Chicago II; The Library of Black America series; Lawrence Hill Books, c1999
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Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Mouvement Militant Mauricien's political campaigns.

The 'bad old days' and the harsh and oppressive working conditions on the sugar estates led to the small planters' riots of 1937 and 1945 and to the strike of 1938. The labourers claimed better wages and better working conditions. Although she was young, when these events happened, Neelvadee testified how her mother used to narrate her stories about the strike on Belle Vue Harel.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

At night, they were so tired after a day's work that they did not have much time for family discussions. Usually, storytelling time was after dinner and during bad weather, when people could not go to work. The elders, most of the time, narrated stories lor la miser (about their harsh living conditions), on their childhood memories and on religio-cultural traditions and practices. None of the respondents stated that their elders narrated stories on indentured-ship or slavery.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr. Dookhit Deewan was born in the village of Plaines des Papayes. Mr. Dookhit Deewan knew his grandfather. He still remembers how his grandfather narrated to him his life in Bihar and how he came to Mauritius at the age of 15 as an indentured labourer. Given that life was very harsh in Bihar at that time they fooled his grandfather and managed to persuade him to come to Mauritius by telling him that in Mauritius “vir ros gagn larzan”. The only possessions that his grandfather took with him on the voyage were his bag and a copy of the Ramayana. According to Mr. Dookhit Deewan’s recollection of what his grandfather told him, on board the ship his grandfather was not treated like a human being but rather like an animal.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

clothes near the well itself.

As a child, Mr. Dookhit Deewan used to play boul kadak also known as boul kaskot, goulidanta. He also used to play with marbles and small seashells. In the evenings, his grandmother and grandfather used to tell him stories like “Salanga and Sadablich” in Bhojpuri. His grandfather and grandmother also used to sing Ramayana songs and other songs related to the stories they narrated. He said that he still remembers these songs.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

issues of identity more broadly.

The substantive parts of the report, which contain the findings of the research team, are divided into several parts. Part 1 considers the role of discourse in the construction of race; Part 2 discusses socialisation and experiences of racism; Part 3 discusses cross-cutting identities and racism, in other words, how does class and gender influence racial experiences; Part 4 reflects mostly on the psychological burdens of racism, discussing the impact of racist events and aversive racism. Part 5 of the report contains the recommendations and conclusions. As the evidence is based on narrative (interviews, conversations and observations), these are indented throughout the text for ease of reference. The analyses of the data by the Team Leader are distinguished from the data collected by the researchers and research assistants.

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Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Another significant finding of the South African TRC was the long-term psychological effect of apartheid on people’s sense of self and the sense of their capabilities. The work of clinical psychologists indicates the increasing salience of sensitivity to racism in the therapy offered to people of colour. One finds for example, that a number of clinical psychologists are now employing the narrative therapy technique. Narrative therapy was developed during the 1970s and 1980s, by the Australian Michael White and David Epston of New Zealand. In their book, *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*, they discussed the use of narrative as a means to achieving more focused and effective therapy. In short, we produce stories of ourselves and these stories do not only ‘narrate’ our life but also produce our sense of self. Narrative therapy offers a non-pathological approach to therapy and therapists are able to identify less developed stories of ourselves and ‘thicken’ these with the help of our friends, colleagues and family members in order to help ‘victims’ deal with insufficiencies or overemphasised areas of their lives.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

on racism in the country.

The research methods employed in conducting the research for this project were qualitative. This means that the research team put much emphasis on the collection of narratives (stories), the establishment of focus groups (for group interviews) and conducting of individual interviews. Interviews were conducted across the ethnic, class and religious spectrum, although the bulk of the research focused on Creoles and Franco-Mauritians. In studying the experiences and views of Franco-Mauritians, the researchers effectively employed the strategies of those 'studying up' (Avery 2004). This involves substantive networking in a rather closed community, a different presentation of the Self, overt projection of a professional identity and continuous affirmations of neutrality, as well as demonstration of focus (on the part of the researcher) on the interview process. Research among the poorer members of our sample also involved networking and the building of rapport, but this appeared to be much easier for most of our researchers because these informants were also agreeable to the work of the TJC. The interviewees also appeared to be more trusting of the researchers and more willing to share their experiences.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

The interviews contained some of the key research questions noted below. However, those interviewed were encouraged to provide a full narrative of their experiences. This resulted in what social scientists call 'semi'-structured interviews. In these, the informant or interviewee is asked only a few key questions which serve to convey the main objective of the research and thereafter, with little additional control of the interview, the interviewee is encouraged and expected to discuss their personal experiences.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

culture-conscious space of Mauritius.

It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.

Here we run into some

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

DISCOURSE, POLICY, PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE

the process of providing counter-narratives about race in Mauritius. Such narratives seek to displace the negative stereotyping of slave and indentured labour descendants. They are positive discourses in the sense that they seek to restore dignity and hope to those who have experienced marginalisation. The latter is very important because in Mauritius, there is rarely a discussion on how scholarly work might contribute to the reconstruction of racial discourses. If we consider how (in the past), scholarly and

scientific outputs were important to the consolidation of scientific and social racism, we should not be so quick to dispense with scholarly work on identity issues in Mauritius. We shall return to the issue of discourse and identity construction at the end of this report in the section on recommendations. For the moment, we are focused on that the fact that the transformation of the discourse of victimisation is a potent means of rejecting popular, negative (and racist) discourse about Creoles:

In line with the above

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

The long-established narrative of the Franco Mauritian community is that they hold a superior position in Mauritian society, owed to their historical privilege and heritage, better education, and strong family ties and networks. By and large, observations and perceptions from the outside are that Franco-Mauritians represent an isolated group of a few privileged people and form a closed community. "In Mauritius, the Franco Mauritian community is the least open" (Personal communication, RLM, 25 June 2010). This assumption was difficult to deflate as I initially struggled to get into contact with a diverse range of Franco-Mauritians to be interviewed.

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

can revenge by calling names."

It is generally difficult to estimate the prevalence of racist incidents over a lifetime because of personal and environmental factors. Since racism related life events may happen infrequently, they may be seen as not serious enough for many people to confront and may not even be recalled, unless asked about⁶³. For example one lady who is in her thirties, interviewed on 10th August 2010, when asked to narrate a personal race based incident, she took longer to respond and requested to express herself in Kreol. Upon completing her story, parts of it off record, she disclosed that she was speaking of this incident for the first time. She had gone to a Government Department to apply for a VISA/passport because she had received an invitation from her brother in Canada. The Secretary serving said: "The person assisting was not there yet I could see the person...I went home and was sad... it's difficult for me to explain....talking about it now, I feel angry...we have democracy but still these things happen..." and later off record she reported feeling better after talking.

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian contemporary construction of identity.

There is on the one hand, the overarching perspective which is the link with roots and origins. On the other, there is the 'Mauritian' perspective. 'Indenture' provided the founding narrative of IndoMauritian identity, even if the latter has been built through the denial of some of realities of indenture.

One must acknowledge that, through

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

- Crossing the Black Waters

The perception of the crossing of Black Waters – kala pani – has become a key narrative of indenture in the literary academic community. Indologists Louis Renou and Jean Filliozat,³ explain that, 'travelling by

sea is a disruptive behaviour in social and private life', resulting in a necessary expiation process. Travelling by boat means both exposing oneself to living conditions concretely

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Personal Observation

She was not afraid to talk about the low caste people and did narrate clearly how low caste people were treated long ago, how people considered them to be of inferior nature Interview was carried out in a veranda and her niece translated some of our questions from Creole to Bhojpuri to her

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius.

Conclusion: An ambiguous evolution

Interviewees spoke in contrasting terms of how things were 'before' and how they are 'today'. However, the evolution in the Mauritian caste system is far from being so simple and unequivocal. It is even somehow remarkably paradoxical. On the one hand, Mauritians speak of a former time when 'caste' was important, and how it no longer is. Numerous elderly persons have described how they were married according to a caste criteria, and how typical family conflicts narratives, were sometimes turning to tragedy, because of caste incompatibility between two youngsters. They stressed that this would not be allowed to occur with their own children. Since this is impossible to state for a fact without accompanying studies, one can, nevertheless, tentatively conclude that inter-caste marriage is more frequent and feasible than 'before'.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

In this recent article, Abhimanyu Unnuth points out the real issues. One cannot help remembering that the same author has himself been active in promoting the fantasy Indo-Mauritian identity founding narrative. The first pages of his major literary production, *Sueurs de Sang* (Lal Pasina, 1977), may be read as a picture of Indians as eternally linked to Mauritius: they are described as discovering it, fighting for it and they are its legitimate owners (Claveyrolas 2012). Time has passed since the 1970's in Mauritius, and probably the legitimate goodwill to rehabilitate Indo-Mauritians' history was not possible without paving the way for the current "collective and historical fantasies" Mauritius now faces. Communalism and fantasies go hand in hand. Fantasies, particularly those founding so-called Indian rooted communities or identities, do need to be corrected in Mauritius. And this is deeply linked with caste consciousness.

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

affective support, reinforces resilience. Myths, histories, stories, legends in their repetitive and secure narration lend meaning to exile, eradication of culture (Rousseau C., & al, 2001).

Reference 36 - 0.02% Coverage

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Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

4.1 Narratives of Exclusion FRENCH PERIOD (1715-1810): Education for Whites only As early as 27 July 1736, a Treaty was signed between the Lazarist Congregation and the

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

democratisation of our educational system.

4.7 CONCLUSION Hence, the narratives of exclusion and the political, cultural, denominational, gender and

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

During their narration, my respondents, about a hundred men and women, told us about events that have marked their lives or their parents' lives. They also told us about the numerous prejudices and intolerances that shattered so many lives in a discriminating manner until the first half of the Twentieth Century.

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

VOYAGE TRAUMA DURING THE PASSAGE

Much has been written about revolts and mortality on board ships and very little will be said of this here. More recently, attention has been focused on the state of mind of slaves during the wait in the slave depot, and during the transportation on ships and the psychological trauma that ensued. If narratives of the passage abound for immigrants later in the century, they are sorely missing from the slavery record in the Indian Ocean; only the acts of slaves give us some indication of their state of mind.

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

4. Carter, Marina, *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834-1874*, OUP, Delhi, 1995. 5. Hosein, Shahida, 'Until Death Do Us Part?': Marriage, Divorce and the Indian Woman in Trinidad', *Oral History*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Women's Narratives of Resistance, Spring, 2002, pp. 63-72.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

Notices, 1837-1839, p. 21.

19 Author's Analysis. 20 Backhouse, *Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa*, pp. 35-36. 21 Backhouse, *Narrative of a Visit* p. 36. 22 MNA:RC 27/3173, Transmitting the Report and Observations of Thomas Hugon (29th July 1839), enclosed in Letter of T. Hugon to George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary, Mauritius, 29th July 1839, Para. 24.

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

any wages except the food.

There was also a big gap between the stipulated wages and what the labourers actually received. The two main deductions put into practice by the planters were monthly deductions for return passage and the notorious 'double cut' of wages. One rupee or one-fifth of the total monthly wages was deducted by the planters as a security for good conduct and to meet the passage expenses in case of their premature repatriation in the event of any misconduct. This accumulated deductions were to be refunded to the labourers upon the completion of the stipulated contracts. In practice, it was never returned to the labourers who were forced to re-indenture several times. The second, but the most widely applied, deduction by the planters which has earned an unsavoury reputation in the narratives of labour control in Mauritius was 'double cut' or deduction of two days of wages for an absence of each day, whatever the reasons might be for such absence.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

to out-dance each other.

The lyrics, simple and vivid, narrate the daily realities of the local life. In the past, it was quite common to sing a refrain freshly and spontaneously composed, to make fun of the physical aspect of an individual and laugh at the misfortunes and misdemeanours of one's daily life, and to mock people of light and easy virtues.

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

21st century, has been overlooked.

With the exception of a number of ethnographic writings, such as the narrations of

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

not free and were subjugated.

It corroborates the public narratives of the Islanders who remained in the Archipelago after deportations and that are reproduced in Jeffery (2007) work. These oral narratives picture life in their homeland as harsh, and they were dominated by the Colonial Power and were oppressed.

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

of folktales and songs as medium of transmission of knowledge and as 'a means of making history'¹³. It seems that the Chagossian society did not develop a structured written system, and thus oral narratives were a means of communication and transmission of their life-experiences and individual life histories. A collective memory was created out of these oral narratives that, through a Eurocentric matrix, were conceived as gossips. For example, Dussercle (1934, p.37) narrates his encounter with a local resident who sung his sadness of being separated from his wife and family: « ...et pour me montrer combien

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

in that his observations were not representative of the Islanders' voices, especially regarding their return to their homeland and their integration into Mauritian society. He interviewed the Chagossians' leaders only and the latter might not necessarily be representative of all the voices, but rather of a sample of them. In addition, the leaders' narratives might be politicised and thus biased. Actually, the current public narratives reveal that most Chagossians do not want to integrate with Mauritian society that

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

be propounded that the displaced Chagossians romanticised and standardised collective historical narratives, and their constructions and representations of their homeland and return to their home country²⁹ form part of their cultural stock. Their culture is a legacy of their experience of displacement and resettlement in that their right of return and the romanticisation of their homeland are the result of their exile, impoverishment, marginalisation and oppression in their host country.

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

of the displaced Chagossian oral narratives and songs that are instruments of their political and legal struggles. They have socio-political functions and thus should not convey public representations that could hamper, and have detrimental impacts on, their legal actions. "...Romanticized portrayals of life on

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

with the Mauritians but also show distinct cultural traits that are symbolically represented in their oral narratives. Their collective identification, longing for the home country and a desire to return to their

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

reparation for breach of rights.

In fact, as Jeffery (2007) exposed, that their public narratives and especially chansons engagés (Eng. trans. engaged song) have helped to secure international mobilisation and sensitise the world about their plight and their experience. They have adapted their cultural assets to their current displaced situation and ensured the survival of some of their cultural traits. Their use of their cultural assets and their oral narratives are a means to pass on their message to create awareness and to make their voices heard.

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

their attachment to their islands

distinctiveness as Ilois. Their attachment to their land is inherent in their collective memory and is passed on through public narratives across generations.

The Chagossian population is a

<Files\\AFRICA\\Sierra Leone_TRC Report FULL> - § 57 references coded [0.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

64. With respect to the time frame considered by the Commission, more specific language addresses this aspect of the mandate and will be dealt with later in this chapter. With respect to the territory to be considered, it is significant that section 6(1) does not confine the work of the Commission to the geographic boundaries of Sierra Leone. Moreover, section 6(2)(a) of the Act requires the Commission to consider 'the role of both internal and external factors in the conflict'. In this respect, a useful comparison can be made with the jurisdiction of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, which is confined to the 'territory of Sierra Leone'.²³ Violations or abuses committed outside the territory of Sierra Leone are relevant to the work of the Commission, to the extent that they are 'related to the armed conflict in Sierra Leone'. The report, and particularly the historical narrative, refers to many violations and abuses committed elsewhere in Africa,

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

P8.3, U.N. Doc.

forensic truth; personal and narrative truth; social truth; healing and restorative truth. The list is probably not exhaustive.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Personal and narrative truth. This is a witness's personal truth which he or she tells either in a statement or at a hearing. This is what he or she believes and should be respected. Often, the individual accounts did not initially appear to contribute significantly to the more general 'impartial historical record' that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Act 2000 requires of the Commission. But over time, the sheer volume of these accounts provided a complex, multilayered vision of the conflict. This truth is not the history of battles, military leaders and political parties, but rather a series of personal stories and accounts, telling a tale of the suffering, the pain and of the immense dignity of the common people of Sierra Leone. It is, perhaps more than anything else, a vision of the truth that describes the fundamental humanity of the people of this country.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The personal and narrative truth which the Commission has endeavoured to capture faithfully is inadequately presented in the present report of the Commission. It is simply impossible, in a document the length of the Commission's report, to provide a fair account of the complexity of the personal truths that make up the story of the conflict. But the materials remain largely available, in the archives of the Commission. Many of them have been transcribed. A full videographic record of the public hearings of the

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

pursue options for reconciliation.

35.

The hearings team developed a mini database to capture the selected statements for hearings. This meant that the team had to manually trawl through the thousands of statements using the selection criteria to identify statements suitable for hearings. These were then entered into the mini database, and efforts made to contact the statement givers. While databases are established to capture "who did what to whom, when, where, why and how," they could certainly do more. If the database used by the Commission had a bigger section for narratives and captured those well, and the design of the forms for capturing the statistics had allowed for the inclusion of human interest angles and not just numbers and statistics, the Commission would have been able to quickly identify and select cases for hearings and saved a lot of time in addition.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The Joint Implementation Committee was to meet once every three months to assess the status of implementation of the activities and to review the narrative and financial report for submission to OHCHR. The Joint Implementation Committee could not be constituted until July 2003 when it held its first meeting. After that meeting, no further meetings were held until Commission completed its work

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

UNICEF.3

Statement Taking⁴ 12.

In Sierra Leone, violations and abuses were committed on a wide scale and by all the factions in the conflict. It was not possible for the Commission to investigate all the violations and abuses that were committed during the civil war. Consequently the statement taking exercise aimed at representing the general spread of human rights violation and abuses. This enabled the Commission to obtain a sample of violations and abuses that occurred, such that "many people could relate to the narratives and the experiences told by those who testified before the Commission".⁵

Media and Civil Society Participation

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Statement takers were asked to corroborate material information received in the statements. For instance, if a statement giver mentioned witnesses, victims or perpetrators who were part of the events described in the narrative, statement takers were required to try to find the named persons and corroborate the information given. If the named persons resided in another District, they were to request the District Coordinator there to ensure that follow-up interviews were conducted. Statement takers were also tasked to collect any supporting document that statement givers wished to bring to the attention of the Commission. They were to make a special note if they identified a site of interest, such as a massacre or torture site, or a mass grave. This information was subsequently used for further investigations.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

The report writing personnel included researchers, investigators, data analysis staff, unit heads and Commissioners. They were divided into thematic groups for each of the research themes. Each group had to create a management plan with detailed timeframes for the achievement of research and investigation objectives. The narrative and the analysis of each research theme was discussed in monthly plenary meetings organised by the Information Management Unit and at thematic group meetings that took place on a regular basis.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

An extensive amount of time was devoted to deliberations on findings and recommendations. Workshops were held throughout November and December 2003 between Commissioners, senior staff and the researcher responsible for each chapter. Researchers proposed findings and recommendations based on the work they had done and in consultation with their thematic groups. Based on the feedback received during the meetings, each researcher conducted further research or provided further justification for the proposed conclusions. This process continued until the Commissioners were satisfied that all the issues had been analysed including the role of the different actors, and that the conclusions derived from the narrative represented an objective analysis of the issues.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Several perpetrators appeared in public hearings and were named or identified in their communities by victims or witnesses. The Commission gave them the opportunity to respond publicly to these allegations. Many victims were able to identify their perpetrators. Where the perpetrators were named in the victims' narratives, the Commission sought to corroborate specific allegations.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

In presenting the narrative of the conflict, the Commission made several findings concerning the responsibility of the respective factions and certain individuals. These findings were based on empirical evidence linking the perpetrators to the violations. Where the evidence was inconclusive, the Commission declined to make a finding. Most of the Commission's findings were made against the armed factions that participated in the conflict rather than against individual perpetrators. However, where the information at the disposal of the Commission pointed conclusively to the role of an individual in the conflict the person in question was named. The Commission published the names of all the leaders of the respective factions in its Findings chapter.¹² The Commission holds all these leaders accountable for the violations and abuses that were committed by members of their respective factions.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

There were two competing perspectives before the Commission on how to organise the final Report. One perspective was to write a report of 200 pages or less which would summarise the narrative and present the Commission's conclusions and findings. This was an attractive option considering the resource constraints under which the Commission operated. The Commission rejected this option for a number of reasons.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission felt that a brief report would do injustice to the range of issues that account for the conflict in Sierra Leone. While a number of issues triggered the conflict, there were clear structural issues dating back to the time of colonialism. If these issues were not addressed in detail, the Commission would not have met its broad ranging mandate. The individual, factional and institutional fluidities assist an understanding of the dynamics of the war. Without this nuanced interpretation, the real history may have been lost in a summary. A nuanced interpretation required that the narrative be discussed in depth, including the roles and experiences of people, institutions and the respective factions.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

After these consultations, Commissioners and staff reviewed the draft form and designed the final product. The statement form was composed of eight sections, designed to provide information on basic issues around the mandate of the Commission (including its confidentiality provisions) and to record the personal details of the statement giver and the narrative he or she told the statement giver.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

A second evaluation conducted early in February 2003 showed significant improvement in the quality of the narratives recorded. Some problems were identified which included: statement takers were not asking enough details about the perpetrators and the armed factions they belonged to; and more details were needed concerning the actual circumstances of the interview itself. The Commission needed to know why

some interviews were stopped before the end. Did the statement giver decide to stop? Did security concerns require the statement taker to interrupt it? These problems were addressed in subsequent meetings with the statement takers. The Head of Information Management also travelled to all the districts to meet statement taking teams and address problems specific to each district.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Perpetrators were reticent to talk to the Commission for various reasons. The main reasons articulated were the fear of being indicted by the Special Court or being called as a witness by the Court and the fear of reprisals from their communities. To remedy the problem, a sensitisation project targeted at ex-combatants was carried out by the local NGO, PRIDE, with funding from the International Centre for Transitional Justice. The project lasted for three weeks in March 2003. During the sensitisation, PRIDE employees accompanied by statement takers travelled to areas with high concentrations of ex-combatants. They conducted sensitisation sessions with ex-combatants, which were immediately followed by statement taking. The Commission felt strongly that an accurate narrative of the conflict could not be developed if ex-combatants refused to participate in the statement taking process.

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

By using a vocabulary, the facts within the narrative were reduced to a distinct and countable set of values. This allowed the free text narrative to be represented in the database and enabled the quantifying and statistical study of the data. The vocabularies and database are structured such that their use did not misrepresent or discard information in the narrative. Without the use of vocabularies, patterns within the data based on variables such as location, gender and ethnicity would not have been identified. Ultimately it was possible to illustrate the magnitude, trends and patterns of human rights violations.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Human rights data is initially generated as a 'free text' narrative. Within the narrative there may be mention of various violations, the places they occurred, when they happened and who was involved as a perpetrator or victim. Additional background facts about the various role players may be included such as their ethnicity, religion and occupation.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

c. Many perpetrators: several perpetrators may have committed each of the violations described in the statement. Furthermore, each of the identified perpetrators in the narrative may have been responsible for several violations. In other cases, though a perpetrator may not have directly committed a violation, the statement may identify him as the person who ordered the violation. Alternatively, where the names or nicknames of the perpetrators are not known, it may be possible to determine at least the responsible faction.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

knowledge of the statement-giver.

The narrative

Each section of the form

Reference 22 - 0.02% Coverage

1.1 Narration: Details of human rights violations and abuses Please tell the Commission about the violations and abuses you have suffered.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Section 6: Section for Perpetrators

This section of the statement form should be completed by those who have committed human rights violations and abuses. 1. Narration: details about human rights violations and abuses

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE HEARINGS 1.

Respect for diversity: The Commission respects the participants' rights to narrate the facts or events in an atmosphere of respect to their identity and without discrimination on gender, social, political, religious or cultural grounds. Participants will have the right to express themselves in their own language, for which there will be interpretation services provided.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

The Findings chapter is perhaps more properly described as a summation of the main conclusions⁴ that emerged from the process of establishing the "factual or forensic truth" ⁵ of the conflict. At times this summation accords with some of the "personal or narrative truths", namely the truth as understood or related by individual participants, victims and witnesses.⁶ The findings also, at times, accord with the "social truth" or that truth that is generally accepted by large segments of the population.⁷

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

of the population.⁷

10.

At other times, the conclusions to be found in the Findings chapter depart fundamentally from the different narrative truths and formerly accepted social or popular truths. In so doing, the findings of the Commission have debunked certain popular "truths" and may contribute to the creation of a new social truth of the Sierra Leone conflict.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

approach adopted by the Commission.

See Chapter Three of Volume One for a detailed discussion on personal or narrative truth.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

In order to adduce a balanced historical perspective on the conflict, the Commission invited a host of national and international stakeholders to make submissions about the key events of the past. It held public and closed hearings at which individuals, institutions of state, non-governmental organisations and donor agencies were able to express their views and opinions. It substantiated the material from all these testimonies by referring to multiple secondary sources, including books and periodicals on the country, as well as memoirs by Sierra Leoneans. The resultant chapter compiles a concise narrative out of these various resources and reflects contrasting versions of history in an impartial manner to the greatest extent possible.

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

See Palmer, I., *Investigating the Antecedents of the Rebel War in Sierra Leone*, narrative report on a project commissioned by the Ford Foundation for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, University of Sierra Leone, Freetown, July 2002 (hereinafter "Palmer, *Investigating the Antecedents of the Rebel War*").

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Dr. Mohamed Sorie Forna's daughter, Aminatta Forna, has written perhaps the most detailed account of the circumstances leading up to his trial, along with 14 others, and eventual execution. It is contained in a memoir in narrative form: see Aminatta Forna, *The Devil that Danced on the Water*, HarperCollins, London, 2003.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

This chapter of the report is intended primarily to fulfil the obligation on the Commission to produce an 'impartial historical record' of the violations and abuses of human rights and international humanitarian law related to the conflict in Sierra Leone. It takes the form of a narrative that spans across more than two decades of political and military activities in the country, but places its main focus on the years from 1991 until 2002, when the country was embroiled in armed civil conflict and war-related violations and abuses were visited upon the population.

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Three other persons in a cell under Reider's auspices travelled out of Freetown along with Sankoh in April 1988; the distinguishing factor in their case was that Reider did not tell them in advance about the nature of what awaited them at the end of their journey. Each of Sankoh's travelling companions thought he was heading to undergo 'Advanced Capacity Building in Revolutionary Ideology' and told, variously, that he would be taken to an institution such as the University of Nigeria or the Al-Fattah University in Tripoli to be further lectured and inspired.¹⁰ This invitation came aptly to represent the kind of deceit and mismanagement of human resources that ultimately invoked a vacuum in revolutionary leadership¹¹ and

a reversion towards militarism. The narrative of those who accepted their invitations in good faith, but instead underwent guerrilla training in Libya, resonates far more widely when examined under the lens of the subsequent military and political history of the conflict in Sierra Leone.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

In placing the assembly and composition of the initial RUF force into its proper context, the Commission does not intend in any way to exclude or mitigate the responsibility of certain individuals among them for their actions in the conflict. In the narrative of the conflict that follows in this chapter, a variety of responsibilities are attributed to the vanguards notwithstanding their backgrounds.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

In his statement to the police, Sankoh narrated the events that led to his arrest. In particular, he described in elaborate detail his speech of 23 March

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

In striving to generate an impartial overall understanding, it should be noted that there are always exceptional and unique tales, which will not fit comfortably into any of these categories. Nevertheless, the Commission presents the following narrative in the belief that it reflects some instances of enlistment that grew out of violations and abuses, some instances that directly caused violations and abuses, and some instances in which victims could go on to become perpetrators.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

This stereotype could be applied to thousands of former RUF combatants and it was borne out again and again by witnesses before the Commission. A common decisive factor in many of the stories told by 'willing revolutionaries' was that they had been ultimately convinced to join the RUF through a public address by Foday Sankoh or one of his compatriots, similar to the speeches described above. One young man narrated the impact an address by Sankoh had on him in the following terms:

"What Sankoh said was what

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission heard the contention from several former RUF commandos that the tactics of guerrilla warfare were as much in the mind as in the practical implementation. One RUF commander who served as an 'Intelligence Officer' during Phase II gave a lengthy narration of his experiences of how guerrilla tactics assisted the RUF in carrying out its operations to attack key defensive positions of the Sierra Leone Army. A portion of his testimony, which is typical of the modus operandi of RUF guerrilla warfare in the Commission's view, is included below:

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

RUF guerrilla attacks, as described above, were characterised by killings, abductions and systematic destruction of property. In the wake of such an attack, it became commonplace for collective 'post-mortems' to be conducted in which soldiers and civilians would put forward their explanations as to why the defence of communities was so frequently breaking down. A familiar pattern in these explanations emerged, just as it did in the testimonies received by the Commission: soldiers and civilians would narrate two different sides to the same story.

493. On the one hand

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

Foday Sankoh singled out the Bio family deliberately for a range of violations and abuses at his personal behest, principally at his own hands. When Julius Maada Bio became a member of the NPRC administration and later the Head of State, Sankoh sought to place the family under the most deplorable pressure. Indeed, several further Bio relatives were killed or maimed in the Tihun massacre of 1995, as narrated elsewhere in this report.

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

572. The Commission notes that the story of how the Kamajor Society came into being has been told and retold in many different forms as the years have passed. Predictably, as rumours have circulated among Kamajor initiates as to the origin of Kondewah's 'special powers', variations and exaggerations of the above narrative have filtered into the folklore of the Mende people.²²¹

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has given primacy in its title for the third phase to the notion of power struggles. The Commission thereby aims to demonstrate the causes of the overwhelming majority of violations and abuses committed in the conflict. Woven through almost every event in the foregoing narrative are conflicting notions of power, as seen through the eyes of those who pursued them. Members of every faction referred to their participation in the conflict as "the struggle", giving the impression that it was waged in the name of the people. As the chapter on the Nature of the Conflict demonstrates, the dynamics are more complex than that.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Conflict Page 248

compatriots in the diamond trade informed Hinga Norman that they would be staying in Guinea. Accordingly he narrated the following events:

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

OF THE RESTORATION EFFORT 848.

The Commission found multiple further indications of the importance of maintaining executive oversight and intra-Governmental communication during the exile period. Yet most of the evidence suggests that not enough was done in this regard, while what was done was often botched. In fact, as the preceding narrative demonstrates, the attempts at co-ordination by the Government in exile were generally ill-conceived, disorganised and highly defective.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Sierra Leone Police:

"I recall sometime in the early part of May 2000, I was summoned to the Lodge of President Kabbah for a briefing. At the [President's] Lodge, I met the President together with General Jetley, UNAMSIL Force Commander. Both President Kabbah and General Jetley told me that RUF combatants had attacked the DDR camp and UNAMSIL troops in Makeni. General Jetley further said that the RUF commanders in Makeni were demanding the release of ten RUF combatants who had already disarmed to UNAMSIL. To that effect, President Kabbah therefore impressed upon me to relay his concern to Foday Sankoh for the immediate settlement of that crisis... When I left that same night, I met Sankoh around 11.00 p.m. at his own Lodge at 56 Spur Road. I explained to him the development as was narrated to me by General Jetley and President Kabbah... Sankoh said he was going to send a message that same night to ascertain the situation."⁵⁹⁶

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

to the security guards."⁶⁴²

1186. Sankoh had informed members of the Government about the existence of the stockpile and, according to his colleagues in the RUF, he had secured the President's blessing to retain enough arms for 30 of his own men.⁶⁴³ Several RUF members later interviewed by the police corroborated this evidence of official acquiescence for the arms at Sankoh's Lodge. One of them narrated his understanding as follows:

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

to testimony from Madam Fatou Sankoh, Mariama inadvertently became an advantage to the Government in the game of hide-and-seek that led to Foday Sankoh's final capture. The narrative given to the Commission by Madam Sankoh is summarised in the following paragraph.⁹¹⁷

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

The following victims narrated to the Commission how they were forced to eat parts of their own bodies by the Kamajors and the RUF respectively:

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

The RUF used rape to destroy the social respect and standing for pregnant and older women. A victim narrated an experience in 1991:

"One fearful thing they used

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

The first emergence of the practice of cannibalism the Sierra Leonean conflict appears to have been attributable to the contingent of Liberians, predominantly from the Geio and Mano tribes, who fought for the NPFL, under the auspices of the RUF,⁷¹ in the first two years of the conflict. A woman who witnessed the killing of her husband narrated the incident to the Commission:⁷²

"I had to hide myself

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

188. Mohammed Conteh, narrated to the Commission the roles played by the RUF, the SLA and the CDF in Bo during the conflict:¹¹²

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

who trained under Haiwan's supervision.

This element of AWOL's story is particularly relevant to the subsequent course that the conflict took and has been discussed in greater detail under the 'Military and Political History of the Conflict' chapter in the section entitled 'The Predecessors, Origins and Mobilisation of the RUF'. A real-life human tragedy lies at the heart of this narrative. None of AWOL's close friends or

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

After the expulsion of the RUF from power, the Kamajors launched an operation on the town of Koribundo in Bo district, "to punish the people for supporting the AFRC". This support was an apparent reference to the fact that an army garrison had long existed in Koribundo. The town was completely destroyed. On the basis of reports made to the Commission, an event specific hearing was organised in Freetown on the destruction of the town. Witness after witness narrated to the Commission that after the destruction, the National Coordinator of the CDF, Chief Hinga Norman, visited the town and congratulated the boys for "a job well down". When confronted by the town's people he was alleged to have told them that his instruction was actually that no building in the town should be left standing, but that he noticed that his boys had spared the local church. He told the people that the destruction was a

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

It is important to note that the representations/images of the initiator are transmitted to the future soldier in a traumatic climate. This is not done unconsciously. Through how it is transmitted, the mechanism is automatically put in place. Victims of enlistment who have gone through the process therefore become representations of the same process like the one the torturer went through: a traumatic logic through traumatic initiations. One example of this is that when a victim of traumatic violence is narrating the event, it provokes deep and uncomfortable emotions to the person listening to it.

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT (RUF) 331.

The Commission's records reflect that the RUF was the major belligerent group in the conflict and dominates accounts of having committed the most savage acts against the civilian population. While it not only holds the record for the highest number of violations, the RUF is also responsible for most of the acts of rape and sexual violence recorded by the Commission.³²⁹ As reflected in the Commission's narrative of the conflict, the RUF by 1994 switched from conventional warfare to guerrilla warfare. With the change in tactics, there was a corresponding change in behaviour towards women and girls. The number of women abducted began to rise. The TRC estimates that the number of victims abducted and kept in sexual slavery in 1995 was double that in 1991.

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

Similar narratives by youths, both as victims and perpetrators, abound in the testimonies, statements and interviews gathered by the Commission. In addition, the youth question has stimulated considerable analysis and debate among academics and writers on the conflict. One Sierra Leonean historian, Ibrahim Abdullah, has described the war as the high point of a rebellious Freetown youth culture of "rarray man dem" that started in the 1940s.⁵ Another Sierra Leonean historian, Ishmael Rashid, has detected a strong impetus for the war in the convergence that took place in the 1970s and 1980s between these rarray man dem and groups of radical students influenced by leftist ideologies.⁶ British anthropologist Paul Richards has traced the cause of the war to a patrimonial crisis, sidelined intellectuals, violent films and a desire by youths to manage the resources of the rain forest more equitably.⁷ Finally Jimmy Kande, a Sierra Leonean political scientist, has noted that the atrocities committed by youths during the war stemmed from the "subaltern" appropriation of what was previously the violence of the elites.⁸

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

This chapter will focus on the Commission's activities to promote reconciliation and to create a space for dialogue between communities divided by the experiences of the war. The narrative will draw upon excerpts from hearings to illustrate how the different parties were encouraged to reconcile with one another in the course of the Commission's work. These excerpts reflect the themes that underpin the TRC's approach to reconciliation, which includes the acknowledgment of past wrongdoings and a programme of reparations.

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

District – 26 June 2003 91.

A man named Abdul Razak Kamara testified about the four years he spent with the RUF. He explained that his main purpose was to contribute to the peace process. Nevertheless, he insisted on apologising before the traditional leaders. He narrated that he was based at Mile 91 and Magburaka and that he had returned to Kono District during the peace process:

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

29 But what about truth – and whose truth? The complexity of this concept also emerged in the debates that took place before and during the life of the Commission, resulting in four notions of truth: factual or forensic truth; personal or narrative truth; social or 'dialogue' truth (see below) and healing and restorative truth.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

lost much of its credibility.
Personal and narrative truth

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

37 By providing the environment in which victims could tell their own stories in their own languages, the Commission not only helped to uncover existing facts about past abuses, but also assisted in the creation of a 'narrative truth'. In so doing, it also sought to contribute to the process of reconciliation by ensuring that the truth about the past included the validation of the individual subjective experiences of people who had previously been silenced or voiceless. The Commission sought, too, to capture the widest possible record of people's perceptions, stories, myths and experiences. It chose, in the words of Antjie

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

heard before it.
Social truth

39 While narrative truth was central to the work of the Commission, especially to the hearings of the Human Rights Violations Committee, it was in its search for social truth that the closest connection between the Commission's process and its goal was to be found.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

11 As the early statements were received and analysed, it became clear that the initial protocol, developed before the Commission began its work, was inadequate. This may be attributed to two factors. First, the structuring of information gathered from long and complex narrative statements imposed some technical difficulties: narrative statements might contain information on gross violations of human rights which occurred on one or more occasions, at one or more places, to one or more victims and carried out by one or more perpetrators. As different kinds of evidence of varying degrees of detail and complexity were gathered, it became clear that there was a need to adjust and fine-tune the structure of the protocol in order to ensure that all necessary information was captured in a uniform manner.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

in strong rooms.

Data processing

18 Each regional office employed a team of data processors who read and analysed the statements in order to identify each discrete violation of human rights mentioned in them. A statement might, for example, identify one or more victims, each of whom may have suffered one or more different violations of their human rights at different times in different places. The violations suffered by the victims were then categorised into one of the four violations types defined in the Act. Data processors also generated a brief narrative summary of

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

complexity of human rights violations

5 Every effort was made to avoid errors in representation and analysis of the information collected by the Commission. A deponent who gives a statement presents a narrative account of great potential complexity.⁹ To avoid errors of representation and analysis, the Commission's database was designed to address the following complexities:

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

may have been isolated incidents.

c Many perpetrators: each of the violations described in the statement may have been committed by one or many perpetrators. Furthermore, each of the identified perpetrators in the narrative may have been responsible for one or

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

to clear and consistent definitions.

b Respect for deponents and victims¹⁰ involved treating statements with integrity, and keeping them intact to the limits of the available technology. Integrity, in this sense, meant that deponents' narratives should not be fragmented; nor portions discarded through decisions of the Commission¹¹ or inadequate representation. There was a need for information to be maintained in a secure fashion and protected from theft or abuse, and the analysis needed accurately to reflect the information given in statements and qualified by findings.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

necessitates historical or ethnographic reflection.

13 In short, the Act echoes classical sociologist Max Weber's definition of the sociological method, whereby "historical and social uniqueness results from specific combinations of general factors, which when isolated are quantifiable."¹⁶ Like the Commission, Weber is concerned that social analysis should be sufficient to draw general conclusions, but that it simultaneously preserve and reflect on individual case details. Weber recommends that analysts identify general factors in the universe of examples by applying ideal types - "controlled and unambiguous conceptions" - which illuminate particular phenomena of study. However, the general factors must be understood in terms of the particularities of individual cases.

This definition of a set of 'ideal types' is then applied to a universe of narrative (or semi-structured) statements taken in interviews with deponents.

14 At the Commission, the

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Documentation and Information System (Huridocs).

10 The database was designed on the assumption that any narrative description of human rights violations could be broken up into a series of time- and placespecific acts of violence, succinctly summed up in the phrase 'who did what to whom'. For example, an activist may have had his or her house burnt down, then been detained in solitary confinement before being subjected to electric shock treatment. These would be recorded as three separate violations - arson, detention and torture - as opposed to recording the incidents as a composite violation ('the harassment and torture of Mrs X').

11 This positivist approach allowed for more complex quantitative analyses to be carried out, to supplement the normal qualitative analysis to which narrative data are usually subjected. For example, by recording detention separately from torture, one could analyse the incidence of torture in the context of detention. If a strong correlation was shown to exist, this in turn informed policy recommendations about detention, to prevent a recurrence of the circumstances or conditions that give rise to the torture of prisoners.

12 The approach of breaking

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

26 Research indicated that Commission staff, in varying degrees, were vulnerable to suffering vicarious trauma because of the material and personalities to which they were exposed. The material (or the narrative content of the statements) was of an emotionally challenging nature. It could challenge the staff member's belief systems and that individual's ability:

a to stay focused on

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

ONE

Introduction to Regional Profiles

1 The regional profiles provide an overview of gross violations of human rights as they were reported to the Commission, in both chronological and thematic narrative. It was not possible to include every case brought to the Commission; rather the stories that illustrate particular events, trends and phenomena have been used as windows on the experiences of many people.

2 The primary sources for

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

■ APPENDIX National Chronology

This chronology focuses primarily on the mandate period of the Commission, while referring to some significant events which helped shape the years 1960 to 1994. It includes events that are essentially of national significance, and a limited number of events that are of regional significance. In selecting these

entries from more detailed regional chronologies, which form part of the Commission's records in the National Archives, an attempt is made to capture the unfolding drama of the South African conflict. The chronology should be consulted in relation to the chapter on Historical Context as well as volumes 2 and 3, which address national and regional events in narrative form.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

and statements obtained from them.

43 Other difficulties stemmed from decisions to amend the statement form or 'protocol', which went through several changes, influenced both by evaluations of the early batches of statements and by the need to obtain information in a format which allowed for its standardisation and capture. At an early stage, it was decided to remove the demand for the statement to be made on oath, since there was a potential for error in the process of its being written down by the statement taker. At a later stage, it was decided to remove the portion providing for a general narrative and to focus instead on capturing multiple violations and many perpetrators. This may have made it easier to systematise the information, but it resulted in the loss of a potentially rich source of broader information which could have enhanced the corroboration process.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

prescribed application form became available.

11 In view of the time limitations for the submission of applications, as well as their confidential nature, it was necessary to exercise strict control over all applications received and to keep accurate records thereof. Some logistical problems were occasioned by the fact that applications were received in a decentralised fashion in that it was open to applicants to submit their applications at the various regional offices of the Commission. This was in fact done on a significant scale. It was an important aspect of making the process of the Commission in general and the Committee specifically, accessible to the public. In practice, however, this resulted in duplication and an added workload on the Commission in that records of applications submitted at the regional offices were kept at the relevant regional office, and again registered in the central register at the head office of the Committee. A more detailed exposition of the process followed in registering and processing applications, in both narrative and diagrammatic form, is contained in the administrative report of the Amnesty Committee in Volume One.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

and on our nation's past.

27 Even though the report offers a good exposition of different concepts of truth, especially of factual truth and narrative truth and then of social or interactive truth, the distinction is not sustained. In arriving at findings, all is accepted as evidence, an ingredient of the factual truth. If we ignore the frame of our various dispositions through which evidence reaches us, we lose the context of the multiplicity of truth, both in dimension and in perspective. Truth, reconciliation and national unity can only be understood within the concept of multiple truths. Our perspectives decide our realities. Different elevations of an object give different pictures. It is only by sharing perspectives, by accepting them as real, that we can develop some form of understanding. To pour history into a mould is to recreate the potential for conflict which our Constitution and politics since 1990 have largely removed. A shared understanding of our history requires an understanding of different perspectives, not the building of a new national myth.

Presenting 'the truth' as a one-dimensional finding is a continuation of the old frame. Nothing changes, sometimes not even content.

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

24. First, the prescribed application form could have been simplified by providing for a narrative summary of both the incident and the role of the applicant. In far too many applications, correspondence with applicants was required simply to obtain information the application form should have elicited in the first place.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

25. Among the variables involved at hearings of the Commission were the differences in narrative technique from victim to victim, language differences (metaphorically and idiomatically), and tempo and volume of speech.

Name: References to Story in TRC Reports

<Files\AFRICA\Liberia_TRC Report FULL> - § 13 references coded [0.45% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

n. The TRC shall take into account the security and other interests of the victims and witnesses when appearing for hearings, design witness protection mechanisms on a case by case basis as well as special programs for children and women both as perpetrators and victims under burdens of trauma, stigmatization, neglect, shame, ostracization, threats, etc. and others in difficult circumstances who may wish to recount their stories either in privacy or public, subject to the discretion of the TRC.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

and are rebuilding their lives.

On September 27, 2008, The TRC Children's Art Gallery was officially opened by the Vice President of Liberia, H.E. Joseph N. Boakai. It featured poems, stories, and drawings by children about their experiences during the Liberian Civil War and how they envision the future of Liberia. The art was obtained from all across Liberia.

Approximately 350 children attended the

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

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Once the TRC agreed on

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

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Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

Edward Wilmot Blyden collaborated in hopes of shifting Liberia away from the founding paradigm and toward the equal incorporation of indigenous Liberians into the body politic. The advocacy was nothing short of inclusive governance. President Edwin J. Roye, reflecting Blyden, underscored these sentiments in

his sole inaugural address of January 3, 1870: "The aborigines are our brethren, and should be entwined with our affections, and form as soon as possible an active part of our nationality. In fact, we cannot have a permanent and efficient nationality without them." But all of that quickly came to grief with the overthrow of President Roye and the return to power of the Republicans. (the Roye story briefly)
The Republicans would remain in

Reference 6 - 0.08% Coverage

Victims, Thematic, Institutional, County & Diaspora

Public hearings are an essential component of the TRC work. Employed for its catalytic and revealing purposes, it provided an opportunity for individual victims and perpetrators to have their experiences officially heard by the state and recognized as part of the Liberian national experience. The opportunity was provided individuals to tell stories and expose the underlining causes and trends of the conflict. The hearings also generated state sponsored – national - empathy, and an understanding from the people and Nation, the Commissioners and policymakers of the conflicts and its varied trends. By satisfying these objectives, the hearings stimulated national public debates and pushed issues of the conflict, repairing victims, perpetrators' accountability, impunity, root causes of the conflict, etc. squarely into the public consciousness. Lastly, the public hearings helped to build in society the capacity to distinguish the truth of the past from lies about it, which is essential to building a stable political future. The TRC hearings assumed a dynamic of its own which warranted hearings taking on varying forms, exuding different outcomes. The hearings were – In-camera or Public Hearings; Victims or perpetrators; Contemporary History of the Conflict; Thematic or Institutional Hearings; county or Diaspora Hearings. The hearings included seven months of victims' and witnesses' testimonies and, to date, four months of actors, thematic and institutional hearings, and accounts and perspectives under the broader 'contemporary history of the conflict' theme. Special consideration was made to accommodate women, children, the elderly, people with disabilities and other vulnerable groups. To date, the TRC heard more than 800 testimonies from witnesses testifying before it, under the theme: "Confronting Our difficult Past for a Better Future."

Reference 7 - 0.05% Coverage

hearings specifically looked at how the conflict uniquely effected or was affected by thematic elements of the conflict; such as motivations, inherent root causes, and the role of specific elements of our society. It provided a great opportunity for experts to lend their opinions on the roles that different components of the war played in the conflict. These experts spoke extensively about structural, historic and systemic patterns of violence; its causes and impact, on the state, victims and institutions, and sometimes international relationship. While victim hearings were personalized narratives, the thematic hearings were not about the personal experiences of the presenters, but the society as a whole. This nuanced version of history will seek to incorporate various levels of a national history that blend the stories of a diverse range of victims and perpetrators. Thematic hearings included: historical review, contemporary history of the conflict, women, children, the role of religious and traditional institutions, the media, youth, security, etc. Institutional hearings were, in limited

Reference 8 - 0.04% Coverage

Liberians living in the settlement.

Liberians in Buduburam narrated the same horrific stories of war trauma as their fellow Liberians in the U.S., the U.K., and Liberia. The defining feature was that many of these statement givers had been in Buduburam for up to 18 ‚wasted years.‘ During this time, Liberians in Buduburam have experienced the effects of ‚donor fatigue‘ many times over, as initiatives have shifted, NGOs have come and gone, and UNHCR and Ghanaian policies fluctuated. And while the conditions on the settlement have certainly improved over the years – tents have disappeared and permanent structures have been erected, for example – the settlement still lacks many basic services almost two decades after the first refugees arrived. Running water is not available for any purpose and all water is trucked in for purchase. Access to food remains a problem for thousands in the camp. There are two parttime doctors working in a single clinic that serves the entire population. Sanitation is

Reference 9 - 0.04% Coverage

addressing the points noted above.

A. Lack of Trained Manpower: As already noted the Liberian media suffered immensely from the civil war, losing a large percentage of its trained or more experienced manpower. Today many of those with any formal education in journalism and other veterans of the craft are either practicing out of the country or have taken up employment with NGOs or government agencies. There are no statistics on how many of the best of Liberian journalists were lost to the war in one way or another, but there’s evidence of a rather young, inexperienced workforce with very little training currently filling the void. Many of the media practitioners in the country today lack the basics – conceptualizing a story, pursuing the news, and general newsgathering and writing skills. In fact a constant refrain during the workshop was that Liberian journalists “lack the nose for news.”

Reference 10 - 0.04% Coverage

For the most part, many of the media houses depend on press releases, which in some instances are rewritten to serve as news stories. The young journalists do not seem to have the capacity to look beyond the press releases or other narrowly defined sources of news to conduct their own investigation. A panelist from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission noted an example of this. During the TRC’s outreach to the leeward counties, a number of journalists accompanied members of the commission. Their primary assignment: to report on activities of the commission in those counties. But as the TRC member noted, there were several other stories that were very evident during those trips – stories that went unnoticed and unreported by all but one correspondent who came back to base with at least one non-TRC related report.

Some panelists and participants also

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

which will be discussed later.

One glaring evidence of the absence of adequate training: many of today’s newspapers are poorly produced and stacked with grammatical errors. There’s also the question of how accurate some of the stories are. At issue: the reporter’s ability or lack thereof to clearly portray the newsmaker’s point of view.

The University of Liberia is

Reference 12 - 0.07% Coverage

is a waste of time.

B. Ethical Transgressions: The Liberian media suffers from a serious credibility problem. According to workshop panelists, receiving money for news is a common practice in the country, which is serving to discredit the profession and jeopardize its ability to contribute meaningfully to the national reconstruction process. This is not new to the Liberian press. "Katos" has always been a part of the media culture, but in the years since the war it has become so pervasive, and for many newsmakers, it is the only or perhaps the best way to get their stories in the papers or on the airwaves. In fact another more troubling aspect of this practice has emerged during this post-conflict era.

Initially, "Katos" was mostly limited to reporters or editors receiving money (envelopes) when they show up for press conferences, interviews or some event in the pursuit of news stories. But today, it's been expanded to include the sale of pages of newspapers or airtime. Newsmakers and media critics argue that for stories to make it to the pages of some newspapers, or to get airtime on some radio stations, money has to change hands. One panelist quoted the former head of the United Nations Mission in Liberia, Jacques Klein as saying, "ten dollars can get you any story in Liberian newspapers." Another panelist, Kenneth Best of the Daily Observer newspaper, recalled being approached by a diplomat asking how much the Observer charged to get a story on the front page. The New Democrat's Tom Kamara recounted a similar incident. In his case he was asked the same question by a fellow journalist who was apparently acting on behalf of a newsmaker. While both the

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Observer and Democrat may have declined any cash offer to publish stories, other newspapers regularly accept such offers.

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Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

higher education for their children.

The inside story of Indian immigrants and of their descendants continued to be marred by caste prejudice. Class demarcation was even encouraged on sugar estates when it came to appoint labour supervisors (sirdars). On sugar estates until recently the sirdars emerged as a class of employees who wielded considerable power and received higher wages and could thus acquire the best plots of land from estate managers. In spite of the fact that connection with India has been severed more than a century, caste prejudice continues to dominate much of the religious, social and political life among people of Indian origin while such prejudices become exacerbated at election time.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

What we must do is to ensure that their stories are not forgotten by successive generations and their economic, social and cultural contribution to Mauritius recognized and publicized in permanent and public spaces by all.

We must not forget, in

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Bhuddoo, Boodhoo, Mungooram, Muneeram, Rameeram.

These were preferred by recruiters because they were extremely hardworking on the island. However, due to the fact that they suffered the most during sea voyages, and the mortality rate was highest among them, tribal immigration was slowly discontinued. Their story in India, before their departure, is yet to be written, although the closure of indigo factories, being pushed out of their forest and hills by British land settlement and mining policies, contributed to their willingness to emigrate.

Truth and Justice Commission 160

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS

Mention has been made earlier of Muslim workers brought in during the French period as sailors, artisans, masons. Their place of residence for those who decided to stay was Port Louis. During indenture in the 19th century, their role and place of residence were totally different since they were now recruited for plantation labour. They were collectively known as the Calcuttyas as they had embarked from Calcutta and were, for the most part, Sunni Muslims. By contrast, the trading community which came as free immigrants, were from Gujarat and were made up of Surtis, Mehmans, Bohras, Khojas and Ahmadiists. A smaller group came from the Konkan currently in Maharashtra District. The story of the trading community has been well-documented, but not so for those with indentured ancestry. There are also class and social status differences between them, although, as Amenah Chojoo remarks, these were less among those of indentured origin. The indentured Muslims formed about 17% of the population, according to Chojoo. Shiploads sometimes brought in immigrants who were all of the Muslim faith, and others, of mixed religions. The

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Rajput, Pathan, and so on.

The history of Calcuttiya Muslims was no different to that of other labourers on plantations. Housing arrangements were made, when they did not want to live near pig-breeders among the labourers families. But, in general, they went through the same evolution. After indenture, many became small planters, share-croppers (known as *métayers* in Mauritius) and others migrated to the town of Port Louis and opened textile shops, some of which are still in existence today. It is not known yet how many returned, but one family story does not confirm that there were immigrants who returned after the indenture. Many left families in Mauritius since those born in Mauritius, were not eligible for return passages. One immigrant returned to India, kept up a correspondence with his family, but remarried and reindentured to Guyana and was lost from view from then on.²⁷⁰

Out of the 209,000

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Children under indenture

During the period of indentured immigration, children were also brought either accompanying their parents or came alone. There are many ways in which a child could have ended up on a ship alone. A parent may have died in the Depot or abandoned children being an easy prey for unscrupulous recruiters would be enticed into the ship. Their stories will probably never get into the History books as so little written evidence has survived. What we do have today are the few descendants who have kept alive their family history and recounted how their ancestors arrived as children.

Whatever the individual story of migration, once on the estate, children were often put to work by estate and/or by their parents. Orphans ended up running away and roaming the streets in Port Louis or were taken to the Orphan Asylum. The Poor Law reports are full of stories of children found roaming around the island, of having been beaten or abused, or not having been paid their wages.

A 'child' was officially, according

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

the 19th and 20th centuries.

Numerous studies have pointed out the various cultures, languages and religions, existing in Mauritius after abolition of slavery. French ethnographer, Eugene Froberville, not only observed and talked to Mozambicans in Port Louis, but even drew a linguistic map of Mozambique from his interviews in Mauritius. Baissac documented proverbs and stories he had heard in Mauritius. Similarly and more recently, Larsson has shown, through detailed studies of archival evidence, how in Port Louis, about 30% of the population spoke in Malagasy, in addition to Creole, French and Indian languages, in the 1830s.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

to British and other colonies.

For those who stayed in Mauritius and who are the focus of this Commission's study, general histories have been written which have become stereotypical: labourer becomes sirdar or recruiter, saves money and purchases a plot of land. Children become educated, are employed as civil servants or professionals and are considered a success. This picture of the supposed typical 'experience' of the trajectory of the indentured labourer is reproduced regularly by those of nonindentured ancestry, by those who create the myths of the success story etc.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the feeling is that life was very difficult in the past, or wracked by "boukou mizer", as many informants described it in creole, that does not mean estate camp life was viewed only negatively. Actually, many of the informants looked back on estate camp life with a certain degree of fondness and described inter-ethnic relations as being harmonious, and everyone was living like a "family". Holidays were often opportunities for families to get together, and depending on the occasion, a goat would be sacrificed and consumed, or a special meal of canned fish curried with tomatoes was cooked to celebrate the occasion, if finances permitted. During the harvest season, rituals were also performed and offerings made to the goddess Kalimai to ensure a good harvest, and more often than not, it was conducted with the active support and participation of estate managers and was usually led by sirdars. Masses and prayers were also organised for Christian and Muslim workers. The informants also described estate managers distributing presents to children at Christmas time and receiving bonuses during harvest season. And parents told their children stories at night in the absence of modern-day forms of

entertainment, such as radio and television. Nonetheless, these reminiscences were tempered by the view that "Christians", or in other words, skilled Creole artisans and their families,³⁴⁸ lived in superior housing and sometimes looked down upon the inhabitants of estate camps. The paucity of reflections on the family life of white managerial staff points to a certain amount of social and possibly racial distance between employers and estate camp inhabitants.

Living Conditions of Descendants in

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Discrimination

Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the 'Quartier des Libres' and punished any infringement by fines.³⁷⁸ Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer.³⁷⁹ But, this did not secure access into 'good society'; in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians. A similar story unfolded, when it came to Coloured children with freed slave mothers. Even though their numbers increased, hostility between the White and 'Coloured Population', as Rose de Freycinet noted,³⁸⁰ increased in the early nineteenth century. The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, White and Coloured, but, above all, it can be explained by the abolition of the status description in the Ordinance of 1829.

The most shocking example of

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

COMMISSION 5. INDIAN CHRISTIANS Introduction

According to the 1952 census, 9,000 persons were registered as belonging to the group of IndoChristians, forming around 3½% of the population; Whether this figure has remained constant is difficult to say; since 1982, no mention is made of ethnic denominations in the Census.⁴⁸² The bare fact is that out of 413,000 persons, registered as Christians in the Housing and Population Census of 2000,⁴⁸³ it is clear that a good many among them are of strong Indian descent, when they do not claim ancestry as Chinese or Europeans, the remaining Christians being more akin to people of African and Malagasy descent in varying degrees. According to the Indo-Mauritian Catholic Association (IMCA), an association founded in 1952 which claims to represent persons of the Catholic faith, but who have in no way given up the cultural appertenance proper to the land of their ancestors, these should be around 50,000. This short stay aims to trace the epic story of persons of Indian origin who have, throughout Mauritian history, been converted to Christianity

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Although, as in India in recent decades, the issue of physical contact with other castes is less important, people still have stories of high-caste individuals bathing soon after they had been touched by a low-caste person. Commensality regulations, based on purity factors, have also been prevalent in Mauritius. High-caste members, for example, certainly bought uncooked food (and food that was probably accepted from low caste members, but never cooked food. The very Hindu criterion of 'cooking' (transforming the food by incorporating the very nature of the individuals cooking it) prevails in Mauritius too. The pacca (cooked)/kaccha (raw) duality, which translates this cooking terminology, sometimes appears in Mauritian

conversation. But in contemporary Mauritius, very few higher castes refuse to socialize with so-called lower castes in public life. However, in the private space, inter-caste taboos are still alive. High-caste in-laws typically refuse to eat at their lower-caste daughter-in-law's place, or the meal that she prepares, would often create familial tensions.

Visible features of caste belonging

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

descendants into the Christian fold.

As far as Indentured immigrants are concerned, although there were concerns about the type of education to be dispensed in the early years, by the 20th century, many Indian children were going to school. Parents had overcome their original hostility to Western-type schools and were sending boys to schools. Education was highly sought after and many sacrifices were made by parents to secure a place in school. Oral histories abound with such stories. Education was also seen by many as a way out of the sugar sector and into white collar jobs. Discrimination, however, against Indian children existed in schools as few schools were willing to offer a place to Indian children in the early 20th century. However, many schools, private and public, were later opened and these were made full use of by the descendants.

The impact of slavery on

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

for embarkation and disembarkation manoeuvres.

Only privileged witnesses like birds can tell the story of ancient visitors. Nevertheless, they cannot disclose whether the Malays, the Arabs or the Portuguese were lucky enough to set foot on one of the islands before the 16th century.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

- What we must do is to ensure that their stories are not forgotten by succeeding generations and their economic, social and cultural contribution to Mauritius recognized and publicized in permanent and public spaces and ways by all.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Community-based organizations should be identified or created, if they do not exist, and supported by the State to offer parents and youngsters sensitizing sessions on their social, cultural, spiritual, artistic heritage through story-telling sessions, cultural workshops in order to anchor identity;

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

tangible and intangible local heritage.

- The stories of these sites, the origins of these place names and of the local traditional knowledge should be inventoried to be passed on to the future generations.
- These sites should be listed

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

310 Alfred North-Coombes, A History of Sugar Production, p.33. 311 Ali Zafar, Mauritius: An economic success 2011. Africa Success stories project, World Bank. 312 EPZ Act 1970. 313 EPZ Act 1970. 314 Ali Zafar 2011, op. cit. 315 Report of the Select Committee on the Industrial Relations Act, April 1983. 316 Report of the Select Committee on the IRA, op. cit. 317 Employment Relations Act, 2008. 318 Employment Rights Act, 2008. 319 Australian Services Union - Good Practice Guide for Occupational Health and Safety in Call Centres. 320 Report by S. Wilberforce, July 1913 321 S. Wilberforce op. cit. 322 Report on the working of Cooperative Credit Societies, 1914 323 Report on the working of Cooperative Credit Societies, 1915 324 Burrenchobay, Cooperatives in Mauritius, 1957 325 Burrenchobay, op.cit. 326 PRO: CO 167/188, Despatch no 290 of Lord Gelnelg to Governor Nicolay, 25 May 1836, p. 230-234. 327 PRO: CO 167/182, Papers relative to the Abolition of Slavery, Letter of Superintendent Special Justice to Colonial Secretary 22 April 1835, p.213.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Philippe Renaud Fortuno, her father.

The Commission heard the story of both applicants who had a sad telling. They, in fact, owned a land in Centre de Flacq, as evidenced by TV 1405/14.

In virtue of a deed

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

the applicant and Vince Ramsamy.

On 29th March 2011, she called at the office and submitted copy of "Répertoire" 253/924, which the Commission had already retrieved from the Conservator of Mortgages' Office. She had a long story to tell before informing the Commission that she has entrusted her work to another Land surveyor, Mr. Kritanand, Seebarith, and would revert back to us once the survey has been completed.

The Commission, having undertaken searches

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

(a) The questionnaire was tested among individuals from various socio-professional categories perceiving themselves as slave descendants. After testing, it was obvious that the questionnaire could not be put to respondents as it was. It was too academic and hard and they quickly lost interest in answering. The team members opted for an open question as a starter with other questions on particular subjects where it seemed necessary. It was more fruitful to let respondents narrate their own story around the topics which seemed important to them, while providing a leading thread.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES

(c) Some people who, according to people surrounding them, have heard a lot about stories related to slavery simply refused to participate in this project, as they felt it was useless and that it was not going to be of any benefit to them.

(d) The whole section of

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

able to find a job.

Some have been married once, others have had children without being married, others have been married more than once. Women have their own stories to recall. Some of them have educated their children without the support of a husband (widows or single mothers). They have worked very hard for very low wages and show a great sense of sacrifice. They have been forced to leave their children with family members to find better paid jobs, either in places other than their living places or abroad. Some of them have worked as maids, embroiderers, in textile factories.

Many of them have had

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

been married more than once.

Women have their own stories to tell. Some of them have educated their children without the support of a husband (widow

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

the district experienced demographic changes:

The Northern part benefitting from better water supply, more roads, and large plantations developing into sugar plantations in the 19th century. In Southern Black River which starts from the village of Black River going southwards, the story is very different. There were few roads; it was dry with little major economic activity except for the large estates which did not necessarily produce crops because of lack of rainfall and small scattered populations. The state of health was a preoccupation throughout its history as was the problem of communication... (Teelock (2010, p. 51),

According to Teelock (1998), in

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

bann plas pou kasiet...²⁷

(Eng. trans:...Why name it Aigrette Pond? But me I always knew it as Aigrette Pond, but as said by history, there is legend [associated to it]. Which legend? There are people who say that they saw...long ago a mermaid...because it forms stones, big stone...how to say that? You see this pond [is] deep, there is a cave underneath...in this cave there is a giant eel, there is an eel inside it. But, now, because of draught, because normally, there was...lots water in the pond they say it is deep...thus what is the mermaid story? It is, finally, I have heard, the elders said that, their family told them, they saw a baby mermaid. But how the mermaid looked?...half human, half fish...after that I do not know. I do not know whether it is true or if it is fake. Because they say that each time Paul and Virginie, used to swim there...I cannot tell you who heard that story, but I do not believe that Paul and Virginie came here. Me...each time I thought it were the

slaves who came here. And why you thought there were slaves?...How to say that, they searched for hiding places...)

Photo 5 Basin Zigret Source

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Nicole, the name Walala dates back to slave time when '...sega sa mo sipoze non?...Sega? Bann esklav ti fer sega laba?..'33 (Eng. trans: I think its Sega no?...Sega? the slaves did Sega over there?) and also that there are more place names in the gorges such as, Basin Sevret (Eng. trans. Pond of fresh water shrimps) and basin Mamzel (Eng. trans. Young Lady Pond), with stories attached to these places.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

need to put barbed wires...)

The sites identified can also be reckoned as intermediary spaces between the local intangible and tangible heritage. They constitute the local tangible heritage as, firstly, they are tangible links with the past and their names, the story of these places and the myths and legends attached to them constitute their intangible heritage. Secondly, in contemporary Mauritius, they are perceived as vibrant bearers of past traditional spatial arrangements and organisations that date back to slavery and post-slavery.

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

inn rakont nou sa...86

(Eng. trans:...I call it stream Harrison because long ago people said it is the story I have heard the man named Harrison as it is commonly said he was a werewolf...in the past he did this trick for me it happened that one day he took a motorcycle to ride he rode well but he did not know how to stop not knowing how to stop he fell he fell in the stream and since people knew that for me it is story how stream Harrison was known but every time...people told us that...)

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

ou tom laba mem...88

(Eng. trans:...when my grandmother narrate those stories its extraordinary she told us there was a short man named Dedere living in the housing estate...she told they left Gabriel they went to see Sega [in] Yemen Gabriel was crying when coming Gabriel was with 2-3 of his friends he asked Gabriel why are you crying? He answered that they left and refused to take him that looking for a sardine box a sardine box for all to get in the sardine box and truly they went...but when you get in do not speak...do not speak do not laugh they landed I tell you long ago really it existed something weird that we do not believe but people say it existed...the secret they have they will fly they will go [in] a plane or an helicopter they will fly they will go in the sardine box if you speak it will explode where you are you fall where you reached you will fall there...)

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...Tataz Levallant stayed La Salin there were many elderly people who knew things like that like last time I heard a story about a man that was there people called him I forgot his name he was looking for people to work for him he was wandering and one day I think a woman went to work and he said he thought the woman took something he asked her you took something? No he said you did not take? No the next day [she] came back when the woman arrived at work [he asked] you sure you did not take something? Take this bread and eat...the man went to work and came back the woman was still eating her bread...Why? The bread was not finished? Never finished because if the woman did not steal the bread would have finished...was recent? Not long ago...)

These spiritual beliefs affect the

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

were papers missing to continue...)

The history of these 'dispossessed families', and especially of the Albert/Colfir Family who reside in the Cité, forms part of the collective memory of Cité La Mivoie. These family histories are still alive in the memories of the residents – all respondents mentioned having heard that these families were landowners and that they were dispossessed of their property even though some were more knowledgeable than others who did not know the detailed story.

Even if the Colfir Family

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

belief of having been disposed.

However, whether or not they were really dispossessed of their land, these stories of dispossession have a symbolical function for the local residents such as they represent the power struggle between the elite who have power, in this context, the Franco-Mauritians and the Creoles who have limited or no power. It reminds them of how the Creoles were and are still victims of prejudices and discriminated against. It can be said that the stories on land dispossession form part of the local legend.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

tangible and intangible local heritage.

The stories of these sites, the origins of these place names and of the local traditional knowledge should be inventoried to be passed on to the future generations. • Family patterns and gender relations

There is need to carry

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

and psychological support.

Local Heritage

Preservation of the intangible and tangible heritage identified. The memories of the places that have been destroyed should be preserved such as their stories should be transmitted to future generations.

For example, a local history

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

the working places and gardens.

The following sime were identified as constituting the local intangible and tangible heritage. The names and stories of these paths are still present in the collective memory of the residents. (See Appendix 3)

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

as on past social systems.

These sites and the stories of these places should be preserved and transmitted to the future generations for them to learn their history and that of their ancestors.

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Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

region to develop their business.

These cases can be considered as success stories yet, given the negative 'backlash' on the local tourist industry resulting from the actual global economic and social crisis; we need to question the long-term sustainability of these businesses highly dependent on tourism.

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

achievements and quality of life

2. Family history: • Parents and grandparents? • Occupation • Date and Place of Birth and Place of living • Any stories about them • Family origins
• Was there an intergenerational transmission

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

3: PART I – SLAVERY - REPARATIONS

groups transmit their sets of cultural values such as skills, accumulated knowledge, social values, behaviours, dialect, clothing fashion, consumer behaviour, stories, rhymes, use of legal or illegal drugs, political beliefs and the list

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

article entitled "Cultural Transmission- A

Multidisciplinary Research Field".³⁸ First, Schönpflug defines the cultural reproduction in terms of cultural persistence as being essentially transmission or the passing on of information from individual to individual or from groups to other groups. Schönpflug draws on the writings of the biologist Cavalli-Sforza that "genetic transmission may not be the only source for parent-offspring biological similarity and that social orientations, skills, and accumulated knowledge are also similar in parent-offspring dyad". Schönpflug distinguishes three channels of cultural transmission such as vertical, horizontal and on the dual model which means, transmission can go both vertical and horizontal. Here is a selection of the often most

discussed issues in studies involving people of African descent and which are transmitted using Vertical modes of transport; cognitive development, attitudes, educational and occupational status, upward and downward mobility, patterns of socialization, sex-role conceptions, political beliefs, religious beliefs, self-esteem, use of legal or illegal drugs, language and linguistic usage etc. Horizontally transmitted traits include aggressive behaviour, altruistic behaviour, morals, social values, conformity, dialect, technological innovations (or lack thereof), clothing fashions, consumer behaviour, stories and rhymes, songs, children's games. The dual mode of transmission is known as dual inheritance model; that is, genetic and cultural transmission; right or left handedness, intelligence, and cerebral dominance. Schönpflug proposes that the transmission mechanisms might occur in two stages; the first stage is awareness of the information to be transmitted and second is acceptance of the information. The two stages can only be separate if the individuals make the discriminate choice to accept or not to accept the information. The complication in this model according to Schönpflug is that there might be a strong spontaneous motivation to "teach" on the part of the transmitter as well as a strong

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Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

3: PART I – SLAVERY - REPARATIONS

Manzanar situated in the Owens Valley in eastern California. Jeanne T. Wakatsuki Houston is a second generation also known as the Nikkei, she was born in 1934 in Inglewood, Los Angeles. Jeanne recounts the story of her parents who tried as hard as they could to keep their dignity and the family intact in the internment camp. During their long incarceration, Jeanne's mother showed remarkable strength and hope while her father was more vulnerable; he became listless, irritable and abusive. And after their release the family resettled in Long Beach, California because Jeanne's father, an off-shore fisherman, could not recover his fishing boat and their house in Santa Monica. He sank into a deep depression fuelled by alcoholism and he became physically and mentally abusive. Jeanne gives us a candid but touching account of her family and her personal suffering in a post-war society.

11 Henry, Charles P. Long

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

GA: Mercer University Press, c2009

19. Bordewich, F M.: Bound for Canaan: the Epic Story of the Underground Railroad, America's First Civil Rights Movement. New York; Amistad, c2005

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

the Constitution. New York, c2005.

42. Grant, R. G.: Slavery: Real People and Their Stories of Enslavement. New York: DK Publication, c2009.

43. Greenberg, Ethan: Dred Scott and The Dangers of A Political Court. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, c2009. 50

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

Harcourt Brace and Company, 1998.

61. Katz, William Loren: Black pioneers: An Untold Story. New York: Athenaeum Books for young readers, c1999.

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

NJ: Africa World Press, c2003.

81. Perret, Geoffrey: Lincoln's War: the Untold story of America's Greatest President as Commander in Chief. New York: Random House, c2004.

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

Trade. New York: Bluebridge, c2007.

91. Swain, Gwenyth: Dred & Harriet Scott- A Family's Struggle for Freedom. St Paul; Borealis Books, c2004.

92. Thoennes Keller, Kristin: The Slave Trade in Early America. Mankato, MN: Capstone Press, c2004. 93.

Thomas, Hugh: The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870. New York: Simon & Schuster, c1997. Vandervelde, Lea: Mrs. Dred Scott: A life on Slavery's Frontier. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, c2009.

94. Waldrep, Christopher & Nieman, Donald

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

52 min DVD, close-captioned.

Summary: Sail back into the history of the Trans-Atlantic slave-trade to uncover surprising and shocking facts about this tumultuous era. Browne, Katrina C.: Traces of the Trade: A story from the Deep North.

Katrina C. Browne: Writer/Director/Producer. MS, PBS films, 2008.

Summary: Katrina Browne whose family

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

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VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS - A HISTORY OF MUNISAMI FAMILY THE STORY OF THE MUNISAMI FAMILY

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

the years to come.

CONCLUSION

This family history was only a small trip back into time. PANDIAN came as an indentured labourer with his family and what he has left as legacy is: 2 children, 3 grandchildren, 9 great grandchildren, 24 great great-grandchildren, 34 great great-great-grandchildren and 1 great great-great-great grandchild. There is still more research waiting to be carried out in Mauritius and in India. Until that time comes, the Researcher feels enriched with the stories of the past and having started on this journey and met some wonderful people that she would have never known other than through this research, precious stories and shared memories, passed from generation to generation.

1 A village in India

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

of Alex Haley's 'Roots' (1976)

Research into one's family history is a difficult and complicated task, but a rewarding experience, since it allows a person to discover his/her roots or where we come from and who we are. The story of my family starts during the mid-19th century, with the arrival of Peerthum, my great greatgrandfather, an Indian non-indentured immigrant and day labourer, bearing the passenger list number 5750 (bis). He arrived in Mauritius from Calcutta, India, some time between the late 1860s and early 1870s.

The Elusive Search of the

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Birth Certificate of Seesurrun Peerthum¹

Oral history provided me with the first inroad into my family history. It was my grandfather; Chandraduth Peerthum, who told my father, Satteeanund Peerthum, many years ago, that his mother, Sookbasseea Peerthum, recounted to him the story of Peerthum, her father-in-law, who had come to Mauritius at the age of 14. This claim has not been supported so far by any type of archival document.

Between 2004 and 2009, my

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

last years of his life.

3. The Story of Seesurrun and Sookbasseea Peerthum: The Early Years

Seesurrun Peerthum thus spent the

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

a sirdar on Labourdonnais Estate.

4. The Story of Seesurrun and Sookbasseea Peerthum: Life on Labourdonnais Sugar Estate

During the 1890s and until

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

as his son-in-law.

6. The Story of Chandraduth and Hurbunsea Peerthum: The Early Years

In the middle of this

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

1951 and Sunitee in 1953.

7. The Story of Chandraduth and Hurbunsea Peerthum during the 1940s and the 1950s

During the 1930s and 1940s

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

cremated. neglected since the 1980s.

The death of Sookbasseea was a huge blow to Chandraduth, his children and his siblings, since she was the only person who provided them with emotional and financial support for more than a quarter century. I grew up hearing stories about the personality and achievements of Sookbasseea Peerthum. She was a unique woman who led an extraordinary life and could serve as an epitome to all modern Mauritian women.

She had her own savings

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

HISTORY OF THE RAMCHURN FAMILY

"History turning a blind eye bore him not witness History standing mute told not his full story

He who first had watered

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS

The informants also describe estate managers distributing presents to children at Christmas time and receiving bonuses during harvest season. And parents telling their children stories at night in the absence of modern day forms of entertainment such as radio and television. Nonetheless, these reminiscences were tempered by the view that "Christians", or in other words, skilled Creole artisans and their families,⁸⁹ lived in superior housing and sometimes looked down upon the inhabitants of estate camps. While the paucity of reflections on the family life of white managerial staff points to a certain amount of social and possibly racial distance between employers and estate camp inhabitants.

One of the reasons why

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

Mouvement Militant Mauricien's political campaigns.

The 'bad old days' and the harsh and oppressive working conditions on the sugar estates led to the small planters' riots of 1937 and 1945 and to the strike of 1938. The labourers claimed better wages and better working conditions. Although she was young, when these events happened, Neelvadee testified how her mother used to narrate her stories about the strike on Belle Vue Harel.

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Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

with white and red soil.

At night, they were so tired after a day's work that they did not have much time for family discussions. Usually, storytelling time was after dinner and during bad weather, when people could not go to work.

The elders, most of the time, narrated stories lor la miser (about their harsh living conditions), on their childhood memories and on religio-cultural traditions and practices. None of the respondents stated that their elders narrated stories on indentured-ship or slavery.

For example, when Goinsamy was

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

barrels of water a day.

As a child, Mrs. Bheem Mooneean used to play "goulidanta", hide and seek and marbles. She learnt how to play "Goulidanta" by observing other children. She used to buy the marbles from the shop which she could obtain for. She could have 2 to 3 marbles with 1 cent. She used to make like a triangle and play with the marbles. Moreover, her elders used to tell her stories.

Mrs. Bheem Mooneean's parents did

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

fetch water from the river.

Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah went to Reverend Walter School until 1946 and studied up to standard VI. She had no shoes and uniform. She used to wear whatever clothes she had. Classes started at 9 a.m. and were over at 3 p.m. In the morning a teacher taught her "Catechism". She also learnt arithmetic, English, French and Hindi-the only oriental language taught at the time, songs and stories. She said that there were a long table known as "pipit" (desk) and a long bench on which she used to sit, and she used to write on a slate. Lunch time was between 12 and 1 P.M. She had no money to buy cakes. Once she took 1 cent from her mother's "kapsen" box she was beaten. Her father used to help her with her studies.

When Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah left

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

and resumed her normal routine.

Despite her mother's recovery, Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah used to wake up at 3.30/4 a.m., that is, at the same time that her mother used to wake up. She used to help her mother by doing the small household jobs that she could do. After that even if it was still dark she used to cut grass and feed the cows before going to school. On returning home she had to cut grass again. She used to dress the floor and walls on the days on which she did not go to school early. On the latter days she did not cut grass in the morning. She also used to accompany her mother to wash clothes at the river. Hence, given that she was busy during the day, she used to play at night. She used to play with both girls and boys since no prejudices existed at that time. They used to play "Sapsiwaye", "lamarel", hide and seek, "goulidanta" and marbles. Moreover, her parents and neighbours used to tell her very interesting stories at night. She used to sit on jute bags since mats were not available at that time. She liked to listen to stories in which there were songs. But she does not remember them. She still remembers one of the stories which her parents and neighbours used to tell her. It is a very simple story. She related that stories in the social centre and even received a prize. The story is as follows.

There was a king and

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

Eau Bleu near Rose-Belle.

As a child, Mr. Cyril used to play "lamarel", rope skipping, and hide and seek. He also used to take an old bicycle tyre, turn it and run after it. He was also fond of playing with kites and used to make them with bamboo, newspaper since "Muslin" paper was not available during the war, and "lakord lafisel". There was no radio, but gramophones were popular in those days. After dinner, his mother used to tell him stories like "Ti Pouse".

Mr. Cyril attended the pre

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr. Cyril is presently a resident of Rue des Corbigneaux, Morcellement Blue Bay. Mr. Cyril said that through his grandchildren, he notices that there has been a change in schools as far as discipline and the ways that teachers should discipline pupils are concerned. Nowadays, teachers cannot talk rudely with pupils, teachers cannot do this and they cannot do that. He said that every day he hears the same story: pupils striking in schools. If he and his friends had done the same during his school days, they would have been expelled he said.

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

clothes near the well itself.

As a child, Mr. Dookhit Deewan used to play boul kadak also known as boul kaskot, goulidanta. He also used to play with marbles and small seashells. In the evenings, his grandmother and grandfather used to tell him stories like "Salanga and Sadablich" in Bhojpuri. His grandfather and grandmother also used to sing Ramayana songs and other songs related to the stories they narrated. He said that he still remembers these songs.

Mr. Dookhit Deewan went to

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

form of protection for her.

Hence, during her childhood Mrs. Goolamun Beebee Mariam's routine was as follows. She used to wake up before six a.m. to do her prayer. After that she used to have her breakfast. She used to have biscuits and tea for breakfast. After breakfast she used to learn her lessons, Help her mother by looking after her younger sister and then leave for the Maktab at 7 a.m. As a child she also used to play with her friends, sisters and step-brothers. They used to play with dolls which their parents bought for them. Moreover, she used to play hide and seek with other girls. At night her maternal grandmother and mother used to relate stories to her.

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

to play in the morning.

He went to Church of England School-a Protestant school found at Montagne Blanche. He used to go to school on foot. He had to walk about 1 kilometre. He studied up to standard 5 at the latter school. The

teachers talked in Kreol but at the time he could not speak Creole properly. After school, that is, after 4 p.m., he used to go to the Baithka where he learnt Hindi. When his lessons were over, he used to listen to stories told by elders because he had nothing to do and that even radios did not exist at the time. He found these stories very interesting. Every month he also used to attend the simple hawan that a Hindu priest used to perform at the Baithka.

When Mr. Persunoo Gokulanand was

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

land. He had 3 brothers.

As a child Mr. Ramlall Ramduth did not play any games. When he was at home he used to do gardening, cut grass and look after animals. Regarding sports, he used to play only football. But there was not a good playground as he put it: "enn ti laplenn kraz kraze". His parents used to tell his brothers and him stories until they fell asleep. He no longer remembers these stories.

Mr. Ramlall Ramduth went to

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

bridegroom came in the camp.

Night life in Camp des Routes was quite animated. Children used to play hide and seek behind the estate houses. Story telling by the elders was a common practice and children used to gather under the verandas and listen to their grandmothers' stories before going to bed.

Next to Mrs. Coormiah's house

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

the Whites and the Indians.

A similar story unfolded, when it came to Coloured children with

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

1828-1844' reveals an increasing number of Coloured students; for June 1840, one notes: Aimé Raynal; Prospère Brouard; Kiumphally; Letourneur; d'Emmery; Jules Mamarot; Peter Collard et al. Names do not tell the whole story, as we know, and the degree of métissage in others is difficult to determine. The fact is that many laureates from this prestigious college came back as lawyers, doctors and politicians, as well as high-powered civil servants. It was not, therefore, without

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

owners of fisheries. Cohabitation, started

by 'Ségas Tambours', led to many illegitimate children being born out of wedlock and outside the community, but Y. stressed that they were recognized and accepted by their fathers. 'Rouges', he

explained, came from the fact that 'Café au lait' men would go fishing and be scorched by the sun. The Catholic priests practised discrimination in the 1890s, so the story went, when the front benches were all allocated in Church to the 'Rouges'. Illegitimate children were baptised on Fridays and given the names of their fathers to avoid future incestuous relationships, likely on a small island. Many descendants of 'White' settlers went off to fight in the First World War (1914-1918), while Y.'s father took part in World War II. Several Gontrands continued to live at St. Gabriel, on the 'Gontrand Concession', or 'sous le vent', as it was known. Yet, others had fishing posts at Anse Baleine, where they also bred goats.

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

lot to giving a structure

to the family, since whether they worked or not, they have contributed to the well-being of the members of their families. Their ability to cope with work as well as with domestic tasks is clearly revealed by the interviews together with their determination to head the family in case of the death of their husband, leaving a household with small children to look after and a living to gain through hard work. Far from being a story, the role of women in the families' history, as well as at present, leads us to conclude that the stability of the family depends on the way they handle current and daily situations as well as taking important decisions, such as the type of education to be given to children and grandchildren, one of our interviewees points out.

According to some, the 'Coloured

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

DISCOURSE, POLICY, PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE

Finally, the above noted quotation is taken from a literary analysis of Alexandre Dumas, novel entitled Georges which was published in 1843 and which concerns the racial fortunes of a mulatto man in Mauritius. This story illustrates the difficulties involved in overcoming racism and racist thought in Mauritius. The fortunes of Georges also indicate the complexity of race in Mauritian society during the time of slavery. This report documents a continuation of this social complexity and of the embedding of racism in Mauritian society. Unlike Dumas' novel, however, this report offers recommendations for the Mauritius Truth and Justice Commission.

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus, many of the stories, experiences and reflections on racism, racist experience and the discourse of racism, discussed in the findings of this report, will be familiar to Mauritians and those tasked with 'putting things right' but this does not mean that the findings are invalid. On the contrary, what the researchers in this project have done and are expected to do by the Truth and Justice Commission is to reveal to the Mauritian public in as much detail as possible: the nature, form, experience and discourse of racism in Mauritius. In other words, to bring to light, that which has been hidden from public view or not publicly discussed. This means that while some of the content may be familiar to the Mauritian public, what this report hopes to do is to offer a substantive account of the taboo and rarely publicly articulated subject of race in Mauritius.

Thus far, while a number

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

one generation to the next.

Furthermore, it is our view that race discourse (which involves the use of symbols, literature, images, artwork, music and a range of means of communication in society), can and has been effectively used in Mauritius to promote particular racial stereotypes, empowering some and disempowering others. The point about race discourse is that it is not always overtly visible or noticeable. Statements, utterances, documentation (i.e. in the form of stories in school books for example), can become a part of daily existence and appear to be perfectly normal and acceptable. However, and as is shown in this report, a closer look at these statements or utterances coming from respectable citizens or a closer look at school text-books or newspaper articles, can reveal the persistence of racism in Mauritius.

Having summarised a few key

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

formed in the European colonies.

However, the story and discourse of racism predates this period. Briefly, while the first slaves arrived in Mauritius under Dutch colonial rule in 1638, slavery was already thriving or at least, gathering momentum among European powers. In 1452, Pope Nicholas V Papal Bull Dum Diversas empowered the King to enslave non-Christians. Although slavery was not legal in the Netherland but it was justified outside of it. Thus between 1596 and 1829 hundreds of thousands of black Africans were sold in the Dutch territories of Guiana, the Caribbean and Brazil. From 1700 Britain joined France, Portugal and the Netherland as major slave traders. However, while there is a better sense of the experience of slavery (and ultimately of racism) under French rule in Mauritius, it is not exactly clear how the first Dutch settlement was managed. One does not obtain a sense of the specifics of social relations between those enslaved and their masters at that time. This is not helped much by the fact that the accounts of slaves themselves are scarce. As Sidney Mintz argues, we do not know enough about what the slaves thought of their experience and how they actually related to their masters (1992). It is therefore clear that more in-depth research is needed on social relations in the period of slavery. There were substantive responses to slavery and scientific racism from the mid 19th to the early 20th Centuries. A discussion of these however, is beyond the scope of this report. However, it is important to keep in mind that the race discourses generated during the years of slavery are still apparent in Mauritius today.

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

potential pitfall noted by Valji.

Another significant finding of the South African TRC was the long-term psychological effect of apartheid on people's sense of self and the sense of their capabilities. The work of clinical psychologists indicates the increasing salience of sensitivity to racism in the therapy offered to people of colour. One finds for example, that a number of clinical psychologists are now employing the narrative therapy technique. Narrative therapy was developed during the 1970s and 1980s, by the Australian Michael White and David Epston of New Zealand. In their book, Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends, they discussed the use of narrative as a means to achieving more focused and effective therapy. In short, we produce stories of ourselves and these stories do not only 'narrate' our life but also produce our sense of self. Narrative therapy offers a non-pathological approach to therapy and therapists are able to identify less developed stories of ourselves and 'thicken' these with the help of our friends, colleagues and family members in order to help 'victims' deal with insufficiencies or overemphasised areas of their lives.

In research done we found

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

we found that poverty and racism constrict individual identity, binding people to dominant stories and fixed identities as either the 'poor' or as 'poor blacks'.
An important element of this

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

on racism in the country.
The research methods employed in conducting the research for this project were qualitative. This means that the research team put much emphasis on the collection of narratives (stories), the establishment of focus groups (for group interviews) and conducting of individual interviews. Interviews were conducted across the ethnic, class and religious spectrum, although the bulk of the research focused on Creoles and Franco-Mauritians. In studying the experiences and views of Franco-Mauritians, the researchers effectively employed the strategies of those 'studying up' (Avery 2004). This involves substantive networking in a rather closed community, a different presentation of the Self, overt projection of a professional identity and continuous affirmations of neutrality, as well as demonstration of focus (on the part of the researcher) on the interview process. Research among the poorer members of our sample also involved networking and the building of rapport, but this appeared to be much easier for most of our researchers because these informants were also agreeable to the work of the TJC. The interviewees also appeared to be more trusting of the researchers and more willing to share their experiences.
The fact that research team

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

a person of identity altogether.
In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a 'need' to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius.
It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.
Here we run into some difficulties. For, a closer look at the historical literature on the story of slavery in Mauritius strongly suggests to us that the story of slavery and the involvement of Creoles in it were something that has long been suppressed. Thus, it is our counterargument that, the 'new' discourse on slavery as a time of resilience and search for freedom, is an important part of

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

ouvryer kot linn sorti...¹⁹

(Eng. Trans.:...The working class means manual workers. It can be how to say that a mason, it can be, how would you say this... a craftsman...something I have observed that the working class has two mindsets. There is one mindset of the working class that unfortunately the young people how say that...father is a fisherman, mason etc and finally let say that they are in a matrix in which they remain and they say that they are impregnated of a fatalist feeling, they say that their story is as such and that they won't be able to change it...but the second mindset that I observed and it is also subdivided in two parts, it is a first mind frame that states that here is I am in this working class...but how say that often there are working class parents that are conscious that education is the only means of get out. Hence they inculcate it in their children. And the child succeeds in moving up socially, at educational levels. And when he succeeds

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

class from which he comes...)

The above extracts suggest that socioeconomic mobility can encourage dissociation from one's economic and cultural roots. Among Creoles, this dissociation is perceived as a betrayal of the group in favour of a lifestyle and the social world in which the 'real' Creoles are excluded. Dissociation is also contrived as a form of aversive racism because dissociation implies disdain for, and a rejection of, a former lifestyle and of former associates. However, those leaving their 'old' world behind do not consciously leave but are doing so unconsciously and under pressure from the demands of the new social and economic situation. It is also noted by one of our researchers however that '...people's knowledge of their origins is limited to their grandparents and most of those interviewed did not have exact information about their origins but guessed their family ancestry based on their phenotype and on what they have learned or read on Mauritian history.' This means that informants may argue that their ancestors came from Africa or Madagascar because of their perceived physical traits but also because the story of slavery has become an integral part of the nationalist discourse:

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attempt to overcome these 'prescriptions':

BLC (Black River, 27 July 2010), whose grandfather owned land on a sugar estate in St Pierre, intimated that racism depends on the perspective of the person regarding the other. In his story, he spoke about how, many years ago, when he played soccer for the National division team, all the teams were separate. I played soccer or football

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

Teelwah in Claveyrolas 2011:45).

With regard to parents, it was found that parents are keen for youths to maintain racial and ethnic boundaries, thereby promoting the idea of fundamental differences existing between clearly established groups. In the Social Stratification Report, there are many examples of arranged marriages to prevent the religious and social problems of pollution which may arise from the mixing of jati. In some cases, the socialisation begins very early because grooms are chosen for young girls as soon as these girls become pubescent. There is the very tragic story in the report of a young pregnant woman who was killed by her relatives for choosing a mate from a caste lower than her father's caste. Thus, a young person may not necessarily be denied a friendship with a person of different religion or 'race', but the moment when marriage is being considered, the young person is pressurised to find someone of his or her own kind.

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

groups from spaces of power:

JCH: Actually I got married in 2006 and I stopped going out because I've got kids now, so I'm not, I'm a bit out if this now. But I've a friend who always-, well he always, he jokes about it, there was one little story, he works in the public sector and he's a magistrate and you know as lawyers and magistrate are very, I don't know how to say that in English, very "collet monté", very proud of their job and 'I'm a magistrate and in Mauritius we speak English, we've been to UK to study.' And stuff like that, so, and , when I got to his building, which his father owned- he works in the building and I went to see to him there-, he was there, I went to see him and we met there in the afternoon, actually the guy in the entrance said: 'Sorry sir, you can't park there.' And he had a beautiful BMW, 'Sorry you can't park there.'

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

is of human design.⁵⁰

It is her view that the experience of slavery has produced certain 'survival' behavior among African Americans, which continue to affect their quality of life today. The issue and the experience of slavery was never substantially dealt with in the US and, in fact, the situation of African Americans was exacerbated with the institution of the Jim Crow Laws, which barred African descendants from access to good schooling and medical care and severely controlled freedom of association and interracial marriage until 1954. The passing of time and the compounding of the effects of the legacy of slavery are important, not only to the story of the US, but also to the story and legacy of

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Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

authors' term 'a blind alley'⁶²

If we understand this correctly, it suggests (for the purposes of this project) that we need to investigate critically racist events. We need to ask questions about what we may generally perceive as normal and accepted behaviour in a democratic society. Why is, it for example, as noted in the countless interviews conducted amongst rural Indian descendant inhabitants via the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund Project, were cane workers so poorly treated and routinely racially discriminated against? What really happened in Goodlands in the period following the death of Kaya? Why are some Creoles there still so traumatised by the destruction of their property? With regard to the Goodlands events, we found it very difficult to unearth the full story. The rumour is that an allegedly extreme political group, known locally as Voice of Hindu (VOH), had a role to play in the racist violence which took place there. However, without firm

evidence, we are unable to say exactly what happened. However, it is clear to us that the people who were on the receiving end of the violence are still traumatised by it, some ten years later.

But it is not only

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

can revenge by calling names."

It is generally difficult to estimate the prevalence of racist incidents over a lifetime because of personal and environmental factors. Since racism related life events may happen infrequently, they may be seen as not serious enough for many people to confront and may not even be recalled, unless asked about⁶³. For example one lady who is in her thirties, interviewed on 10th August 2010, when asked to narrate a personal race based incident, she took longer to respond and requested to express herself in Kreol. Upon completing her story, parts of it off record, she disclosed that she was speaking of this incident for the first time. She had gone to a Government Department to apply for a VISA/passport because she had received an invitation from her brother in Canada. The Secretary serving said: "The person assisting was not there yet I could see the person...I went home and was sad... it's difficult for me to explain....talking about it now, I feel angry...we have democracy but still these things happen..." and later off record she reported feeling better after talking.

Some scholars argue that racism

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

be racially different from them.

The same Manageress also relayed a story regarding reverse racism which she witnessed at BelleMare beach on the East coast of the Island. She suggested that even victims are capable of initiating racist events. She explained that she was taking a group of colleagues and visitors to the beach and she came upon a group of young Creole men offloading beer crates from a truck. Amongst them was a Franco-Mauritian youth also assisting with the offloading of the crates. It appeared to the Manageress that the sight of white man doing hard labour was so unusual that one of the Creole men said: "Hey, we have just commemorated the 1st February (abolition of slavery), now we have a white guy working for us, lifting things. Hey, are you gonna flog us?" The haranguing of the Franco-Mauritian and reminiscence of the role of 'his ancestors' as slave owners, carried on for a quite a while and the Manageress was astonished at the intensity of the abuse. However, as she was with tourists and people who did not understand Kreol however, she did not feel that it was her place to intervene and left the young men to their own devices. It is our view, however, that even if the Manageress had been on her own, it would have been near impossible (and unadvisable) for her intervene, as she is of a different ethnic and racial group to the men and she is woman. As we discuss further on, race and gender converge to produce a particularly volatile mix in Mauritius where women of colour (in particular) experience higher levels of discrimination.

Vera, Hernan and Feagin (2004)

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

critical and scholarly reflection.

In

our work, we have found that those victimized by racial discrimination in Mauritius use a range of strategies of means to resist and subvert stereotyping. In brief, they use what James Scott (1990) calls

'hidden resistance' to subvert and oppose the impositions of the powerful. In our accounts, we have not highlighted these methods of resistance, mainly because it is thoroughly documented elsewhere (C.f. Boswell 2006 and Vaughan 2005). In music, dance, poetry, oratory, story-telling, acts of defiance and personal success, slave descendants in Mauritius, as well as the most impoverished and marginalised of the Indian Indentured labourers, continue to fight oppression and racial invectives (Reddy 2001).

In the discussion on Truth

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

or did they reaffirm them?

It is, as a consequence, necessary to re-focus on castes as both structural and flexible. One must remember the original flexibility of the Indian system, naturally enhanced in exceptional contexts. Indian Hindus are familiar with stories explaining and justifying why a Brahmin was led to eat dog meat, because in such or such a-dharmic conditions, it was still better for him to break this taboo than to die. Much significantly still, it was his duty! It will not come as a surprise that the boat crossing the sea from India to Mauritius was sometimes assimilated to the temple of Juggernaut (a famous pilgrimage place where castes are supposed to be erased through devotion), where caste restrictions could be temporarily suspended without breaking the overall taboo and further consequences.

Caste regulations were not totally

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

leading to a caste hierarchy.

Although as in India in recent decades, the issue of physical contact with other castes is less important, people still have stories of high-caste individuals bathing soon after they had been touched by a low-caste person. Commensality regulations, based on purity factors, have also been prevalent in Mauritius. High-caste members, for example, certainly bought uncooked food (and food that probably accepted from-low caste members, but never cooked food. The very Hindu criterion of 'cooking' (transforming the food by incorporating the very nature of the individuals cooking it) prevails in Mauritius too. As a matter of fact, the *pacca* (cooked)/*kaccha* (raw) duality translating this cooking terminology, sometimes appear

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

affective support, reinforces resilience. Myths,

histories, stories, legends in their repetitive and secure narration lend meaning to exile, eradication of culture (Rousseau C., & al, 2001).

- A traumatized group can revive

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

of class and race 37.

Personal social loss in the climbing of the social ladder barely exists for upward mobile of other communities who, on the contrary, use same or similar success stories to capitalize on their social image, pride and resilience. If compared to a race, it is not only the starting phase which is strewn with hurdles, it

is each successive phase which brings its own solitude, fury and challenge to cope with conflicting loyalties.

Le mythe protège le groupe

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

understand the intricacies of separation

Via community-based organisations, to offer parents and youngsters sensitizing sessions on their social, cultural, spiritual, artistic heritage through story telling sessions, "ateliers d'expression culturelle" in order to anchor identity⁴⁰

social identity and religious identity

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

Most historical studies rely on

documents or interviews in which texts and written speech are analyzed. This is quite insufficient as written material was produced by the masters, while the human experience and reality of slavery were suffered by the victims and buried in the subconscious. It is that subconscious that must be tapped and brought to expression. It is there that lies the foundational Creole identity based on the slave trader complex and its master-slave relationship, as well as ancestral stories and the mediation of the reality of the Other. The slave system induced a problematic construction of identity in which the self is forced to deny itself (Benoist, 1996). The mimetic relationship with the master can bring the slave's own self-destruction as he violently denies part of his own self that recalls the master. The question of identity is always problematic.

Mauritian society was built on

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

of dominance, define not only

themselves, but also the less empowered cultures that they encounter and humble in their 'culture game' (Oguibe, 2004). Hence, an African proverb states that 'until the lions produce their own historian, the story of the hunt will glorify only the hunter' (Achebe, 2000:73). There exists a small group of historians in Mauritius, but so far, Mauritian historiography

is not necessarily produced

within

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

reformed in a fundamental manner.

7.8 Education as a tool of Reparation Given the various atrocities of the Educational System and the stories unfolding from the

data obtained, it is important

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

important vehicle to preserve oral culture, particularly music (samgit), folk songs, story-telling and theatre. Women have played an important role in preserving and transmitting this village oral tradition, reflecting an interesting part of Mauritian culture, both in preserving and in creating new elements. Measures should be devised to introduce elements of the language within the Hindi classes, this being considered as more economically and socially viable in the present context.

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

the sole measure of success.

11. Turning Failing Schools into Success Stories A large number of primary schools, particularly in the deprived zones, constitute failing schools. Many of these have

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

for African Culture/UOM Press.

230. The impact of archives, archival experiences and the construction of these repositories is well documented by A. Burton. 'Archive stories: gender in the making of imperial and colonial Histories', in Gender and Empire, edited by P. Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 281-93.

231. Thin D. 1998. Les

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

At the secondary level, it was the same story. The Royal College of Curepipe was the only state college up to the 1930s. Almost all the teachers at this institution were of French and British origin. They favoured people of their own racial appurtenance and religion. The Royal College of Curepipe admitted only whites and Christian students and private establishments favoured their own kind. However, here too Government had to give way in face of the increasing pressure from non Christians belonging to the labouring class and finally a few young men of Indian origin were accepted little by little. At the same time, as from the thirties, private colleges, run by the intellectuals of a new order, were set up to provide for the increase in the student population.

When the Teachers Training College opened its doors in 1945, more and more non Christians were trained and naturally intake of non Christian children in schools also became more regular. The pace was now set and more and more primary as well as secondary schools opened their doors, more teachers were trained and the creole and non Christian children rose up to the challenge. Soon, some of them were going abroad for further studies and the story became one of an upward trend.

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

his colleague from his promise.

MRS. SHANTA DYALL, BORN BUNDHOO She came out first at the Junior Scholarship examination in 1947 and was admitted at the prestigious Loreto Convent in Port-Louis but with one condition: that she would be called by a Christian name. She did not object. But this acceptance has carried its weight all throughout

her working life. Her School leaving certificate bears her first name as Chantal, name given to her unofficially instead of her registered first name which was Shanta. She told us about the embarrassment felt and the need to explain each time her Christian name was mentioned: "I had to carry my birth certificate to prove my saying." And even then, many brows were raised out of disbelief at her story.

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

it cultural, religious or otherwise.

Whilst a swallow does not make a summer, so can we say there is no smoke without fire. Our stories might be taken with a pinch of salt for lack of proof, but it is the duty of the Truth and Justice Commission to record in its report the facts that could be perceived as discrimination.

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

on the Ruby with 65

slaves comprised of 27 men, 18 boys and 20 women. Almost immediately, 15 men and 4 boys became maroons. Why? The story of the dark ages of slaves in Mauritius unfolds in all its dimensions.

The historiography of slavery, under

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

of slaves and indentured labourers?

We have searched through reports and stories about slaves in Mauritius, and we have not come across any writings about the psychological trauma of the slaves in Mauritius.

We are trying to look

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

Calcut from 'tribal' to 'Hind

married and had no children, h story are y during ind

d quite early e today

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

in extreme situations, even murders.

Feminist scholars of indenture have asserted the common paternalist nature of the male Indian immigrants and colonial authorities and interpreted this gesture as a desperate attempt to restore control over women and maintain power to decide their partners.¹⁰⁷ There is no denial of the fact that the Indian male psyche was not at all comfortable with Indian women taking decisions about leaving a relationship and/or choosing another partner. The reaction was often extremely violent. The question remains whether the women were making informed decisions or whether they were 'lured' or tricked? Further research is needed. While relationships between Indian men and women are explored totally and official reports abound concerning wife murders, male suicides, unacknowledged by the academic community and by colonial officials at the time, were the abuse of power on the part of all those in the upper hierarchy on

the plantation and sexual abuse in the academic scholarships as well as by colonial officials. Within the descendant today, it is widely spoken of but concrete examples are still spoken about in hushed tones, offspring being quite present in Mauritian society. Elsewhere as in Fiji, such stories have become famous.¹⁰⁸

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

the interviewee would retreat himself.

A few minutes later, the woman came into the living room accompanied by her father Mr. Wan Sin Cheung. He appears to be a very healthy man which contradicts his 98 years. When Mr. André Li did the presentation and the purpose of our coming here, Mr. Wan seemed very confused for having so much attention. He kept asking what was the purpose of asking him questions and what was I going to do with these information. His daughter told him that I was working for a company who writes stories about people. Then, she told me and André, that it is better that we say it in the simplest way because her father would not understand what The Truth and Justice Commission is about. Then she told her father that I wanted to know his experience in coming to Mauritius and that again I was going to write a story about it. Mr. Wan looked at me for a second and I saw his eyes softened and he was more relaxed and agreed to be interviewed non-anonymously.

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

were still in his custody.

In July 1833, Celestine showed up at the office of Mr. Icery, the Chief Commissary of Police of Plaines Wilhems; she requested for her papers to be retrieved from the Late Augustin Naissin. A few days later, her papers were obtained and given to her. During the first week of August 1833, Celestine went to see Mr. Chignard, the Clerk to the Guardian of the Government Apprentices, who worked in the Customs House in Port Louis under the supervision of the Collector of Customs. She submitted her papers, along with a letter from Mr. Icery outlining her story, and she also argued that her apprenticeship had come to an end in 1831. Mr. Chignard wrote a letter addressed to Mr.

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

data and other relevant documents.

Shortly after, the Collector of Customs sent a letter to the Colonial Secretary in which he recommended to Governor William Nicolay that Celestine be granted her 'Act of Freedom'. After analysing her bio-data, the letters from Chignard and Icery, George Cunningham described Celestine as being 'of good character and capable of earning the livelihood for herself and four children.' A few days later, Governor Nicolay gave his assent and the Collector of Customs issued an 'Act of Freedom' for Celestine. In August 1833, the same month that the British Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act, Celestine Hecate was able to secure her freedom and began her new life as a legally free person with her children.²¹⁵ There are several important stories from the records of the Office of the Collector of Customs, like the one of Celestine Hecate, a time-expired Liberated African woman.

The experience of Celestine highlights

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Apprentice Fund. 219

3. The Story of Henry Chaloupe

Henry Chaloupe was a Liberated

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1819, Chaloupe was moved from the estate of Bois Chéri to Bel Ombre Sugar Estate which had recently been purchased by Telfair and some of his close associates. Telfair employed him as an 'économé' or a junior administrator and gave him a pay increase. Henry was again relocated to Beau Manguier Sugar Estate where by the late 1820s, he became 'chef sucrier', in charge of sugar production and supervised a large number of slaves. He also owned his own house as well as a slave. He earned a salary of around £60 per year and enjoyed other privileges. On 3rd January 1825, his 14-year period of apprenticeship came to an end and Telfair requested the Collector of Customs to give him his Act of Freedom. However, four years later, in 1829, Henry Chaloupe was still working for Charles Telfair as the head of sugar production at Beau Manguier. It becomes evident that out of all the Liberated Africans who were landed and apprenticed in Mauritius, Henry Chaloupe's story is the most successful account of a Liberated African who achieved social mobility and social integration in early 19th-century Mauritius during the slavery era.

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

The following day, Céleste returned with four time-expired apprentices of Malagasy origin, Marianne Rassal, Sophie Malabar, Pelagie Zebangh, and Saundar Essanhat who were able to confirm her story. After all, these four individuals testified that they had first met her on the slave ship called Joséphine more than 21 years before. However, Céleste Madeline was then called Artzam, a Malagasy of Hova origin. After hearing these testimonies, Cunningham also became convinced that Céleste Madeline was Artzam.

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

Source: Compiled from MNA/IA 40, Registre des Marronages de Moka, 1826-1833 5. The Story of Fritz, the Liberated African Maroon Leader

"This man struck terror among

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

and their children'.

These case-

studies remind us of the story of Celestine Hecate who managed to secure her Act of Freedom during the course of the same month.

During the course of the

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

were going to school.²⁹⁷

An almost similar story appears in an official report presented to the Government of India in 1915. James McNeill and Chiman Lal made a detailed enquiry about the conditions of Indian immigrants in Trinidad, British Guiana, Jamaica, Fiji and Surinam.²⁹⁸ For Trinidad there were schools within one to miles away from every estate.²⁹⁹ In British Guiana, schools were very close to estates and in fact, the majority of estates had schools on site. Of the total children of school-going age about $\frac{1}{3}$ were attending schools.³⁰⁰ For Jamaica, also, about more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of children among the Indian community were going to school.³⁰¹ The level of education was remarkably high among the Indian immigrant population in the Dutch colony of Surinam where more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total children of school-going age were attending schools.³⁰² Only for Fiji did they report that education among the children of Indians was not satisfactory, and that few were attending schools. According to this report, the primary reason for such higher levels of education among the children of Indian population in these colonies were primarily the encouragement of the colonial governments and the estate owners.

Now let us look at

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

would be the main beneficiaries.

It is of interest to note that some of success stories in the production of food crops in Mauritius emanate from the chosen regions at that time; for example Belle-Mare and Trou d'Eau Douce further a fair number of them have been under some form of co-operative organisation from the very beginning.

5.3.4.2 The

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

Black Political Economy, 4(2).

Sir Charles Bruce, Scottish Geographical Society 1908, 75. Sir P. Raffray, The Marketing of Sugar. The Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture 1853-1953. Sugar Industry Fund Board – Annual Reports. Tandrayen-Ragoobur, Verena, 2011. "Bitter EU Sugar Reforms for Mauritius: A Gender Perspective". Bulletin of Gender Studies, Issue I. Teelock V., Bitter Sugar. Sugar and Slavery in the 19th Century. Teelock V., Bitter Sugar, Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 1998. Teelock V., Mauritian History, MGI, 2001. The Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture 1853 – 1953. The Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture 1882, Port Louis [translated from French]. The Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture, 1853-1953. The Mauritius Tourism Industry, Axys Brocking Ltd., April 2011. Thompson, R., August 1880. "Report on the Forest of Mauritius, their Present Condition and Future Management". Tinker, 1974. "A New System of Slavery: The Import of Indian Labour Overseas 1830–1920", London. Tom Kemp, 1985. "Industrialisation in nineteenth-century Europe", 2nd Ed, Longman. Toussaint, A., 1966. "The History of the Indian Ocean. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul." Toussaint, A., 1967. "La Route des Iles". Toussaint, A., 1977. "Le Mirage des Iles". Transactions of the Mauritius Sugar Industry Conference, 1927 Government Printer, 1928. Valentine, Barbara., 2000. 'The dark soul of the people: slaves in Mauritius', Working Paper 0102, Rhodes University, South African Data Archive. Vaughan, M., April 2011. 'The labours of slaves in eighteenth century Mauritius'. Paper presented at International Conference held at University of Mauritius. Wahl, J. B., 1996. 'The Jurisprudence of American Slave Sales', Journal of Economic History, 56 (1), 143–169. Watts, F. "Report on the Mauritius Sugar Industry", Colonial Parliamentary Papers 1930. 1 (cmd.3518), 3-4 London. White Paper on Cooperative Development, June 1983. Wolf, Eric, R., 1982. "Europe and the People Without History", Berkeley. Zafar, Ali. "Mauritius: An economic success 2011", Africa Success stories project, World Bank.

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Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

V. Sunnassee, 2009, op. cit.

262 Ali Zafar, Mauritius: An economic success 2011. Africa Success stories project, World Bank. 263 EPZ Act 1970.

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

FOR SOULS CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

One significant fact about the occurrence of most Truth Commissions, held throughout the world, is that what previous generations would likely have been forgotten or suppressed, is today discussed and dissected in public forums. Obviously, the Truth and Justice Commission cannot, by itself, repair the legacies of trauma and deprivation that slavery and indenture have left, but it has created clear, undeniable public records of what occurred – records that provide an essential buffer against the inevitable tendencies to deny, extenuate, and forget. Perhaps most importantly, TJC offers the one thing that victims of gross Human Rights abuse almost universally cite as their most pressing need: the opportunity to have their stories heard and their injuries acknowledged.

The quest for retrospective Justice

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

owners of fisheries. Cohabitation, started

by 'Ségas Tambours', led to many illegitimate children being born out of wedlock and outside the community, but Y. stressed that they were recognized and accepted by their fathers. 'Rouges', he explained, came from the fact that 'Café au lait' men would go fishing and be scorched by the sun. The Catholic priests practised discrimination in the 1890s, so the story went, when the front benches were all allocated in Church to the 'Rouges'. Illegitimate children were baptised on Fridays and given the names of their fathers to avoid future incestuous relationships, likely on a small island. Many descendants of 'White' settlers went off to fight in the First World War (1914-1918), while Y.'s father took part in World War II. Several Gontrands continued to live at St. Gabriel, on the 'Gontrand Concession', or 'sous le vent', as it was known. Yet, others had fishing posts at Anse Baleine, where they also bred goats.

The Gontrand children did not

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves were not tortured and did not want to be emancipated. Another reason might be that there is no history of maroonage on the island, as in metropolitan Mauritius, and there are no 'slave hero' stories. Consequently, there are no myths, legends and local history of resistance with which the Rodriguans can identify.

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

go to their mistress's place.

There are various stories surrounding these relationships. One of them is about the belief that mistresses use sorcery pou gard enn zom (Eng. trans. keep their lovers). They give the man a concoction to drink; this is named potion dir wi (Eng. trans. potion to say yes) to ensure that their lovers 'Say Yes' to all their demands. Hence, the men neither eat nor drink at their mistresses' place for fear of sorcery.

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

1.4 Only privileged witnesses like birds can tell the story of ancient visitors. Nevertheless, they cannot disclose whether the Malays, the Arabs or the Portuguese were lucky enough to set foot on one of the islands before the 16th century.

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

patrimoine pour les générations prochaines.

262 Principalement le National Heritage Trust Fund: The National Heritage Fund Bill, 2003. 263 Comme SOS Patrimoine en Péril. 264 "Création d'une Fondation du Patrimoine Mauricien «pour la préservation de l'art»", n.d., <http://www.lexpress.mu/story/19601-creation-d-une-fondation-du-patrimoine-mauricien-pour-la-preservation-de-lart.html>

265 "Corporate Social Responsibility", n

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

and UNESCO Slavery Route Project.

The story-line refers to: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

<Files\\AFRICA\\Sierra Leone_TRC Report FULL> - § 96 references coded [0.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Those who negotiated the Lomé Peace Agreement recognized that Sierra Leoneans as a nation had a need to express and acknowledge the suffering which took place, a need to relate their stories and experiences, a need to know who was behind the atrocities, a need to explain and contextualize decisions and conduct, a need to reconcile with former enemies, a need to begin personal and national healing and a need to build accountability in order to deal with impunity. The Lomé Peace Agreement required Sierra Leone to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to meet these different needs. The Sierra Leone Parliament made provision for such a commission in early 2000 by virtue of the Truth and Reconciliation Act, 2000 (the Act). The chapter of this Report entitled "Mandate" sets out in detail the mandate of the Commission as provided for by the Act, including the context of the establishment of the Commission.⁴

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

chapter in this report. 10.

The first objective of the Commission, as established by the Act, was to create an impartial historical record of violations and abuses of human rights and international humanitarian law related to the armed

conflict in Sierra Leone. The Parliament of Sierra Leone recognized that such a record would form the basis for the task of preventing the recurrence of violence.⁹ Several of the themes focused on by the Commission comprise the historical record of the conflict. The Commission does not claim to have produced the complete or exhaustive historical record of the conflict. The Commission is however satisfied that it has provided an essential version of the armed conflict, which includes an account of its main events and how it started. At times, this story accords with popular views of the conflict. At other times, the Commission's record of the conflict departs from popular history and debunks certain myths and untruths about the conflict.

Causes of the Conflict

11

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

on services and amenities.¹³

The Story of the Conflict 13.

The core of the historical record is to be found in the chapter titled "Military and Political History of the Conflict".¹⁴ This chapter endeavours to tell the story of the conflict by charting its key events and dynamics in the military and political spheres. It begins by tracing the immediate causes of the conflict and the convergence of factors that led to the outbreak of hostilities. Thereafter, for the purposes of analysis, the chapter is divided into three distinct components, which are referred to by the Commission as "Phases I, II and III." Each 'phase' assumed a slightly different character, although the common underpinning was the ongoing commission of violations by all warring factions. Phase One is titled "Conventional 'Target' Warfare" and covers the period from the outbreak of the conflict until 13th November 1993. Phase Two is titled "Guerrilla Warfare" and covers the period from 13 November 1993 until 2 March 1997. Phase Three is titled "Power Struggles and Peace Efforts" and covers the period from 2 March 1997 until the end of the conflict on 18 January 2002.

14.

The story of the

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The story of the war reveals how Sierra Leoneans were denied their humanity and underscores the need for the creation of a human rights culture in Sierra Leone. A rights culture is one in which there is knowledge and recognition of the basic rights to which all human beings are entitled as well as a sense of responsibility to build it. A rights culture demands that we respect each other's human rights, without exception. Among its recommendations to protect human rights the Commission recommends the immediate release of all those held in safe custody detention and that such detention never be resorted to again. The Commission also recommends significant changes to the legal regime governing public emergencies.¹⁵

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission paid particular attention to identifying and exposing individuals and factions responsible for the violation and abuse of the rights of children.²⁵ The story of children in the Sierra Leone conflict is told in the chapter entitled "Children and the Armed Conflict".²⁶

Never again should the

children

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The last twenty years of Sierra Leone's history is, in large part, the story of Sierra Leone's youths. Youths were the driving force behind the resistance to one party state rule in the 1980s. As students, journalists, workers and activists, they exposed injustices and the bankruptcy of the ruling elite's ideology. They also bore the brunt of the state's repressive backlash. During the conflict, youths formed the bulk of the fighting forces in all the factions.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission by necessity devoted its energies to building the totality of the story of the conflict. Although specific cases were investigated, these were events that either served to illustrate the greater story or incidents that in themselves defined the nature and course of the conflict.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

our voices as one⁴⁰

The Commission looked to the past in order to tell the story of the civil war and to make recommendations to prevent a repetition of conflict. The Commission also looked to the future for the purpose of describing the kind of future postconflict society that the recommendations were designed to achieve. The Commission called on Sierra Leoneans to tell the Commission what future society they envisaged for their country.

54.

The Commission was overwhelmed

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

ARTICLE XXVI HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

1. A Truth and Reconciliation Commission shall be established to address impunity, break the cycle of violence, provide a forum for both the victims and perpetrators of human rights violations to tell their story, get a clear picture of the past in order to facilitate genuine healing and reconciliation.

2. In the spirit of

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Commission Page 25

taking into account the interests of victims and witnesses when inviting them to give statements, including the security and other concerns of those who may wish to recount their stories in public; implementation of special procedures to

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Commission's mandate.

25.

On the other hand, the Lomé Peace Agreement implies somewhat different priorities: 'A Truth and Reconciliation Commission shall be established to address impunity, break the cycle of violence, provide a forum for both the victims and perpetrators of human rights violations to tell their story, get a clear picture of the past in order to facilitate genuine healing and reconciliation.' Here, the only implication of the mission of the Commission as historian is the

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

identify partners and what they can offer/contribute, press conferences and briefings, visits to schools and institutions, radio/TV magazine programmes, other activities including songs, drama, poetry, logo, stories, jingles, sponsored walks, flags and booklets. It also included the preparation of a media and NGO strategy for the Commission.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Personal and narrative truth. This is a witness's personal truth which he or she tells either in a statement or at a hearing. This is what he or she believes and should be respected. Often, the individual accounts did not initially appear to contribute significantly to the more general 'impartial historical record' that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Act 2000 requires of the Commission. But over time, the sheer volume of these accounts provided a complex, multilayered vision of the conflict. This truth is not the history of battles, military leaders and political parties, but rather a series of personal stories and accounts, telling a tale of the suffering, the pain and of the immense dignity of the common people of Sierra Leone. It is, perhaps more than anything else, a vision of the truth that describes the fundamental humanity of the people of this country.

26.

The personal and narrative

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

The personal and narrative truth which the Commission has endeavoured to capture faithfully is inadequately presented in the present report of the Commission. It is simply impossible, in a document the length of the Commission's report, to provide a fair account of the complexity of the personal truths that make up the story of the conflict. But the materials remain largely available, in the archives of the Commission. Many of them have been transcribed. A full videographic record of the public hearings of the

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Management & Operational Report Page 96

develop summaries of the testimonies provided by the statement givers. It was also necessary to provide the alleged perpetrators with an opportunity to tell their own stories, and where they wished and the victims were willing, to meet with the victims and pursue options for reconciliation.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

collected to third parties.

21.

In relation to confidential testimony, the Act further states that the Commission was to “take into account the interests of victims and witnesses when inviting them to give statements, including the security and other concerns of those who may wish to recount their stories in public.”⁷ The Commission could conduct interviews and hearings in private, when it considered it necessary.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

The seating arrangement for the podium party in public hearings resembled a semi-circle, with the witness facing the audience, sitting in the middle between the Commissioners and the leaders of evidence. The witness sat with a family member or friend, or with a counsellor provided by the Commission to offer psychosocial and emotional support. Everybody sat at the same floor level. All of these measures were designed to make TRC witnesses feel secure, relaxed and confident to tell their stories.

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

The purpose of this document is to guide statement-takers in their work. It explains the Commission’s mandate and functions, and offers some guidance regarding the appropriate way to take a statement. The term ‘statement-taker’ refers to the person who receives and records the statement on behalf of the Commission. The term ‘statement-giver’ refers to the person telling his/her story to the Commission.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

they inflicted to other people.

Witnesses: The Commission also provides for people who have seen human rights violations or abuses or violations of international humanitarian law committed during the conflict. These are the people who have witnessed an incident and want to tell the Commission about it. Person making a statement on behalf of someone else: This category includes the statement-givers who want to tell the story of a victim family member, relative or friend who is not able to speak to the Commission himself, either because of emotional, mental or physical problems (including death).

The statement form contains a

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Each section of the form asks for the statement-giver to tell his/her story. Although the statement-taker should let the statement giver speak as freely as possible, some clarification questions might become necessary. For example, clarification questions regarding the number of persons present during the incident, the actions of a specific person, etc., may be useful.

The statement-taker must avoid

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

special groups Victims of torture

Statement-takers must be very careful when taking a statement from a victim of torture. The retraumatization of the victim must be avoided as much as possible. The statement-taker needs to be prepared to deal with the emotions that the victim will necessarily experience while telling his/her story. The statement-taker should always be compassionate and attentive to the victim, and allow him/her to take breaks when the emotions seem too painful.

Women victims of sexual abuse or rape In most countries around the world, sexual abuse and rape are socially attached to feelings of shame. According to some cultural values, women victims of sexual abuse or rape feel guilty about their experience and may be reluctant to speak about it. It is therefore highly important that the statement taker establish trust with the statement-giver and avoid asking for embarrassing details when these details are not indispensable to the telling of the story. The statement-giver should not be pushed to relate details that she does not feel comfortable revealing. The Commission will allow for women victims of sexual abuse or rape to request that a female statement taker take their statement.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Methodology and Processes Page 197

Section 2: Personal Details of the Statement-Giver The Statement-Giver is the person who tells his/her story to the Commission. A. Personal details:

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

out, please complete section 6.

Please attach any photographs, medical records or certificates that may assist the Commission understand your story.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

OBJECTIVES OF THE HEARINGS 1.

To provide witnesses with an opportunity to tell their stories either publicly or in private and help relieve their grief or recognise their feeling of remorse through providing them a platform that validates their experience and offers official acknowledgement of the wrongs done to or by them.

2.

To create an opportunity

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

Witnesses may in any proceedings mention the names of the person/s or institutions allegedly responsible for or that participated in the violation of their or someone else's rights. Where this information is available to the Commission before the proceedings, the Commission will endeavour as much as possible to notify the alleged perpetrator and arrange with them on possible dates to give their

own side of the story. Where this is not possible, at the conclusion of the witness's testimony, the Commission will announce (if the address of the perpetrator is known) that the perpetrator would be contacted and all efforts will be made by staff of the Commission to contact the person (and where the address is not known) that the alleged perpetrator is invited to contact the Commission for the purposes of telling their side of the story. They may in the alternative send a written submission to the Commission.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

9. Confrontation between witnesses a.

Any person who has been mentioned by a witness as allegedly being responsible for the abuse or violation of a witness' or someone else's rights shall have the right at the same or subsequent proceeding to rebut the story as told by the witness. The Commission shall not however allow a situation whereby the witnesses confront themselves with a view to rebutting or interrogating each other's story, neither

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Where after both sides have told their stories and, both sides are willing to pursue reconciliation, the relevant personnel within the Commission shall hold separate discussions with the parties and at the appropriate time bring them together in promotion of their mutual desire to reconcile. The Commission shall at all times encourage and facilitate the involvement of NGOs, communities, civic, chieftaincy and other institutions and groups in arranging or facilitating reconciliation between people, communities or groups in the conflict.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

the story of the conflict, including its military and political dynamics, its nature and characteristics, the role of external actors and factors that fuelled it, such as the exploitation of mineral resources;
the impact of the conflict

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

History of the Conflict 23.

The Commission recounts the story of the eleven-year conflict by charting its key events and dynamics in the military and political spheres. A description of the factors that led to the outbreak of hostilities is followed by a detailed accounting of the conflict itself, divided into three distinct 'phases'. Phase I (Conventional 'Target' Warfare: 1991-93) covers the early period defined by inter-factional fighting and the capture of territory. Phase II ('Guerrilla' Warfare: 1994-97) describes the shifts in tactics as attacks spread through the country. Phase III (Power Struggles and Peace Efforts: 1997-2000) reviews various military and political alliances, moves towards peace and the resumption of hostilities, before the conflict was finally declared over in 2002. Although each 'phase' assumed a slightly different character, they all shared one devastating characteristic: gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by all warring factions.

24.

In the pre-conflict

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission, by necessity, devoted its energies to building the totality of the story of the conflict. Although specific cases were investigated, these were events that either served to illustrate the greater story or incidents that, in themselves, defined the nature and course of the conflict.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission calls on the members of the media in Sierra Leone to carry out thorough investigations before publishing stories. Newspapers should be offering informed comment on matters of national and international concern. Some newspapers are in danger of becoming little more than scandal sheets, relying on provocative and, at times, dishonest headlines to promote sales. Reports that are inaccurate or even untrue seriously undermine the cause of freedom of expression. Journalists who take bribes and allow their newspapers to be used for party political ends or for the settling of personal scores abuse the freedom of the press. Such journalists are not fit to be members of the independent press.

81.

The Commission calls on

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Running costs can be minimised through reducing the consumption of energy. Design of courts, indeed all public buildings, should emphasise natural ventilation and natural lighting. Simplicity and efficiency of design, such as single story courts will release funds for essentials such as furniture, equipment and books.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Youths¹¹² were the driving force behind the resistance to one-party state rule in the 1980s. As students, journalists, workers and activists they exposed injustices and the bankruptcy of the ruling elite's ideology. They also bore the brunt of the state's repressive backlash. During the conflict, youths formed the bulk of the fighting forces in all the factions. The last twenty years of Sierra Leone's history are, in reality, the story of Sierra Leone's youths.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

peace carnivals, and traditional hunting.

- The Commission encourages artistic activities in which victims, excombatants, as well as other members of the community can express themselves through drama, music, song, story telling, art, poetry in order to promote tolerance, respect, and non-violent means of conflict resolution.¹⁷³
- The Commission recommends that the

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Leone" by Ustina More175 524.

The Commission looked to the past in order to tell the story of the civil war and to make recommendations to prevent a repetition of conflict. The Commission also looked to the future for the purpose of describing the kind of post-conflict society that the recommendations were designed to achieve. The Commission invited Sierra Leoneans to tell it about the kind of society they envisaged for their country.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

Law programme in Sierra Leone.

Media to thoroughly investigate stories before publication.

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission decided not to follow the example of the South-African Truth Commission by limiting the beneficiaries of the Reparations Programme to those victims who co-operated with it. The Commission is fully aware of the fact that the limited time span allowed for taking statements and conducting hearings, as well as other logistical constraints, did not allow it to reach out to every victim who may have wanted to tell their story to the Commission. Limiting reparations to only those who partook in the Commission process would arbitrarily preclude a large proportion of victims from being recognised by this reparations programme. Since the work of the Commission is focused on victims, such an arbitrary distinction cannot be made. Also, making such a distinction is not likely to contribute to reconciliation, which is one of the goals of the reparations programme. On the contrary, it may serve to create new divisions.

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

A culture of debate and principled reporting still remains unattainable for most media practitioners in Sierra Leone. In consequence the average Sierra Leonean has no confidence in the media, either for newsworthy stories or informed, objective editorial opinion. The poor financial state of most of the media houses implies that the journalists are only paid a pittance. Many journalists are therefore inclined to practice blackmail, whereby people about whom they have received unsavoury information are 'compelled' to pay them to prevent the information from being published. Public figures who have attempted to call the journalists' bluff are rewarded with sustained negative press reporting. In order to protect their reputations, many people embark on criminal prosecutions for defamation against the erring journalists. Thus both press and public are ensnared in a vicious circle, which is all too often squared by the intervention of the ruling party.

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has confirmed that Taylor was indeed detained at Freetown Central Prison for a limited period in 1989, but must caution against the story being afforded any undue credence or significance as a motivation for his later involvement in the Sierra Leone conflict. Taylor had developed multiple other reasons for attacking Sierra Leone by March 1991 and his period of imprisonment ranked very low among them. Acknowledging that the detention itself was not the main cause of Taylor's rancour, some

commentators have made claims that Foday Sankoh was incarcerated in the Prison alongside Taylor and that their friendship grew out of this common plight. Testimonies before the Commission do not support this version of events. Several firsthand testimonies place Sankoh in Libya and the Ivory Coast during the period in question. Taylor and Sankoh had met in Libya in 1988 and had become part of the deal between Sierra Leonean and Liberian revolutionaries to mutually support each other in their respective plans. Thus when Taylor was released from custody in Sierra Leone and returned to the Ivory Coast to pursue his incursion on a single front, he would meet Sankoh on Ivorian territory and the two of them would continue their joint plans from there.

40.

In any case, what

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

the vanguards notwithstanding their backgrounds.
Moreover, along with stories of forced enlistment, the
Commission had heard many tales

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

Freetown; 24 March 2003. 40

Whether this threat was delivered in public or whether it has become part of the local folklore surrounding the events in Bomaru is unclear from the testimonies received. It appears that the Liberians were especially aggrieved over the failure to 'pay up' for the blue Toyota van and had vowed to return to Bomaru to reclaim it from the soldiers. This element of the story is widely accepted by the people of Bomaru and its environs; see TRC Interviews with residents of Bomaru and its environs, April 2003.

41

These figures, gathered by

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

the Attack on Bomaru 97.

At the outset, it is pertinent to reflect that the attack was woefully misreported in the local media and substantially misrepresented by the APC Government. It appears to the Commission that the root of much of this misinformation was to be found in the understandably hysterical rumours emanating from the 'firsthand' accounts of those civilians who had fled from the direct vicinity of Bomaru. Evidence given to the Commission by the leader of the military team sent to investigate the attack hints at the susceptibility of public information mechanisms to stories that portrayed the incident out of all due proportion:

"On arrival [in Kailahun District

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

This clear albeit unforeseen separation of the Fronts became increasingly apparent to the Commission during its information-gathering activities. In testimonies before the Commission, most of those who had been situated in the East gave their insights on a particular set of events that were concentrated in or

directed from the East. Likewise most of those who had been situated in the South told a different set of stories, specific to their own area of operations.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

A similar story was recounted from the town of Gendema, Pujehun District, where Foday Sankoh appeared on 7 April 1991 and similarly lambasted his commanders for putting prominent functionaries of the authorities in a cell. Upon securing their release, Sankoh apparently embraced and praised the detainees for their courage and welcomed them, especially the soldiers among them, into his movement.⁸²

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

This stereotype could be applied to thousands of former RUF combatants and it was borne out again and again by witnesses before the Commission. A common decisive factor in many of the stories told by 'willing revolutionaries' was that they had been ultimately convinced to join the RUF through a public address by Foday Sankoh or one of his compatriots, similar to the speeches described above. One young man narrated the impact an address by Sankoh had on him in the following terms:

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

Strasser's movements were crafty and evasive of official monitoring. First by taking the leave of his commander to go to the city to pick up salaries for the month, he planted a different premise in the minds of his superiors. Then by reporting himself sick and extending time at his residence he kept clear of suspicion as the coup approached. Finally by relaying a fabricated story to his commander at base that there were delays with the salaries, which would necessitate his prolonged stay in Freetown to 'sort out the problem', he fuelled an erroneous retrospective assumption about why the coup had taken place. Upon hearing Strasser's voice on the radio on 29 April 1992, Mboyah and others assumed that it was a case of protest about their salaries that had got out of hand.

295.

The impression that the

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

The mastermind of the story of the coup plot was the Vice Chairman of the NPRC, Captain SAJ Musa. SAJ Musa's version was that someone came and informed him about the plan in the offing; he then spiked the officer and sent him back to report – on two further meetings, in which the list of those involved was compiled and various items of documentary evidence were apparently procured. Strasser claimed in his testimony to the Commission that there was in fact a plot to overthrow his government. What has become evident is that despite the official posturing in 1992, no judicial trials of the coup plotters took place. According to Strasser, his government was too busy with the war effort to organise a trial immediately. A trial was subsequently organised posthumously.¹⁵¹ Some of the alleged coup plotters like Lt. Col. Yaya Kanu were actually in detention at Pademba Road prison at the time of the alleged coup plot.

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

become a 'guerrilla' movement.
403.

The Commission notes the allusion to the motivations for a switch to guerrilla warfare as they were subsequently published in the RUF Handbook, Footpaths to Democracy. While the story is presented in somewhat simplified terms in this document, it appears to be a relatively accurate reflection of the main events as they unfolded towards the end of 1993:

"Frankly we were beaten and

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

RUF guerrilla attacks, as described above, were characterised by killings, abductions and systematic destruction of property. In the wake of such an attack, it became commonplace for collective 'post-mortems' to be conducted in which soldiers and civilians would put forward their explanations as to why the defence of communities was so frequently breaking down. A familiar pattern in these explanations emerged, just as it did in the testimonies received by the Commission: soldiers and civilians would narrate two different sides to the same story.

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

officer put up a different story in his defence, invariably the Paramount Chief would report that the civilians' version of events had been favoured. The problem was that no robust action materialised and the climate of distrust would remain unchanged:

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Sankoh's outstretched hand in Abidjan.

547. More so than in any other sphere of its research and investigations, the Commission's guiding principle with regard to the relationship between the Army and the civilian population has been that there are at least two sides to every story.

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

greatly in their fight."²²⁰

572. The Commission notes that the story of how the Kamajor Society came into being has been told and retold in many different forms as the years have passed. Predictably, as rumours have circulated among Kamajor initiates as to the origin of Kondewah's 'special powers', variations and exaggerations of the above narrative have filtered into the folklore of the Mende people.²²¹

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

the Initiator of the Kamajors.

573. Thus, in the only noteworthy published account of the genesis of the Kamajors,²²² an academic by the name of Patrick Muana drew upon fairly typical stories told by Kamajor fighters and displaced persons

in the wartime camps around Bo. Muana's account situated Kondewah in the Jong Chiefdom of Bonthe District under conditions of considerable duress at the point of his revelation:

"Following an RUF attack on

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

squarely as a military adversary:

"Sankoh was in a dilemma, especially when people were then pouncing on him. The actual stories never met Sankoh. They [Bao and Kallon in

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

As it transpired, however, these shootings by the RUF did not constitute the whole story. The disruption of the demonstration was in fact the signal for the full force of the state security apparatus to be brought to bear against the RUF.

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

how her granddaughters were killed:

"I am explaining a sad story. This was at the early stage of the war in 1991. The rebels invaded Rotifunk and went to the house where my granddaughters were living. All four of them were ordered to enter into the house. They closed them in and set the house ablaze. They all died in the fire."54

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

The stories of loss are plenty and pitiful. Foday Kamara lost all his property, which he values at millions of Leones, after fleeing his town of Kamasondo, following the arrival of "men in combat dress."96

"I ran into the bush

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

There are indeed terrible stories about the experiences of the people during the war that cannot be fully captured in this report. Subsequent research will hopefully enable Sierra Leoneans come to terms with the terrible tragedy that befell them for ten years. The thousands who were maimed, sexually violated and endured other sundry violations may live with the trauma of their experiences for the rest of their lives. Thousands of those who died could not be afforded a decent burial. Many were abandoned in the open fields and may have been devoured by vultures. Others are still missing because their families cannot account for their whereabouts. Thousands of children still roam the streets of Freetown and the regional capitals because they do not remember where they came from or cannot trace any family members. They are denied the love and affection of their biological parents and siblings. Many of those who in the past enjoyed a middle class existence have been impoverished by the war. There is no family in Sierra Leone that has not been affected by the war. In the end it is difficult to talk about the gains of the revolution. It may well be concluded that the years 1991 to 2000 represent the years of the locust in the lives of Sierra Leoneans and for their country.

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

ordeal of guerrilla training.¹³⁷

240. AWOL's story might initially seem somewhat incongruous with the military and political history of the conflict in Sierra Leone that was to unfold three years later. He never took part in that conflict, nor has he, to the Commission's knowledge, since perpetrated any human rights abuse against others. Upon closer inspection, though, his story is instructive in understanding the nature of the violations committed in the conflict in Sierra Leone. The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF/SL) is behind the majority of violations and abuses committed during the conflict.¹³⁸ Yet behind the majority of RUF/SL combatants in the conflict is a story of deception and forced recruitment. In turn, behind every forced recruit, including those who did not become combatants is a story of victimisation.

241. What lies beneath the

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

who trained under Haiwan's supervision.

This element of AWOL's story is particularly relevant to the subsequent course that the conflict took and has been discussed in greater detail under the 'Military and Political History of the Conflict' chapter in the section entitled 'The Predecessors, Origins and Mobilisation of the RUF'. A real-life human tragedy lies at the heart of this narrative. None of AWOL's close friends or

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

A similar story was recounted from the town of Gendema, Pujehun District, where Foday Sankoh appeared on 07 April 1991 and similarly lambasted his commanders for putting prominent functionaries of the authorities in a cell. Upon securing their release, Sankoh apparently embraced and praised the detainees for their courage and welcomed them, especially the soldiers among them, into his movement. According to testimonies, Sankoh described the men as "our brothers, not our enemies"; a popular refrain was that these people had no choice but to be working for the authorities because it was a one-party state. In Gendema as elsewhere, such displays by Sankoh in releasing detainees were reportedly greeted with rapturous ovations from the civilian crowds, from which Sankoh clearly drew valuable populist credentials.

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

Brigadier-General R. A. Adeshina; *The Reversed Victory: The Story of Nigerian Military Intervention in Sierra Leone*, Heinemann Educational Books, Nigeria, 2002, at page 7.

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Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

and continued hostilities.

51 52

Brigadier-General R. A. Adeshina; *The Reversed Victory: The Story of Nigerian Military Intervention in Sierra Leone*, Heinemann Educational Books, Nigeria, 2002, at page 7. More detail on the NPRC's mass recruitment drive of 1992 can be found in the chapter on the Military and Political History of

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

Sierra Leone Page 89

27.

The Commission had expected that most women who were willing to testify would choose to do so in camera. Surprisingly this was not the case, particularly in the rural areas, where women wanted the community to hear their stories. Many women volunteered to testify in public. As far as girls under 18 years of age were concerned, the Commission employed a policy that all testimony would be given in camera and that mechanisms would be found to have this testimony heard without making identities public. Of course there were also many women who were content to make written statements only to the Commission and who chose not to appear before any hearings. Their statements were also of immense value to the Commission.

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

In April 1998 this woman was forcefully recruited by the RUF. She recounted her story in her statement to the Commission:

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

218. Women and girls abducted were compelled to remain with the fighting forces throughout the conflict. It was only with disarmament that they were able to leave. A number of women and girls told the Commission how they tried to escape. Punishment was harsh if they were recaptured. They suffered even further when the fighting force to which they belonged deliberately marked them on their chests by carving the initials of the particular fighting force on it. This was a deliberate strategy on the part of the RUF and the AFRC.²⁰⁸ Marking abductees in this way prevented their escape, as to run the risk of being identified as a member of the RUF or AFRC would be to risk death. A girl who was 13 years old at the time she was abducted by the RUF told the Commission her story:

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

A major consequence of the war in Sierra Leone was the forced displacement of hundreds of thousands of civilians from their homes and villages. The Commission recorded 8,397 violations of this nature, with women accounting for 3,128 (or 37,3%) of the victims.²¹⁹ One female victim recounted her story of forced displacement to the Commission:

"When the RUF rebels from

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

against women in camps 235.

The Commission found that many Sierra Leonean women had their rights violated in the refugee camps. It is regrettable that those meant to protect the vulnerable were often responsible for further victimising them. In April 2002, the UNHCR and Save the Children-UK issued a report on Sierra Leonean Refugees in Guinea detailing the violations which women and girls amongst others suffered while refugees in Guinea.²²⁷ Young girls and women were forced to have sex in return for food and assistance. Many of them were forced to become prostitutes in brothels established in the camps. More than 1,500 people were interviewed and told similar stories. Men complained of how they were not given access to food because they had no wife or daughter to barter for food or supplies.

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

244. Women were beaten with sticks, guns and sometimes with bayonets, which resulted in severe injuries to their bodies. No regard or consideration was given to those who were ill or expecting a baby. A victim who was pregnant at the time of her ordeal recounted her story to the Commission:

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

drugging became the norm.
255.

At the Special Hearings on Women held in Freetown, many women testified to the fact that in the course of their abduction and whilst living with the rebels they were given drugs every day. They also confirmed that drugs were on a daily basis added into their food.²⁴⁸ Their abductors would add marijuana into some of the sauces normally eaten with rice, such as cassava or potato leaves. Marijuana and other drugs such as cocaine, heroin and "brown-brown" were administered to women in a number of different ways, including forced inhalation, or making incisions on their bodies and rubbing the drugs into the wounds. Gunpowder was also administered to women, presumably as a stimulant. A woman abducted during the January 1999 invasion of Freetown told her story to the Commission:

"...I was forced to make

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

it among them."²⁵⁶
264.

The Commission recorded only a few incidents of disembowelment,²⁵⁷ but strongly suspects that the figure is not indicative of the actual number of women who suffered the violation or those that witnessed it during the conflict. Specialist consultants to the Commission on gender-based crimes spoke of the tendency of victims and witnesses of such crimes to "suppress" memories of the event, which may explain why more people did not come forward to the TRC to speak about it. Interviews conducted by the Commission also unearthed the story of a woman who nearly suffered disembowelment but was saved because the induced trauma of the fear of disembowelment forced her into immediate labour where she gave birth to the child in the bush where the disembowelment would have taken place.²⁵⁸ Some disembowelments of pregnant women took place in front of family members, leaving behind deep scars in the minds of the living. One witness described, among other violations, the gruesome manner in which her pregnant sister was killed with her child:

"...My sister Nancy was pregnant

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

rebels killed them both."²⁹³

296. Another victim told the Commission the following story:

"In the morning, we saw

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

Sierra Leone

Page 166

314.

During the conflict in Sierra Leone, acts of sexual violence or abuse took many forms and included forcing women to go naked in public or in private in front of their family members.³¹⁵ A woman in Freetown recounted her story to the Commission:

"On 6 January 1999 rebels

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

they lit the house."³¹⁶

315. Another victim from Talia town, Yawbeko Chiefdom told a part of her story:

"... They took the rice from

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

AND GIRLS AND THEIR EFFECTS

318. Women and girls suffered immensely during the conflict. They were humiliated and dehumanised based on their gender. The trauma of their experiences has left many women and girls psychologically and physically scarred. The impact of the conflict has been unfathomable, the damage immeasurable; and it is the women and girls who are bearing the brunt of it. From a wider societal perspective, the Commission has identified a total breakdown of all morality and norms, along with levels of cruelty that are quite frightening in terms of their long-term effects. A woman who had just given birth to a baby during the January 1999 attack on Freetown told this chilling story:

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

376. Women were frequent victims of extortion. In the TRC database, women account for 351 of the 1,314 counts of extortion where the gender of the victim is known to the Commission.³⁶⁶ The database records that all of the major armed groups perpetrated this violation against women. Extortion mostly took two forms. In the first instance, armed groups demanded money from persons illegally detained or from their family members. If family members failed to comply with such demands, the person held in custody was on occasion killed.³⁶⁷ In the second instance, armed groups imposed levies on communities for their upkeep. Beyond these two main types of extortion, there were numerous random acts in which

combatants simply demanded money and took it by force.³⁶⁸ If individuals resisted such demands, they were subjected to further violations. Some of the victims told their stories to the TRC:

"Sometime in 1991, I was

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

why women take sides.

410.

The Commission notes that it experienced great difficulties in accessing the testimonies of women ex-combatants and collaborators. The Commission has endeavoured to tell their story from the statements made by other witnesses and also submissions made to the Commission. However their story has not been told in its entirety. While the TRC has attempted to report faithfully on the impact and consequences the conflict has had on the lives of women, including those of women combatants, it is necessary to caution that the plight of women ex-combatants and their families is fairly precarious.

411. Women have been extremely

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

hearings in the Kono District:

"From the stories you have heard, I am sure that you know how much our women and our children have suffered... especially the women: some of the men do not want to have them again as wives or friends..."⁴³²

441.

The war has led

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

the same submission as follows:

"Our house was burnt down during the war. We stayed in a displaced camp for six months. When we came back, we put up a temporary structure where we started rebuilding our lives again. It was the same story for most of the women in this association. We had no means of livelihood. Our husbands were either killed in the war or made redundant, because the industrial estate that employed them has closed down due to the wanton rebel destruction."⁴⁷²

469

470 471 472

See

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

Sierra Leone Page 228

CONCLUSION

574. Women and girls suffered terrible atrocities in the Sierra Leone conflict. Many died and their stories remain untold. And yet, many brave and courageous women and girls survived and were able to come forward to tell the Commission of the brutality they experienced and of how they were stripped of humanity and dignity. Others told of how they were afraid to reveal their stories because of the way in

which they will be shamed by their loved ones, families, friends and communities. Many women have borne children and are outcasts because of it. They are doubly punished, because society has let them down and because of vile deeds perpetrated against them in the first place.

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

themselves made this poignant statement:

"Every child in this country has got a story to tell: a heartbreaking one. Unfortunately, only a handful of these stories will be told and made known to the world. But the devastating impact lingers and endures all the time. It continues to linger in the minds and hearts of young people."⁹¹

125.

The TRC database recorded

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

Children soon found that gender and age did not matter to their perpetrators as they were used in various roles for the war effort. In addition to being used as fighters, girl-children were also used as sex slaves and domestic labour. A ten-year-old girl told her story of capture at the time of an attack:

"It was sometime in 1997

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

Perpetrators would be identified and held accountable in the report of the TRC. The origins and causes of the conflict, together with the contextual story of the conflict in all its nuances, would be told in order that the full horror of the war might be acknowledged by the country as a whole. Recommendations would be made to prevent the repetition of conflict. Impetus would be given to the process of national healing and reconciliation. Violations suffered by victims would be redressed through reparations.⁴

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

These principles include the following:

- The TRC and the Special Court were established at different times, under different legal bases and with different mandates. Yet they perform complementary roles in ensuring accountability, deterrence, a story-telling mechanism for victims and perpetrators, national reconciliation, reparation and restorative justice for the people of Sierra Leone.
- While the Special Court has

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

Sharing" and Public Perception 49.

Section 7(3) of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Act 2000 states that "[at] the discretion of the Commission, any person shall be permitted to provide information to the Commission on a confidential basis and the Commission shall not be compelled to disclose any information given to it in confidence". In addition to Section 7(3) of the Act, Section 7(4) suggests that the Commission has a positive duty to

prevent disclosure of certain information, requiring it to “take into account the interests of victims and witnesses when inviting them to give statements, including the security and other concerns of those who may wish to recount their stories in public”.

50.

The TRC sought to

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

White made the following remarks:

“We strongly support the TRC. We are on record saying that we do not plan to use any information at all from the TRC. We do want to encourage people to come and tell their story so the nation can begin the healing process...

[...] We will not concern ourselves

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

reconciliation process in general.

59.

The Commission finds that there is evidence to support the conclusion that some people were reluctant to participate in the truth-telling process out of fear of prosecution by the Special Court for Sierra Leone. This was one of the unfortunate costs of the parallel and simultaneous existence of the two bodies. There were certainly other reasons why some perpetrators did not come forward to tell their stories. Some presumably feared reprisal or simply saw no personal advantage to themselves in speaking publicly about their own actions. In the light of the two initiatives many perpetrators living in the bush, particularly the young combatants, felt much uncertainty and confusion surrounding their future. What can be said is that the threat of prosecution by the Special Court was one factor in the decision-making process of some of those who refused to testify. The Commission’s ability to create a forum of exchange between victims and perpetrators was unfortunately retarded by the presence of the Special Court.

54 55

Mohamed Muxon Sesay

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

be far reaching.”¹¹⁹

124.

On 29 October 2003, representatives for the Commission, the Prosecutor and Augustine Bao argued before Judge Bankole Thompson on the question of Bao’s appearance before the Commission. The arguments of the Commission and the Prosecution were largely the same as those put forward in the Hinga Norman matter.¹²⁰ Mr. Girish Thanki, who spoke for the Bao defence team, submitted in his representations to the Court that while many international commentators talk about the Sierra Leone conflict as a “war over diamonds”, there is another view that prevails at ground level. It is a view, Mr. Thanki continued, which reveals the “friction between rural Sierra Leone and urban Freetown” and which says much about “how the RUF came into existence, how it operated and how the conflict impacted on this nation”. Stressing the importance of the public appearance of his client before the Commission, Mr. Thanki concluded that the real story of the conflict, including these alternative views, “belongs to the people of Sierra Leone”.¹²¹

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

chance of being completed.¹⁵⁷

Nonetheless, the Special Court's media release¹⁵⁸ described the Robertson decision as having opened the way for Hinga Norman to "testify before the TRC". Several newspapers carried stories that reported the decision in this light. The fact that the scope for Hinga Norman's testimony had in fact been confined to a written submission was lost in the fine print.

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

written statement to the Commission.

The ruling, in the view of the TRC, has dealt a serious blow to the cause of truth and reconciliation in Sierra Leone. As a citizen of Sierra Leone and as a key role-player in Sierra Leone's recent history, Chief Hinga Norman has a right to appear before the TRC to tell his story. All equivalent role-players have appeared before the TRC, including prisoners awaiting trial at Pademba Road Prison. ...

... The restriction of Chief Hinga

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

the public in this regard.

The TRC stands by its statement issued on 1 December 2003 in relation to Hinga Norman. Hinga Norman has been denied his freedom of expression and his statutory right to appear before the TRC to tell his story. The people of Sierra Leone have been denied the opportunity of hearing from Hinga Norman in an open and transparent manner. As a result the causes of truth, reconciliation and that of addressing impunity have been seriously undermined.

Mr. Franklyn Kargbo, the Executive

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

BETWEEN VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS 61.

The Commission made a concerted effort to bring together those victims and perpetrators who were willing to participate in the process of reconciliation. If a witness confessed during the hearing that he had committed a violation, or if a victim named the alleged perpetrator, efforts were made to find the other party. Based on the information provided by the victims, the Commission invited alleged perpetrators to respond to the allegations made against them. Where a perpetrator was named and he or she was present at the hearings, the Commission allowed them to present their own sides of the story during the same hearings. In other cases, victims and perpetrators were brought together at their own request. Based on a random sampling of 300 statements from the Commission's database, it was determined that 88% of victims were willing to meet with their perpetrators. With regard to perpetrators, approximately 81% were willing to meet with their victims.

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

then responded:

Comm. Marcus-Jones:

Each of you suffered during the war. There must have been some misunderstanding somewhere. The two witnesses that testified immediately before you are blaming you for their misfortunes. We have heard all your stories and one thing that is clear is that you all suffered. You lost close relatives; you are carrying scars on your body because of what you went through. The Commission is not ordering or commanding you, but having heard your testimonies, the Commission is saying that you - for the good of the country - reconcile and put the past behind you. The two other witnesses we listened to - Mohamed and Bullie - are ready to reconcile. We have to go through time and years. We want to know whether you are ready to reconcile.

Mamie M'Balu:

I agree that

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

Bonthe District – 9 July 2003

77. While the TRC supported reconciliation meetings between victims and perpetrators, it endeavoured to ensure that the reconciliation process was supported and accepted by the community. Since reconciliation is a process, participation in a ceremony is just a first step. The community's support is required to make it sustainable. The example below is drawn from the hearings that took place in the Bonthe District from 6 to 9 July 2003. The Commission facilitated reconciliation between an elderly victim, Alhaji Noah Abdul Wahab (known as Mr. Noah), who was accused of trying to imitate the amulets of the Kamajor fighters, and his perpetrator, Lamin Sadiki, a member of the Kamajors. During his testimony, Mr. Noah recounted the story of how he was beaten up by the Kamajors and had his ear nearly cut off by Mr. Sadiki. At the request of the TRC, Mr. Sadiki appeared at the hearing and told his side of the story.

78.

Mr. Sadiki recalled how

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

District on 10 June 2003.

Samuel George, a teacher at Bauya, recounted his story of how he was abducted by the RUF rebels. While travelling with the rebels for almost three years, he confessed to having killed, attacked villages, looted from civilians, taken drugs and committed raped. He claimed that his actions were committed under duress. At the end of his testimony, Samuel George asked the Commission and his community for forgiveness:

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

move freely within their communities.

Many of the witnesses expressed great satisfaction over the counselling provided to them, the patience on the part of the Commissioners to listen to them, and the efforts made by the Commission to invite people who were implicated in testimonies so that they could offer their own side of the story in hopes of reconciling differences.

C) What was considered negative

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

may the Commission's greatest legacy.

5 The report that follows tries to provide a window on this incredible resource, offering a road map to those who wish to travel into our past. It is not and cannot be the whole story; but it provides a perspective on the truth about a past that is more extensive and more complex than any one commission could, in two and a half years, have hoped to capture.

6 Others will inevitably critique

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

to a new future.

7

This report has been constrained by a number of factors - not least by the extent of the Commission's mandate and a number of legal provisions contained in the Act. It was, at the same time, driven by a dual responsibility. It had to provide the space within which victims could share the story of their trauma with the nation; and it had to recognise the importance of the due process of law that ensures the rights of alleged perpetrators. Several court rulings emphasised the importance of the latter. Obviously, the Commission respected these judgements. They did, however, sometimes make our efforts to obtain information about the past more difficult. This, in its turn, caused us to err on the side of caution in making our findings. Despite these difficulties, however, we can still claim, without fear of being contradicted, that we have contributed more to uncovering the truth about the past than all the court cases in the history of apartheid.

8 There are a number

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

unity through truth and reconciliation.

17 The past, it has been said, is another country. The way its stories are told and the way they are heard change as the years go by. The spotlight gyrates, exposing old lies and illuminating new truths. As a fuller picture emerges, a new piece of the jigsaw puzzle of our past settles into place.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

65 This is not the same as saying that racism was introduced into South Africa by those who brought apartheid into being. Racism came to South Africa in 1652; it has been part of the warp and woof of South African society since then. It was not the supporters of apartheid who gave this country the 1913 Land Act which ensured that the indigenous people of South Africa would effectively become hewers of wood and drawers of water for those with superior gun power from overseas. 1948 merely saw the beginning of a refinement and intensifying of repression, injustice and exploitation. It was not the upholders of apartheid who introduced gross violations of human rights in this land. We would argue that what happened when 20 000 women and children died in the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War is a huge blot on our copy book. Indeed, if the key concepts of confession, forgiveness and reconciliation are central to the

message of this report, it would be wonderful if one day some representative of the British/English community said to the Afrikaners, "We wronged you grievously. Forgive us." And it would be wonderful too if someone representing the Afrikaner community responded, "Yes, we forgive you - if you will perhaps let us just tell our story, the story of our forebears and the pain that has sat for so long in the pit of our stomachs unacknowledged by you." As we have discovered, the telling has been an important part of the process of healing.

66 To lift up racism

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

as non-elitist as possible.

80 I am honoured to express our gratitude to all those over 20 000 persons who came forward to tell us their stories - either at the public hearings of our Human Rights Violations Committee or in the statements recorded by our statement takers. They were generous in their readiness to make themselves vulnerable; to risk opening wounds that were perhaps in the process of healing, by sharing the often traumatic experiences of themselves or their loved ones as victims of gross violations of human rights. We are deeply in their debt and hope that coming to the Commission may have assisted in the rehabilitation of their human and civil dignity that was so callously trampled underfoot in the past. We pray that wounds that may have been re-opened in this process have been cleansed so that they will not fester; that some balm has been poured on them and that they will now heal.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

violations and of their victims.

3 Before starting on the long journey through these volumes, two major points or themes need to be developed in order to place their context in fuller political and historical perspective. The first of these relates to the fact that this report covers only a small fraction of time - although possibly the worst and certainly, in regard to the wider region, the bloodiest in the long and violent history of human rights abuse in this subcontinent. The second point to be made is that the report tells only a small part of a much larger story of human rights abuse in South and southern Africa.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

quicken our pace heavenwards? 4.

13 Plaatje retells a story told to him which illustrates the tragic human impact of the implementation of the Act:

A squatter called Kgobadi got

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

child in a stolen grave.

14 Plaatje ended the story with the bitter words that even criminals who are hanged have the right to a proper grave. Yet, under the cruel workings of the Land Act, little children "whose only crime is that God did not make them white", sometimes have no right to be buried in the country of their ancestors.⁵

15 TM Dambuzu described the

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

opportunity which it adroitly exploited.

56 In essence, the struggle to maintain white minority privilege was 'repackaged' as an effort to maintain so-called western civilised values against the godless and evil forces of Communism. Thus it was that conscripts, when they turned up for basic training in the 1980s, could be expected to believe (as one witness related to the Commission): "this story that people tell you that there is a Communist behind every bush is nonsense. There are in fact two."

57 This is not to

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

4 The Mandate PAGE 52

amnesty as required by the interim Constitution. It stressed, too, the importance of victims to the proposed process, emphasising their right to tell their stories of suffering and struggle. This became an essential focus of the envisaged commission - what has been described as a 'victim-centred approach'. The legislation also required that, in order for amnesty to be granted, there should be full disclosure of the violations in respect of which it was sought. In this way, the 'stick' of prosecutions and civil claims was combined with the 'carrot' of amnesty to encourage perpetrators to testify about gross violations of human rights. This was a unique feature of the South African commission. National unity and reconciliation could be achieved only, it was argued, if the truth about past violations became publicly known.

22 It is important to

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

responsible for human rights violations.

35 During the second half of the Commission's life (from approximately the middle of 1997), the Commission shifted its focus from the stories of individual victims to an attempt to understand the individual and institutional motives and perspectives which gave rise to the gross violations of human rights under examination. It enquired into the contexts and causes of these violations and attempted to establish the political and moral accountability of individuals, organisations and institutions. The goal was to provide the grounds for making recommendations to prevent future human rights violations. Features of this phase were public submissions by, and questioning of, political parties, and a range of institutional, sectoral and special hearings that focused on the health and business sectors, the legal system, the media and faith communities, prisons, women, children and youth, biological and chemical warfare and compulsory national service. It was also during this period that the majority of amnesty hearings took place.

36 In the process of

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

and needed a permit to

7 Quoted in Illustrated History of South Africa: the Real Story, Readers Digest: Cape Town, 1988. 8 Mtutuzeli Matshoba, Call Me Not a Man, Ravan Press, 1979, page 18.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

he or she sees it...

36 By telling their stories, both victims and perpetrators gave meaning to the multilayered experiences of the South African story. These personal truths were communicated to the broader public by the media. In the (South) African context, where value continues to be attached to oral tradition, the process of story telling was particularly important. Indeed, this aspect is a distinctive and unique feature of the legislation governing the Commission, setting it apart from the mandates of truth commissions elsewhere. The Act explicitly recognised the healing potential of telling stories.⁶ The stories told to the Commission were not presented as arguments or claims in a court of law. Rather, they provided unique insights into the pain of South Africa's past, often touching the hearts of all that heard them.

37 By providing the environment in which victims could tell their own stories in their own languages, the Commission not only helped to uncover existing facts about past abuses, but also assisted in the creation of a 'narrative truth'. In so doing, it also sought to contribute to the process of reconciliation by ensuring that the truth about the past included the validation of the individual subjective experiences of people who had previously been silenced or voiceless. The Commission sought, too, to capture the widest possible record of people's perceptions, stories, myths and experiences. It chose, in the words of Antjie

⁶ This was highlighted in

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Reiger Park, 19 April 1997:

The truth always goes hand in hand with justice. We do not tell our stories only to release the dammed up tears that have waited years to be shed. It is in order that truth should be uncovered and justice seen to be done. Even though it is not the work of the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] to pass judgement or sentence on the oppressors, it has led many perpetrators of crimes to seek amnesty. That is good for them. The [Amnesty Committee] may speak sternly and, in some cases, refuse amnesty. That rightly demonstrates that truth can be tough. The refusal to grant amnesty is a sign that the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] is not a body setting out simply to show leniency, but, more especially, that it requires justice before there can be reconciliation. Reconciliation is not taking the least line of resistance; reconciliation is profoundly costly.

⁶³ The extension of the

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

process.

The quest for truth

64 The amnesty process was also a key to the achievement of another objective, namely eliciting as much truth as possible about past atrocities. The primary sources of information were the perpetrators themselves who, without the option of applying for amnesty, would probably not have told their side of the story.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 5 Concepts

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

future with dedication and commitment.

107 One of the reasons for this failure of emphasis is the fact that the greater part of the Commission's focus has been on what could be regarded as the exceptional - on gross violations of human rights rather than the more mundane but nonetheless traumatising dimensions of apartheid life that affected every single black South African. The killers of Vlakplaas have horrified the nation. The stories of a chain of shallow graves across the country, containing the remains of abducted activists who were brutalised, tortured and ultimately killed, have left many South Africans deeply shocked. The media has understandably focused on these events - labelling Eugene de Kock, the Vlakplaas commander, 'Prime Evil'. The vast majority of victims who either made statements to the Commission or who appeared at public hearings of the Human Rights Violations Committee to tell their stories of suffering simply did not receive the same level of public attention. Indeed, victims of those violations of human rights that were not included in the Commission's mandate received no individual public attention at all.

108 This focus on the

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

109 A second reason for the insufficient focus on moral responsibility beyond the narrow, direct responsibility of specific perpetrators of gross human rights violations was the widespread failure fully to grasp the significance of individual victims' testimony before the Commission. Each story of suffering provided a penetrating window into the past, thereby contributing to a more complete picture of gross violations of human rights in South Africa. The nation must use these stories to sharpen its moral conscience and to ensure that, never again, will it gradually atrophy to the point where personal responsibility is abdicated. The challenge is to develop public awareness, to keep the memories alive, not only of gross violations of human rights, but of everyday life under apartheid. Only in this way can South Africans ensure that they do not again become complicit in the banality that leads, step by step, to the kinds of outrageous deeds that have left many 'good' South Africans feeling that they can never be expected, even indirectly,

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

captured as accurately as possible.

10 Every effort was made to ensure that statement takers could speak the major languages of the region in which they worked to allow victims to tell their stories in their mother tongues. Statement takers were also trained to identify signs of emotional distress presented by those from whom they took statements. This allowed them to offer preliminary assistance to victims who found the process of making statements difficult or traumatic, and to refer those in need of professional assistance to appropriate mental health care facilities where these existed and were accessible.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

c The third way in which the Commission solicited statements was through the designated statement taker programme.² This programme was launched by the Commission in order to extend its reach and to ensure that as many communities as possible were given the opportunity to make statements. The

designated statement taker programme was funded by a foreign donor and involved training staff based in community organisations throughout the country to take statements on behalf of the Commission. The project increased the number of statements taken by the Commission by almost 50 per cent and allowed for a focus on victims in rural communities or those communities that had experienced a high incidence of human rights abuse. It also concentrated on communities in which the Commission did not hold hearings and in which, therefore, there may not have been knowledge about the Commission and its work. The local recruitment of statement takers meant, too, that victims could tell their stories in their mother tongue, often to people they knew, thereby enhancing the quality and reliability of the testimony and reassuring victims who felt apprehensive. Some, however, chose not to share intimate details with neighbours and others from their own communities – not least where differences between rival groups was a continuing factor.

Registration

17 The statements were

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Methodology and Process PAGE 142

greatest challenges faced by the Commission. Many of the statements consisted simply of a story told by a particular victim and contained no supporting documentation or evidence on the basis of which the Commission could make a defensible finding. The onus was, therefore, on the Commission itself to attempt to locate relevant evidence or documentation in order to corroborate each victim's statement. The following examples of types of incidents requiring corroboration illustrate the magnitude of this task: a incidents that had occurred

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

27 The virtually insurmountable practical difficulties the Commission faced in attempting to corroborate each statement served to crystallise a profound dilemma at the heart of the findings process. On the one hand, the Commission was a legal institution with the responsibility of making defensible findings according to established legal principles. This was particularly important, both to safeguard the credibility of the Commission's final report and to ensure that those who received reparations were genuinely victims as defined in the Act. On the other hand, the Commission embodied a moral and therapeutic process that aimed at acknowledging suffering and giving victims an opportunity to tell their stories. This aspect of the work would have been greatly diminished had the findings process been approached in too technical a manner, focusing narrowly on rules of evidence and requirements of proof. The methodology of the Commission sought to reconcile these potentially conflicting objectives in various ways.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

and for her daughter's killing.

6 The Commission took great care to build a system that was sufficiently flexible to accept any combination of these complexities, without simplifying deponents' stories in ways that led to the distortion or systematic concealment of certain kinds of information. Accepting a reduced version of a complex story is a frequent cause of this kind of distortion.

7 The data was very

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

■ INTRODUCTION 1 The story of apartheid is, amongst other things, the story of the systematic elimination of thousands of voices that should have been part of the nation's memory. The elimination of memory took place through censorship, confiscation of materials, bannings, incarceration, assassination and a range of related actions. Any attempt to reconstruct the past must involve the recovery of this memory – much of it contained in countless documentary records. The tragedy is that the former government deliberately and systematically destroyed a huge body of state records and documentation in an attempt to remove incriminating evidence and thereby sanitise the history of oppressive rule. As this chapter will demonstrate, the urge to destroy gained momentum in the 1980s and widened into a co-ordinated endeavour, sanctioned by the Cabinet and designed to deny the new democratic government access to the secrets of the former state.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

of the State Security Council.

3 The story of the Commission's quest to locate these records cannot be fully told in the pages that follow. The correspondence between the Commission's investigators, researchers and others on the one hand, and nodal points in the various departments of government and security structures on the other, provides a limited insight into some of the difficulties involved in the retrieval process.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

organisations opposed to the system.

17 It is, of course, true that the state destroyed many other non-public records in the course of its raids and bombings of the structures and premises of liberation movements both inside and outside the country. This, however, is a story that remains to be told elsewhere. Also of significance was the impact of apartheid on the record-keeping practices of anti-apartheid organisations, many of which were reluctant to commit certain kinds of information to paper. Many also destroyed records rather than allow them to fall into the hands of state operatives.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Destruction of Records PAGE 227

placed such an analysis beyond the capacity of the Commission. This is another important story that remains to be told elsewhere.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

12 Meetings were held with various stakeholders, nodal (liaison) points⁹ and state and non-state structures in order to encourage individuals and organisations to make statements (tell their stories) to the Commission.

Public 'victim hearings' 13 Public

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

were enshrined in the policy.

21 First, the Committee had to ensure the availability of appropriate translation services for victim testimony. It was policy that victims should be allowed to tell their stories in the language of their choice, even if such languages fell outside of the eleven official languages of South Africa. The multi-lingual nature of South African society posed the unique challenge of ensuring that all the victims testifying across the country enjoyed the same access to translation services. However, the shortage of translation services meant that hearings schedules had to be carefully co-ordinated. To this end, the Committee later decided to allocate to each region a specific week of the month for hearings. The translation service could then travel between regions and be available for all hearings.

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

processing operation, known as 'Infocom'.

25 The collection of data was done manually by trained statement takers who were required to deal sensitively with the person giving the statement. In many instances, the person testifying would be disclosing his or her experiences of gross human rights violations for the first time. It was also realised that 90 per cent of the victims coming to the Commission would not be appearing at a public hearing and that their experience of the Commission would be through making a statement to one of the Commission's statement takers. It was, therefore, important to ensure that statement takers were able both to act with empathy and to record accurately the stories told to them by victims.

26 In order to capture

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

capacity in existing community structures.

20 Statement takers were exposed to the traumatic accounts of deponents and needed training on how to solicit their stories sensitively, while containing their pain. A team of counsellors, experienced in trauma counselling, was contracted to provide this training, monitored by the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

the main evening news bulletins.

23 SABC-TV demonstrated a similar commitment to that of the SABC Radio in relaying to South Africans the untold stories of their past in its weekly documentary, 'TRC Special Report'. In 1996, the programme won a special award from the Foreign Correspondents' Association.

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

the life of the Commission.

2 This dynamic was most demonstrably played out in the development of the statement-taking process. Initially, statements took the form of personal story telling to empathetic listeners, who recorded what

was being said in a relatively informal manner. Due to the huge volume of statements, however, the process evolved into a more formalised fact-finding effort. In order to capture, process and corroborate each statement, a standard (but comprehensive) form was used to record victims 'stories'. This could be used even where no 'listener' was available.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

gangs working to destabilise communities.

n Children's hearing (14 May 1997). A special hearing for children was held. During the two days before the hearings, children who had been affected by violence were given the opportunity to express themselves through art and drama workshops. Their stories were presented at the hearing by caregivers, and some recordings of the children's voices were played.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

resulting in last minute rushes.

33 Staff went to a lot of trouble to identify different types of cases for the human rights violation hearings so that both high and low profile cases were heard, witnesses from across the political spectrum were given a voice, and both individual and group cases were heard. Occasionally alleged perpetrators were able to give their side of the story at the same hearings as their accusers. The hearing at Lusikisiki, for example, became a landmark in uncovering the history of rural rebellions from the early 1960s.

34 Amnesty hearings were difficult

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Elizabeth (26 - 27 June 1996).

This was a special hearing for the Mthimkulu case, which could not be heard in May because of a court application. In another case, Mzwandile Maquina, an alleged perpetrator, was afforded the opportunity to tell his story and respond to allegations against him.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

23 Statement takers acted as the front line of the Commission's work with communities. Working in teams of up to five, their formal job description entailed only the recording of stories of gross human right violations. Yet statement takers often had to run education workshops, negotiate with local leaders, organise venues and take statements from those who arrived at hearings.

24 Statement taking fell under the banner of the Human Rights Violations Committee and was the primary information-gathering activity of the Commission. It was often the only channel open to victims to tell their story to the nation. The pressure this implied, coupled with having to listen to traumatic stories of victims under conditions that were often difficult, made the job of statement taking one of the most stressful in the Commission.

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

the African National Congress (ANC).

f Pretoria (12-15 August 1996). The Pretoria hearing in the University of South Africa auditorium heard contradictory accounts of the murder of nine Mamelodi youths in KwaNdebele in the late 1980s. Victims of the Church Street bombing, the 'Silverton siege' and the 'Mamelodi massacre' told the Commission their stories.

g Nelspruit (2-5 September

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

Johannesburg Office Report PAGE 444

heard the story of a youth killed by booby-trapped hand grenades allegedly planted by notorious hit squad member, Joe Mamasela. Residents of Bekkersdal related their community's experience of the conflict between the local youth congress and the vigilante Zim-Zim gang. Relatives of victims of the Swanieville massacre told the Commission how IFP-aligned hostel residents attacked their informal settlement one night.

I Tembisa (26-28 November 1996). Commissioners heard stories of state repression in the 1980s in this township and in the neighbouring Ivory Park informal settlement. In the 1990s, the IFPaligned Toaster gang committed many violations in the context of violence between the ANC and the IFP.

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

the Commission, 4 July 1997.)

It (Kassinga) was a jewel of military craftsmanship. (General J Geldenhuys, A General's Story: From an Era of War and Peace, 1995. p. 93.)

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

of "falsely accusing the police".

At the inquest, the pathologists testified that Hamukwaya's injuries "were incompatible with the story of the fall"⁷ and that he had been "subjected to massive trauma on his back, probably inflicted by a blunt instrument"⁸. This evidence was accepted by the magistrate who ruled that the death "was caused by "an act or omission that must be seen as a crime on the part of members of the unit known as Koevoet".

⁶ Denis Herbstein and John

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

447 So negative was the general reaction to the raid that an elaborate propaganda exercise had to be mounted to justify the operation. This was orchestrated by Craig Williamson and included the planting of stories in newspapers like The Citizen and Sunday Times under such headlines as "The Guns of Gaborone". In a discussion with the Commission, Eugene de Kock stated that some of the weapons displayed as captured in the raid were in fact borrowed from him by Williamson.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

with their faces towards us.

They were then identified again against their photographs and then the executioner would come to them and ask them about their last wishes. They sometimes thanked us, they sometimes said to us, "God bless you", and after the entire story, we would then put their caps on. You accompany the person [to the gallows room]... Between the trap doors there would have been a pipe railing. The person who was due to be hanged,

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

a single piece of information:

They said "Zubeida, if you don't co-operate with us and give us the answers, then we are going to detain your father". I thought that they were just trying to trick me again, but they called me to the phone and it was my father on the phone. They had detained him in Cape Town. And so after they put the phone down, I signed the statement and I told them the name of the journalist who had done the story. It completely humiliated me. It

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

acting together with vigilante groupings.

CNIP membership also seems to be used by Ciskei as a measure of loyalty to the territory. There are repeated stories of communities brutalised by Ciskei authorities for refusing to pay taxes and CNIP membership.

Again and again, the same

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

54 For two weeks in early January, senior religious and community leaders negotiated with Ms Madikizela-Mandela to secure the release of the other youths held at the house. Madikizela-Mandela denied that they were being held against their will and stated that she had rescued them from sexual abuse at the manse. When the youths were eventually released and the story spread to the media, Madikizela-Mandela issued several statements and conducted interviews in which she attacked the church for orchestrating a massive cover-up. The war of words continued into February. Following the identification of Stompie Seipei's body, several members of the MUFC, including Mr Jerry Richardson, were arrested and charged with murder.

55 Just prior to these

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

the house during this period.

69 Quotations attributed to Ms Madikizela-Mandela in the Sunday Times two days after the murder, linking Asvat's death to her allegations of Verryn's sexual abuse of the boys, have been rejected by Madikizela-Mandela as fabrication. This denial is part of a broader pattern of denials regarding quotations and stories attributed to her in the media at this time. It is, however, noteworthy that she made no attempt during this period, or subsequently before the hearings, to deny that she had ever said these things.

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

in Botswana under their control.

46 According to Nel, the Western Transvaal became concerned with this disruption to their mode of operation and because they learned that some of the APLA infiltrators had "got away" Matters came to a head after Chand brought a small PAC group into the country who, when intercepted at a roadblock, engaged in a shoot-out in which fifteen police were wounded and a number of civilians killed. "The next thing Sam Chand was eliminated." Nel's story is corroborated by other information collected by the Commission.

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

430 In Umbumbulu on the upper South Coast of KwaZulu/Natal, two IFP office-bearers Mr Dominic Mhlongo [KZN/NMM/111/PM] and Mr Shiyabekhala Kweyama were killed in June 1992. Mr Muziwenhlanhla Msomi [AM5218/97] and others were charged with these murders as well as the possession of unlicensed firearms. Msomi, who is described in the court records as the 'induna of the youth' in the area, was acquitted for the murder of Mhlongo owing to contradictions in the witnesses' stories. He was convicted for the murder of Kweyama but the conviction was overturned on appeal. One suspect was killed by police and another suspect could not be traced.

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

Introduction to Regional Profiles

1 The regional profiles provide an overview of gross violations of human rights as they were reported to the Commission, in both chronological and thematic narrative. It was not possible to include every case brought to the Commission; rather the stories that illustrate particular events, trends and phenomena have been used as windows on the experiences of many people.

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

3 In presenting these stories, background details have been used to situate the cases in their proper context. Hence, researchers and writers in the Commission have made use of secondary source material. The reports and publications of research institutes and monitoring bodies, both at home and abroad, have been extensively used. Affidavits collected for other enquiries and investigations have been used where they apply to the cases before the Commission. Published monographs, press reports and 'unrest reports' of the South African Police (SAP) have been extensively used.

4 Each regional profile is

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

thematic approach has been used.

7 The evidence before the Commission reveals a complex interaction of events. It has been difficult to separate entirely the stories of victims from the stories of perpetrators. For this reason, there is an

inevitable degree of overlap between the regional profiles and the chapters on perpetrators in Volume Two of the report.

8 Findings in the regional

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Eastern Cape PAGE 50

71 The incidents that collectively became known as the Pondoland Revolt took place primarily in 1960-61 in the Pondoland region of former Transkei. The Commission received over 200 human rights violations statements in connection with the Pondoland Revolt, almost all of which were taken in the Bizana-Lusikisiki-Flagstaff regions, mostly from the Bizana area. No amnesty applications were received in connection with this matter. A public hearing was held at Lusikisiki in March 1997, generating enormous public interest. The gap of nearly four decades since the revolt meant that the Commission had difficulty collecting information and retrieving documentation. While some of the deponents had been personally involved in the revolt and could speak from their personal experiences, many stories were given to the Commission by descendants who lacked clear information on what had happened. Some deponents reported victims on both sides of the conflict.

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

passed away in April 1990.

138 The cases were scheduled to be heard at the first hearings of the Commission in East London on 15 April 1996. An interdict brought by Brigadier Jan du Preez and Major General Nick van Rensburg in the Cape Town Supreme Court ruled that the Commission should not hear the matter before these officers had been given time to study the allegations against them. At the second Eastern Cape hearings of the Commission in Port Elizabeth on 22 May 1996, Ms Mthimkulu collapsed when she was informed that once again a court interdict prevented her from telling the story of her son's disappearance. A crisis situation was defused when thousands of demonstrating COSAS members were allowed into the Centenary Hall in New Brighton and given an assurance that Mthimkulu's case would be heard at a special hearing of the Commission in the same venue on 26 June. An additional interdict brought by Mr Gideon Nieuwoudt also specified that Ms Mthimkulu could not name him as one of her son's torturers. The ANC organised demonstrations and marches in Port Elizabeth protesting against the silencing of the Mthimkulus.

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

of these dealt with killings.

196 According to stories told to the Commission, police standing on top of a building fired on protesting youths. Chaos followed in the township with arson attacks and further clashes between youth and police. The shootings were followed by detentions, and in May 1986, twenty-three people were charged with public violence related to the August 1985 events. Inquests subsequently found nobody criminally liable for the deaths. The Commission was unable to find police records relating to these incidents as records from that period were reported to have been destroyed. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE RESORTED TO THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE IN DEALING WITH THE AUGUST 1985 PUBLIC UNREST, AND ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHICH RESULTED FROM THEIR ACTIONS, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT.

Queenstown massacre: November 1985

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr Barnes asked the Commission:

Basically all I'd sort of want to know is are the people that planted the bomb, will they be coming forward? Will they be testifying? And what is really going to happen to get their side of the story and is anything being done about it?

414 The Commission did not

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

4 1.4

1.6

11 Most (63 per cent) of the deponents in KwaZulu-Natal were women – a significantly higher proportion than for other regions. In many cases, it was women who told the stories of families decimated by the political conflict in the province, with accounts of the loss or severe injury of male relatives. Fifty-four per cent of women deponents identified themselves as primary victims; while over 70 per cent of male deponents spoke of themselves as victims. The average age of deponents in KwaZulu-Natal was estimated at forty-three years.

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

23 The antagonism of the provincial majority IFP to the work of the Commission inhibited many IFP supporters from coming forward to tell their stories. A resolution of the IFP annual general meeting in July 1995 stated categorically that the IFP would not participate in the activities of the Commission. In correspondence and at meetings, commissioners expressed their desire for the IFP to encourage its members to appear before the Commission. The IFP maintained its stance, raising several objections to the work of the Commission, in particular to what it described as the 'partisan composition' of the Commission and to the conducting of public hearings in the province. Its strong opposition to the Commission's work was publicised in a newspaper advertisement in August 1997. In October 1997, however, the IFP agreed not to discourage its supporters who wished to come forward, in view of the fact that reparations could not be made available to victims who had not made statements to the Commission. The date for victims' submissions was extended to 15 December 1997, and several thousand submissions were made following this decision, although very few of these were from IFP supporters.

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

the actual experience of violations.

26 Similarly, reports of gross violations suffered by members of the former security forces (SADF, SAP and KZP) contributed less than 1 per cent of the total violations reported in KwaZulu-Natal. There is no doubt that members of the former security forces were victims of the political struggle in KwaZulu-Natal. Many were harassed and reviled; many became the targets of violent attack, and many were killed. These victims and their families did not come forward to tell their stories.

■ 1960–1975 Historical overview of

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

command of Mr Joe Modise.

31 In 1967, MK cadres were sent into Rhodesia with Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) units in what was known as the 'Wankie Campaign'. The main MK unit (the Luthuli Detachment) was to forge a way to South Africa whilst another established a transit base in Sipolilo, Rhodesia. The South African security forces were invited into Rhodesia by the Smith government and launched a joint operation against MK-ZAPU units. These were the first cross-border actions against MK cadres from Natal. The Luthuli Detachment included well-known Natal MK cadres such as Mr Justice Mpanza from Groutville and Mr Daluxolo Luthuli⁴. Many of these cadres and their families later told their stories to the Commission.

32 In 1969, the ANC

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

refused to divulge any information.

The next morning Taylor told Gopal that Haffajee was dead. Du Toit later called them into his office and told them they had to prepare their stories for the inquest. He was told to say that Haffajee had tried to escape and in so doing, had hit his body on the car. Gopal told the Commission that he does not believe that Haffajee committed suicide, as he was very strong psychologically.

Dr DH Biggs, who was

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

Natal and KwaZulu PAGE 241

I was admitted in hospital. That was the end of the story because there was no case afterwards. I was discharged from hospital. I went back home."

Shangase told the Commission that

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

322 Pensioner and ANC member Joseph Sabelo Mthethwa told the Commission his story of what happened that night. He arrived home from work at 18h00 and noticed a large group of men gathered outside the hostel. Soon afterwards, he heard gunshots, and people came running past, shouting that Inkatha was attacking them. He remained in his home until the fighting died down. A while later there was a knock on his door. It was someone from the hospital to tell him that his twenty-two year old son, Nkosinathi, had been killed [KZN/ZJ/306/EST]. Late that night, SADF members conducted a weapons raid throughout the township. In the early hours of the next morning, the hostel-dwellers launched a second attack on the township residents. Mr Bongeni Alson Majola lost his wife in the pre-dawn attack:

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

354 The Commission heard stories from several survivors of massacres in the Richmond area and from other 'flashpoints' around the province.

355 In Umlazi, fifteen women

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

Natal and KwaZulu PAGE 295

358 At Bomela, twelve IFP-supporting youths were massacred on 4 September 1992 at the home of the local IFP Women's Brigade leader, Ms Thokozile Dlamini, on the eve of an IFP Youth Brigade conference in Ulundi. Children had gathered at the Dlamini home to rehearse songs they were intending to perform at the conference. At about 19h00 or 20h00 a group of armed men wearing camouflage stormed the Dlamini home and opened fire on the children, who fled in all directions. At the time, Ms Dlamini [KZN/KM/543/PS] was sitting outside her house listening to the children singing. At the Port Shepstone hearing, she told the story of that day:

I heard a rumble of

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

is what happened to me.

They raped me, the three guys. That was the end of my story. I got pregnant there. And when I came back home, I was pregnant and now I have a child whose father I don't know.

There was a certain girl

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

The case of Polediso Motsoeneng

Perhaps one of the most moving cases of the disruption of family life to emerge from the Orange Free State is the story of Mr Polediso Hubert Dihlelele Motsoeneng, who was detained without trial in Bethlehem for a total of eleven months during the 1986 state of emergency.

In detention, he was beaten

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

The children's hearing in Bloemfontein

85 At a hearing convened in Bloemfontein on 23 June 1997 especially to hear the stories of children, the Commission heard of the effects of political conflict, unemployment, forced removals, poverty and inadequate education on the lives of children in the Orange Free State. In order to attend farm and township schools, children would often have to travel long distances and many would have to endure a day at school, and sometimes a time of working in the fields, without adequate nutrition to sustain them. Bereavement and displacement of families owing to political conflict would often produce trauma symptoms and behavioural disorders such as truancy, crime and aberrations of conduct in children. The inadequate social services were not equal to supporting the children and families in need.

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

The case of Richard Sello

One of the most humiliating forms of brutality perpetrated by the police against a student activist is found in the story of Mr Richard Retshidisitswe Sello who was actively involved in the Students' Representative Council (SRC) at his school in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn in 1987. Sello told the Commission that

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEM.

168 Several statements were made to the Commission by victims who were unwittingly caught up in township disturbances and school boycotts. The lives of such individuals were irreversibly altered by injuries sustained during the conflict as a result of police action. Perhaps the most poignant stories of innocent people caught in the crossfire are those of children.

The shooting of Ben Enkela

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Western Cape PAGE 410

said that I had obviously been drugged and that they were waiting to see what the reaction was going to be. I was just seeing all my veins dilating, it looked like worms – it looked like worms coming out of my hands. It was all standing up I thought my blood vessels were going to burst and I just felt this pains across my chest and I felt I was going to be very, very ill. Then Captain du Plessis came back, and he said "Zubeida you know you're never going to make it, you going to have a heart attack you going to die. And so we going to give you some paper and we want you to write your life story. And you'll spent the night writing your life story on this paper."

So I started doing that

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

210 Statements taken from the Mossel Bay area reflect brutal torture of a range of young teenagers arrested and tortured by the same group of people during 1985 and 1986. Almost all then spent three to five months in state of emergency detention in George prison. Some were subsequently charged with public violence. The Mossel Bay stories of torture show a number of unusual similarities, including a particularly aggressive form of sexual abuse of both males and females. Several males had their genitals slammed in the drawer of a desk.

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

hostels, thus further reinforcing divisions.

628 The meshing of territorial and political boundaries through extreme coercion is illustrated by the stories of two Soweto residents on opposite sides of the political divide. In May 1990, IFP member George Mncube [JB04474/0101GTSOW] was reportedly threatened with death by the chairperson of the local civic association and harassed by 'comrades' in Meadowlands, Soweto after he had tried to prevent the eviction of another IFP member. Eventually, he was forced to move out of the township into Dube hostel.

629 Ms Dudu Howard and

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

COMMUNITIES AND SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSITION

114 The story of faith communities and their members who were involved in opposition to apartheid does not end with the unbanning of the liberation movements. As the 1980s drew to a close, some organisations began looking toward the future and preparing people for democracy. One example of the many that illustrate the way in which the transition was anticipated is Diakonia, an ecumenical group in the Durban area, which published 'The Good Society: Bible Studies on Christianity and Democracy'⁵⁶ - anticipating voter education programmes in the run up to the 1994 elections.

115 Faith communities were engaged

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

Elizabeth in Dr Tucker's place.

13 The evidence available to the Commission suggests that most district surgeons were not directly involved in committing gross violations of human rights during the period under review. Their most common offence was a failure to carry out their duties within internationally accepted guidelines of medical ethics and human rights. All these points are starkly illustrated by the Steve Biko story. The doctors failed to:

a maintain patient-doctor confidentiality

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

bullrush Not to get wet.

How much time can you give us? We see: one carpet in your flat costs The fees you earn from Five thousand consultations. You'll no doubt say You are innocent. The damp patch On the wall of our flats Tells the same story.⁵⁰

50 Bertold Brecht, Poems 1913

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

between midnight and six am.

30 Most of what Khathide said was confirmed by Jakes Nene of MWASA. He singled out staff members such as Cliff Saunders who "haunted" them with "skewed" NP/Broederbond information. Nene said that black people were employed only as translators or interpreters, interpreting for white journalists who covered stories, even in the homelands. He confirmed that there was a ceiling at the SABC for black people. No black person, however well qualified, could reach supervisory level. Any white person in the employ of the SABC was an automatic superior.

Rule by sjambok

31 Regulations

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

those fighting the liberation struggle.

b A selective approach: stories that made the police look like villains were spiked or rewritten.
Furthermore, the black journalist's version of a story was
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 6 Institutional

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearings: The Media PAGE 175

always questioned. Stories featuring whites were given preference to those that involved blacks, even if the latter were more newsworthy.

c Two days leave or

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

were left to challenge them.

e The actions of senior newspaper personnel suggested they were happy with curbs. For example, there were constant angry admonitions to 'tone down' or 'be objective', even though the stories were 100 per cent true. Numerous stories were spiked because they highlighted police and army atrocities in the townships.

f Even legal protests by

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

As one journalist put it:

I don't think we want to have a relationship with politicians, but I think the line should be open. I think in an age of transparency, we should be able to pick up the phone and ask for a statement. That is what we want. I don't think we are looking for a lovey-dovey relationship with politicians, no. As journalists, it is to report what is going on. But if there is a need for them to respond to our stories, then they should do so.

110 Two initial questions were

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

the white reporters' versions used.

b Reporting on June 16. On 16 June 1976, black journalists came into their own. They were the people able to enter townships and report on what was happening and the white mainstream media had, finally, to acknowledge their contribution. Yet their reports were often not attributed to the black journalists whose information was, they allege, used by their white colleagues to sell stories overseas.

c Biko's death and 'Black

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

statement, drafted in 1997, states:

We strive to promote stories told in a multiplicity of African voices, stories that are well-researched, contextualised, analytical, interpretative in dialogue and with respect for an audience that is complex and diverse.

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

Department approved publication in advance”.

58 The effect of the Strachan prosecutions rippled far beyond prisons. It effectively tied up the resources and energies of the Rand Daily Mail for more than four years while the case dragged on. Moreover, the success of the prosecutions sent a sharp warning to journalists to lay off prison stories. The onus was now on the defendant to prove that the published information was correct; in other words, defendants were deemed guilty until they could prove themselves innocent.

59 This affected not only stories on prisons, but was later extended to the army and police, placing an effective ban on any adverse reporting of the security forces. It created the climate in which the secret operations of Vlakplaas, for instance, could be initiated and carried out with little fear of exposure.

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

enemies’ of the previous state.

45 Some of the submissions focused on military activities in neighbouring countries, especially in South Africa’s ‘fifth province’, Namibia. This highlighted the fact that there are large numbers of victims in the southern African region whose stories were not addressed by the Commission.

46 Many of these individual

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

Special Hearing: Conscription PAGE 243

58 Mr Ian Bruce highlighted the possible role of groups in civil society. He shared the vision of a fellow ex-combatant, Marius van Niekerk (who is still based in Sweden), of forming a South African Veterans Association (SAVA). SAVA’s basic mission, following in the footsteps of Vietnam veterans’ self-help organisations, would be to create a formal network to help ex-combatants from across the political spectrum to come together and help each other with problems like post-traumatic stress disorder. Some specific projects might include helping excombatants to tell and write their stories, supporting the campaign against the use of landmines, initiating and supporting relief and reconstruction projects to help local populations in former operational areas, linking with churches and official military medical services, setting up and supporting special training programmes in post-traumatic stress disorder treatment for interested health professionals and so on. John Deegan, who has been working with Marius van Niekerk, expressed the vision of SAVA as follows:

So what I hope for

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

we put it into gear ...

It’s not a bunch of ex-soldiers getting together, having a braaivleis and swapping bush stories. What it is, is SWAPO, ANC, APLA, Umkhonto weSizwe, Koevoet, ‘Reccies’, all the units, every single unit, everybody who ever was trained in any way militarily getting together and just trying to make some kind of sense of the mess we made and doing something about it. Like, we talk about reparation and remorse and all this but, until we actually do something, like, tangible and physical, it’s all words, it means nothing. So I’d really

like to see the South African Veterans' Association, if that's what it's going to be called, get off the ground. And hopefully we can convene a national meeting at some point where we can express the aims of that and make it open to absolutely everybody who feels they might have a problem with post-traumatic stress disorder or anyone who was just connected with this whole conscription, with the whole military thing.

Part of the SAVA thing

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearing: Children and Youth

■ INTRODUCTION

1 In light of the direct impact of the policies of the former state on young people and the active role they played in opposing apartheid, the Commission decided to hold hearings on the experiences of children and youth. Many of those who testified before the Commission were eighteen years old or younger when the gross violations of human rights occurred.¹ However, it was considered important that those who were under eighteen years of age during the life of the Commission be given the opportunity to testify. Indeed, before these special hearings, few children under the age of eighteen had approached the Commission to tell their stories.

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

excluded themselves from the hearings.

5 These stories are not, consequently, captured in what follows. No concerted attempt was made by the Commission to encourage those young people who did attend the hearings to speak of themselves as heroes who had sacrificed their education, their safety and often their long term opportunities through their active resistance to apartheid.

A culture of human rights

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

on children.

Creativity and flexibility

10 The special hearings on children and youth were more flexible than other hearings of the Commission, in that they allowed participants to reflect on or critically analyse the root causes of apartheid and its effects on children. Most parties providing testimony supplied written submissions ahead of the hearing and were asked to summarise their submissions orally and answer questions posed by the panel. The hearings also allowed for the participation of children in ways other than by testifying; this included finding creative ways to access and share the children's experience. Before the KwaZulu-Natal/Free State hearing, for example, children spent a day telling their stories and making drawings that reflected their experiences. These were shared at the hearings the following day.³

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

stay aways or educational boycotts.

27 The security establishment engaged in the informal repression of children by hunting down 'troublesome' youth and developing an informer network. This latter had dire consequences for youth organisations. Stories are told about the transfer of detained children to rehabilitation camps where it is thought that they became informers and participated in counter-mobilisation structures and other state security projects. In the words of Mr Mzimasi Majojo at the Eastern Cape hearing:
Our friends were made to

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

51 Ms Joyce Mthimkulu told the story of her son, Sipiwe Mthimkulu, at the Commission's hearings in Port Elizabeth in June 1996. The case of Sipiwe Mthimkulu details the tragic layers of abuse that were endured by many activists. Sipiwe was a determined political activist in the Eastern Cape from the age of seventeen. His activities centred on his objection to Bantu Education. His participation in COSAS brought upon him the wrath of the regime. He was detained numerous times and subjected to severe forms of torture. He was shot in the arm and faced constant police harassment. To protect his family from harassment, he was continually on the run and, when he did return home, he lived in a dog kennel.

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

the fear that we felt.

9 Most of those who spoke at the special hearings spoke of their experience as direct victims. This chapter, in focusing on their stories, underlines the fact that there were many women who suffered from the full range of abuses which fell within the Commission's understanding of its ambit. It also, however, points out the particular ways in which these women might have experienced abuses. At the level of biology, it points to sexual abuses and threats. At a broader level, it looks at how gendered roles affected the experience and its aftermath.

10 This short chapter cannot

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

11 The chapter commences by presenting gender-disaggregated statistics culled from the database of the Commission. It follows with general discussion as to how the outlook of the Commission might have affected what was heard, given the gendered roles and socialisation within the society. It looks at the nature of possible 'silences'. Against this background, the chapter then presents some of the stories related in the special hearings or recorded in the submissions. These provide some idea of the range of sexual, physical and psychological abuses experienced by women. While most of the stories focused on experiences while in detention, one section looks specifically at abuses suffered by women outside of prison. The penultimate section looks at relationships, a theme that emerged strongly when women discussed all forms of abuse. The final section looks at women as perpetrators.

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

and June 1996 were women.

28 One can, however, overstate the case. The hearings provided ample evidence that women fulfilled all roles in the struggle and suffered the full range of human rights violations. There were stories of women

active – and abused — in all three decades covered by the Commission. There were stories of and by women of all races and of all ages. In terms of educational level, the women ranged from those with limited formal education to others with tertiary degrees. Ms Lita
6 Goldblatt, B (1997), 'Violence

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

for a child to carry.

34 There were also many stories about how previously 'apolitical' women became activists because of the abuses suffered by themselves and their families. For example, Ms Nozizwe Madlala told the story of Ms Kubeka. Ms Kubeka's home was twice burnt down during the KwaZulu-Natal violence, while police looked on without intervening. On the second occasion, Ms Madlala was in detention when the arson attack took place. The security police broke the news to her and:
boasted about this evil attack

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

gendered nature of those atrocities.

37 One of the silences was that of women who had themselves suffered gross human rights violations, but spoke only as secondary victims — as relatives of men who had suffered. Hence, for example, in the first week of hearings in the Eastern Cape, the widows of the Cradock Four spoke about their murdered husbands. Each had herself been arrested and harassed, but their own stories did not become the subject of the hearings. Later in the hearings, Dr Liz Floyd and Ms Nyameka Goniwe spoke about the abuses suffered by their partners, Mr Neil Aggett and Mr Matthew Goniwe. They, too, mentioned their own roles and suffering only in passing.
38 Several of the women

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

herself.

■ SILENCES ABOUT SEXUAL ABUSE

44 One of the particularly difficult areas of silence is sexual abuse. The Commission saw its provision of the opportunity "to relate their own accounts" as a way of restoring "the human and civil dignity" of victims. For many women, relating the story of their sexual abuse would in no way serve this purpose. It would, instead, leave them feeling a loss of dignity.
45 It is, perhaps, surprising

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

They feared the special branch."

55 Several women described how they had been sexually abused, although not necessarily raped, while in detention. Ms Evelyn Masego Thunyiswa was twenty-two years old in 1977 when she and others were detained by police on their way to Steve Biko's funeral. She told the story at the special hearing on children and youth:

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

very notorious of raping people".

63 There were many stories of how women were degraded when menstruating. Most commonly, women would be forced to stand, with or without pads, with blood running down their legs while being tortured. Ms Phyllis Naidoo was forced to use newspapers instead of pads: "It was horrible, and terribly demeaning." For Ms Joyce Sikhakhane Ranken, "the feel and smell of the sticky blood [was] a reminder of imminent slaughter at the hands of your torturers". When Ms Elaine Mohamed was told she was not allowed to use tampons, a policeman "shook the pad and hit it against the wall saying 'Put it on'". Ms Mohamed also reported that another woman had rats pushed into her vagina. She said that rats would come into her own cell and eat her soiled pads. "I'd just pick up the bits of my pads, but that experience was terror for me. I always felt that the rats were gnawing at me".¹⁵

64 Stories of rape and sexual abuse were not confined to those that occurred in detention. In the Durban hearings, speaking from behind a screen, a woman described how she was gang raped by youths from an opposing political organisation. Her husband was forced to watch the entire attack. When she awoke in hospital, she was told that she needed a hysterectomy. Like some others, this woman felt she was in some way responsible: "Sometimes I feel like I invited the trouble myself. I feel very degraded and dirty. And especially because I am a Christian."

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

black women in this country."

83 In describing her experiences, Ms Kemp recalled how "Rossouw said he was very sorry that we had used women, but if I wanted to behave like a man, he would treat me like a man." She then related how Warrant Officer 'Spyker' van Wyk "pleaded with Rossouw to allow him to be alone with me. In retrospect it was clear that he was seeking permission to use violence to break me." Warrant Officer Van Wyk was also a primary actor in the stories of several other women victims of abuse. Ms Shirley Gunn recalled her own feelings when confronted with Warrant Officer van Wyk, as she had named her son after Iman Haron, who Warrant Officer van Wyk had been accused of killing in detention.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 10 Special

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

Ms Cheryl de la Rey.

87 It is often difficult to distinguish between physical and psychological abuse. Many of the stories indicated the way in which physical abuse was exacerbated by psychological. Many also showed how physical abuse was used to humiliate the victims. Women, more than men, were prepared to talk about psychological aspects of their experience. Women were also more likely than men to talk about the psychosomatic and psychological problems experienced afterwards.

88 Ms Dee Dicks, for

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

received while outside the country.

102 Ms Selina Williams, mother of Ms Coline Williams, was convinced that her daughter had actually been murdered. Ms Williams was sceptical of the police story that her daughter and Mr Robert Waterwitch had blown themselves up in error. Her other daughter, Ms Wilhelmina Cupido, pointed out that the fact that 22 Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

towels survive a bomb blast?"

103 There were several stories of abduction. For example, Ms Nozibele Maria Mxathule described how, in 1986, a group of young girls and boys were abducted en route to a funeral of children shot by police: They took us to a

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearing on Women PAGE 313

But, she also said that, when her mother was ill, "I asked her as to how she was feeling about the whole issue of my joining politics, she said to me what I was doing was right, because I was fighting for rights." One of the anonymous KwaZuluNatal witnesses who was raped and impregnated also felt her mother's health was affected by the incident "My mother, after I came back and told her about the story, she had a heart disease. Up until today she is suffering from heart attacks."

124 It would be wrong

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

on Women PAGE 317

■ CONCLUSION

143 This chapter draws primarily on the testimony of women who made presentations during the three special hearings organised in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. It also draws on the associated submissions to the Commission and on statistics generated from the Commission's database of deponents and applicants. As elsewhere in the Commission, the relatively few women whose experiences are recorded must represent many, many more who did not want to present their own stories, or were not able to do so for some reason. Nevertheless, the limited evidence available confirms the fact that women were active in all roles – as perpetrators, and in the full range of different primary and secondary victim roles. It also indicates ways in which women's experience of abuse might have differed from that of men.

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

19 For thousands of people, statement takers represented their first and often their only face-to-face encounter with the Commission. They were selected for their ability to listen to the stories told by people in their chosen language, to distil the essential facts, and to record them in English (since for practical reasons this was the language the Commission had decided to use). Equally important was their ability to listen with empathy and respect, so that the interview itself became part of the therapeutic and healing work of the Commission. Interviews often took several hours, and involved both the deponent and the statement taker in an intense process of reliving anguishing experiences. Many deponents clearly found

this to be a catharsis, but others were still bitterly angry or deeply wounded. Some were referred to supportive organisations for counselling and treatment.

20 The statement takers thus

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

MAZIBUKO, Nomalanga MAZIBUKO, Nomusa Anna

MAZIBUKO, Ntombikayise MAZIBUKO, Patricia Jabulile MAZIBUKO, Petros Nqobile MAZIBUKO, Phumlani MAZIBUKO, Robert MAZIBUKO, Rose Thandi MAZIBUKO, Sibusiso Abednego MAZIBUKO, Siphila John MAZIBUKO, Suzan Elizabeth MAZIBUKO, Thabeleni MAZIBUKO, Thandiwe MAZIBUKO, Thokozile Samaria MAZIBUKO, Thulisile MAZIBUKO, Vikinduku Stephen MAZIBUKO, Vusi Anderson MAZIBUKO, Vusumuzi Mapheshi MAZIBUKO, Zinhle Yvonne MAZIKO, Princess Mandisa MAZIYA, Lindiwe Roseline MAZIYA, Mokabhe Ali MAZIYA, Thandi Elizabeth MAZIYA, Zwelakhe MAZIYANE, Nozukile MAZOKWANA, China Gray MAZOMBA, Boy Charles MAZOMBA, Sindiswa Flora MAZUBANE, Lamekhi Mbongiseni MAZUBANE, Ngwala MAZUBANE, Thokozile Alice MAZUBANE, Thomas Sakhiwe MAZUBANE, Thulani Goodboy MAZUBANI, Dumephi MAZULA, Kenneth Mbulelo MAZUNGULA, Sizwe Douglas MAZUZA, Phillip Lukhele MAZWEMBE, Luke Storie MAZWI, Abednigo Nzimeni MAZWI, Abednigo Nzimeni MBABELA, Gladman Mankenke MBADI, Moses Themba MBALANE, Matwethu Sheshe MBALI, Buziwe MBALI, Nozuko Monica MBALI, Thembeka

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

bitterly cold night in detention:

When dawn eventually broke, I had the first opportunity of looking around my cell. What I saw still haunts me to this day. The wall on the one side of my cell was smeared with faeces. The spot where the night soil bucket stood was a pool of urine ... The blankets were old, threadbare, smelly, dusty, coarse, with tell tale signs of perverse sexual acts. I tried walking towards the door, but I staggered about sick to the bottom of my gut ... I remembered stories about tactics of killing someone without laying a finger on them.

Psychological problems

20 Internationally, the

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

confided in was her husband:

This has been my secret for quite a long time and I am glad that the Truth Commission is here and I am now talking this out. It is only my husband who knows this whole story.

106 When asked at the

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

life was then an uncertainty ...

My story ... is but a story of a woman who could not bury her husband because there was no corpse.

119 Many who were able

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

in which it was implemented.

192 People came to the Commission to tell their stories in an attempt to facilitate, not only their own individual healing processes, but also a healing process for the entire nation. Many of those who chose not to come to the Commission heard versions of their own stories in the experiences of others. In this way, the Commission was able to reach a broader community.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 4 Consequences

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

MEDICAL ATTENTION, FOOD AND WATER.

WOMEN WERE ABUSED BY THE SECURITY FORCES IN WAYS WHICH SPECIFICALLY EXPLOITED THEIR VULNERABILITIES AS WOMEN, FOR EXAMPLE RAPE OR THREATS OF RAPE AND OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL ABUSE, THREATS AGAINST FAMILY AND CHILDREN, REMOVAL OF CHILDREN FROM THEIR CARE, FALSE STORIES ABOUT ILLNESS AND/OR DEATH OF FAMILY MEMBERS AND CHILDREN, AND HUMILIATION AND ABUSE AROUND BIOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS SUCH AS MENSTRUATION AND CHILDBIRTH.

WOMEN IN EXILE, PARTICULARLY THOSE

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

are neither direct nor proven.

98 However, authoritarianism may form a contributing factor in the propensity towards violence in that both central elements of the authoritarian personality – obedience and loyalties to in-group authorities, and hostile distancing from others (a tendency towards dehumanisation of the ‘enemy’) – have been directly implicated in aggression. It is a feasible link in the chain; it is not the whole story.

99 In evidence before the

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

authority rather than the victim.

120 These two processes, working together, operate in subtle, quite normal ways to suck a person into a positioning of obedience, rendering refusals and resistance difficult. Regarding this process of sequencing, here we extract from John Deegan’s story.

Slowly the artistic side started

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

and in their own language.

8 Above all, the Commission tried to listen, really to listen – not passively but actively – to voices that for so long had been stilled. And as it listened to stories of horror, of pathos and of tragic proportion, it became aware again of the high cost that has been paid by so many for freedom. Commissioners were almost overwhelmed by the capacity of human beings to damage and destroy each other. Yet they listened, too, to stories of great courage, concluding often with

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

Anglican Bishop David Beetge said:

[The Commission] has given the opportunity for people to tell their story, stories which [could] never be told before... There were so many unhealed wounds before the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] began its work. The evidence of those who have given witness [is] that, by telling their story, they have shared a burden and found a new sense of peace. This is very obvious from the sheer look of some of them as they walk out of the meetings of the Commission. Archbishop Tutu has said truth will ultimately come out; it cannot be concealed forever. It is in its very nature to reveal, to throw light, to clarify what is hidden. There are ways and ways of telling our stories and we are not encouraging people to relive and retell their stories endlessly and promiscuously – never moving forward, never leaving the past behind. We retell our painful stories so that we shall remember the years that lie behind with all their struggles and terror as the way that led to new life...

6 Not all storytelling heals. Not everyone wanted to tell his or her story. Many, on the other hand, were able to reach towards healing by telling the painful stories of their pasts. The healing potential of storytelling, of revealing the truth before a respectful audience and to an official body, is illustrated by the following testimonies:

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

delivered his testimony, he replied:

I feel that what has been making me sick all the time is the fact that I couldn't tell my story. But now it feels like I got my sight back by coming here and telling you the story.

10 Quite often, witnesses revealed

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

23 July 1997, he said:

The [Commission] has deeply affected my life in a short space of time that has elapsed since I first came to their offices here in Cape Town and told my story to one of the investigators. It has begun a healing process in all sorts of relationships in my family and has enabled me to begin on my own road to inner healing. Having gone to the [Commission] with my story, it is almost as if it is all right to talk about it now. Slowly things are changing. As if I've been freed from a prison in which I have been for eighteen years. It is also as if my family has been freed. My brother, who worked for Armscor [manufacturing military equipment for the apartheid state] for five or six years in the 1980s, is all of a sudden much softer, more human and more able to talk to me ... It is almost as if the silence is ending, as if we are waking up from a long bad nightmare.

13 Storytelling activities, inspired by

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

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Commissioner Wildschut: [That is] why we felt it is important that you too have the opportunity to tell your story today. I think that many people say, looking back they acknowledge the fact that they didn't give you that opportunity and didn't recognise your pain and your grief. People are saying today that it is important for reconciliation and for healing to take place; that we begin to acknowledge that you too went through a lot of suffering. How do you feel about the fact that people are now beginning to say that they would like to work towards reconciliation first by beginning to acknowledge that you yourself have suffered? Ms Sethwale: I feel I am already dead and that this process will be a very long and time-consuming one. It will take a lot of effort to make me entirely normal again because I have actually become quite used to my pain and place where I find myself currently. I don't bear any grudges against anybody. But if you lose your confidence and your faith in other people, it is very hard to restore. My faith in my fellow human being has been shattered, but I don't bear anybody any grudges.

Exoneration

29 A particularly complex

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

bear anybody any grudges.

Exoneration

29 A particularly complex healing process is involved in restoring trust where someone has been falsely accused of being a spy or an informer. In a number of cases, the Commission helped to restore the dignity of those who were thus falsely accused. This is illustrated by the testimony of Ms Evelina Puleng Moloko on the 'necklacing' of her sister, Maki Skosana, after the latter was suspected of being involved in the killing of a number of youths when booby-trapped hand grenades blew up in their hands. Ms Moloko told her story at the Duduza human rights violations hearing:

Maki was a Comrade. She

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation PAGE 370

heinous crime. They must expunge their guilt by telling the truth and seeking forgiveness from their victims. They can shed light on what actually happened and need to be encouraged to seek indemnity because this is the key thing: they have been afraid to tell the truth. And I have been told stories about this officer and that commander, and this one who is suicidal and this one who is drinking himself to death, and I must tell you that I have feeling for them, which is why I am making this statement, and I have sent back this message to tell them they've got nothing to fear if they come forward. But that's not the only thing. It's not the only thing in creating a new defence force, because anyone in our new defence force now must demonstrate by their actions as soldiers that they wish to serve and protect the people of our country and our democratic system.

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

■ FORGIVENESS

38 Despite the terrible stories told by victims, the Commission heard some remarkable evidence of a willingness to forgive. At the human rights violations hearing at Beaufort West, Mr Alwinus Ndodiphela Mralasi made the following statement: Alwinus Mralasi: Thequewe Willie Manene was a member of the

Methodist Church, and he accused me, together with his brother and another brother of his. I must tell you everything that I thought about him so that one could make a story out of this.
I hated him for five

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

did things which were irrational.

54 At the human rights hearing in Upington, on 2 October 1996, local community leader and minister Aubrey Beukes apologised to the mother of the murdered municipal constable, Lukas 'Jetta' Sethwale (see above): We were silent on the pain of the mother, the family of Jetta. As someone actively involved in campaigning for the release of the Upington 14 (those sentenced to death), I would like to say to Ms Sethwale and the family of Jetta: please forgive us that we allowed you to suffer in silence amid all the media attention. We were all victims. Forgive us the times when we drove past your house, showing journalists and foreign people where Jetta stayed and telling them our stories, and not inviting them to make some time to listen to your pain.

55 A spokesperson for the

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

Church in the Western Cape:

Along with our church, we also began to work actively towards reconciliation involving seeking forgiveness for the evil of apartheid and making financial restitution. To cut a long story short, we are at present extensively involved in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape. We have planted a non-racial church. The white folk that are part of this church have committed themselves to racial reconciliation in a practical way, not just in theory. We are involved in two pre-schools and are seeking to launch projects to empower the community. We are also involved in a housing project in Tambo Square, Tambo Village and have seen the hand of God really moving in terms of bringing together white and black and healing the divisions and enmity of the past. I did not feel I needed to apply for amnesty for I personally did not kill anyone. I do feel, however, that I was part of the overall strategy of destabilisation during the apartheid years; and it was because of that, that I've come forward with this account. And I've also made the information available because I have been very disappointed to see the lack of courage that has been shown by many in the defence force in terms of owning up to deeds like this in the past. I really feel that as a South African and as a Christian pastor that there's a tremendous hope for this nation if individuals can find the grace to speak the truth and be agents of reconciliation as we face the future together.

105 He went on to

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation PAGE 418

Democracy, reconciliation and nation-building remain threatened so long as patriarchy in all its forms and all the forms of patriarchy, Chairperson, are violent forms of patriarchy. They are actually a violation of human rights. We cannot limit human rights to what is in the Act. Gender inequality and gender injustice is a violation of human rights. It does not necessarily mean that we must have the hearings, but it means we must have the process of eradicating that. As we today look back in our gruesome past, we must realise that our present and future remain in jeopardy, despite the good work of the [Commission], if the violence against women and children is allowed to continue. The South African society needs to be

mobilised in the same manner that it was mobilised against apartheid. In the same manner that we won that war against apartheid. Why are we not mobilising and engage in that war against violence against women and children? Why is the nation continuing as if nothing is happening? Why are these massacres allowed to happen? Why is this genocide? Why are we allowing it? Why is it being made a role of women? It is not the role of Government alone. It is the role of this society, because if we do not do that, one year, two years down the line, we will have to have that Truth and Reconciliation Commission once again for us to come back and retell the stories that we suffered under democracy, Chairperson. Within our own homes, the domestic violence in our own homes, the violence in our streets, the violence in the work place, the violence that's permeating all of our society. Most of the time what is being highlighted, are the hijackings. I am not undermining this. I am not undermining the deaths. Look at the wall down Wits.¹⁴ That wall! Look at the faces! Ninety-nine per cent – I went there and looked and registered – 99 per cent are faces of men; where are the women who have been killed? Where are the women who have been raped? Where are the women who are getting battered in their own families? They are not in that wall. Why are they not in that wall?
Is that your work, Chairperson

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

form of reparation is offered.

Many victims were understandably bitter about their suffering – while many are willing to engage in a process of reconciliation. The [Commission] has played a part in engaging victims in examining and articulating their needs within a reconciliation process. It has however not done enough in meeting these needs or in facilitating a process through which these needs could be met. Being promised some form of reparation and being given the opportunity to go on stage and tell their stories was a very powerful experience for many victims. They felt that they now had a voice. But this momentum has to be sustained. The organisational base for them to continue to be heard has only materialised in very few areas. For the reconciliation process to be carried through to some conclusion requires a victim engagement process that gives them space to articulate and voice their concerns. The [Commission] provided for a moment of opportunity, rather than sustained mobilisation. Other processes that allow for victims' (and perpetrators') concerns and interests to be articulated and addressed need to be developed and sustained at community level. Khulumani, which was initially active in the community, was not able to sustain its activities due to financial constraints.

The violence experienced in this

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

meeting some of these preconditions.

Reconciliation involves various stages of development and change. One essential step is dialogue between adversaries. The victim-oriented and perpetrator-oriented aspects of the Commission's work are broken into separate functions. Victims tell their stories in one forum and perpetrators in another. The interaction is thus often mediated purely by the media coverage of these events. While this may have been useful in providing safe space to engage them, or to maximise information gathering, the subsequent step of facilitating more direct dialogue still needs to be addressed. For victims there is often a need to have personal interaction with the perpetrator. They want to be able to call that person(s) to account personally. They want to be able to relate their suffering and demand an explanation. Victims in other communities have reported a great sense of empowerment that goes with the ability to stand up to one's victimiser. Some perpetrators have also expressed a need to apologise to their victims. There is also

a need to be able to humanise the relationship; to deny the categories and stereotypes that allowed the divisions of the past. The actual dialogue in Duduza has, however, not yet started.

Reconciliation and individuals: registering one's

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation PAGE 431

visits to places of pain where, in the company of local communities, liturgies of healing and cleansing will occur and symbolic actions will take place to facilitate reconciliation. Similarly, trauma workshops and workshops of repentance and restitution are available in our province to enable people bruised by a divided past to come together in a wholesome healing atmosphere in the presence of skilled facilitators which seem so essential to finding new hope for their lives... it's quite difficult to encourage people to participate in what is involved in that, but assisted by the insights and contribution of Father Michael Lapsley, we have engaged upon a process whereby people across the parish boundaries, as my brother Bishop was saying, have come together, normally in fairly small groups so that there can be an interchange of depth, have come together over a weekend to undertake an experience which involves actually telling one another stories. And out of that process of listening to one another, finding a new measure of healing and then gathering all that together into an act of Eucharistic worship at the end of the weekend. These have been remarkable successful as a supplement if you like, something complementing our whole truth and reconciliation process in the nation.¹⁶

In the health sector: a

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

an Internal Reconciliation Commission (IRC).

138 The objectives of the IRC are: a To record the history of racial discrimination in the faculty; b To record the history of resistance to apartheid by members of the faculty; c To allow those who were discriminated against to tell their stories.

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

■ TRUTH

23 Exaggeration is a natural consequence of human suffering. Often deponents were not present at the actual violations to which they testified and their stories were accounts of what they were told. They reflect oral history. They also reflect perspectives. Often deponents gave evidence in terms of their own understanding of what happened. Evidence was not tested. It was not intended to be tested. Except for a few statements, they were not even attested to under oath. Most deponents giving oral evidence, when taking the oath, made it clear that they would speak the truth "as they see it".

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

It can only be acknowledged.

37 The process allowed victims to be reintegrated into society. In hearings, victims often approached the Commission almost in a foetal position as they came to take their seats and relate their stories. They told their stories as they saw them, as they experienced them, as they perceived what had happened to them.

And as they left their seats, the image was wholly different. They walked tall. They were reintegrated into their community. They could re-assume their roles in society; they could manage themselves and the world around them again. They were healthy cells of the national organism. This too is restorative justice. This too is the spirit of ubuntu.

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

83 It is premature to make any specific recommendation regarding amnesty before completion of the process. However, I will fail my conscience if I do not comment on a matter of my own experience relating to some applications refused, for example (and only as an example), for some actions by members of self-defence units which would never have occurred had it not been for the nature of the conflict, yet which fall outside the ambit of the provisions of the Act. One cannot help but feel that many would never have been criminals and that the imprisonment of some such individuals does not serve the interests of either the individuals concerned or that of society as a whole. Where prosecutions are pending, the courts can still consider such factors when passing sentence. Where unsuccessful applicants are serving long-term sentences, it is a totally different story.

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

a traumatized and wounded people.

We are also deeply grateful to the thousands of South Africans who came to the Commission to tell us their stories. They have won our country the admiration of the world: wherever one goes, South Africa's peaceful transition to democracy, culminating in the Truth and Reconciliation process, is spoken of almost in reverent tones, as a phenomenon that is unique in the annals of history, one to be commended as a new way of living for humankind. Other countries have had truth commissions, and many more are following our example, but ours is regarded as the most ambitious, a kind of benchmark against which the rest are measured.

We hope that the completion

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

2. The stories below have not been chosen because they represent specific categories of the consequences of human rights violations and the issues they raise for reparation and rehabilitation. They are not and cannot be representative. They simply try to offer a context, a way to bring us back to what sometimes risks being obscured in the process of amassing and interpreting so vast a body of material. In so doing, they provide an opportunity to remember why we began this long and difficult journey into our past ... a chance to hear once again the voices of some of those who spoke to us along the way.

THE STORY OF THE MZELEMU FAMILY

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

LINDY PHAHLE AND JOSEPH MALAZA

12. This is the story Hilda Phahle told the Commission about the South African Defence Force (SADF) raid on Gaborone in 1985:53 I will start from 'is hulle dood, morsdood?' 54

These are the words of

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

L i n d i 's cousin who was just visiting there for the night. Survivor: Levi, our younger son who lived to tell the story and was adversely affected. He tells the gruesome story of how the SADF arrived swearing and behaving like people well-drugged and drunk, ordering George to open the door. The door was blown open. Instead of opening, George and Lindi ran into his bedroom, locked the door, and pushed his portable piano against it. Lindi threw herself face down in a corner. George fell over her as a sign of protection. There was nothing impossible with these murderers. They blew the door open, pushed it and the piano fell against Levi's bed under which he was hiding. God spared him to tell the story.

THE STORY OF MRS ELSIE LIZIWE GISHI

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

THE STORY OF MRS LEONILLA TENZA 20. Early in Mrs Te n z a 's interview5 6
she said, 'Hmm! I have

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

to cry every day before .

25. At the outset of the interview, Mrs Tenza seemed robust and full of humour. As she began to relate her story, she became tearful and deeply upset. Although she claimed to be 'better' than in the previous year (1999), her distress was very a p p a rent.

26. As we have seen with other cases, the particular event Mrs Tenza reported to the Commission was little more than a punctuation mark in a life of ongoing difficulties. Both she and her family made political decisions at times influenced at least as much by attempts to survive violence and poverty as by ideological persuasions. The tone throughout is of a long struggle to eke out a meagre existence in a violent world. Mrs Te n z a 's life story paints a vivid picture of the convoluted political history of KwaZulu/Natal and the human consequences. The awful experience of seeing her nephew murd e red in front of her is just one example of a broader tragedy.

27. It is very difficult

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

'THIS IS MY FATHER AND LOOK WHAT THEY HAVE DONE TO HIM': THE STORY OF SERGEANT RICHARD MOTHASI

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

year-old Thomas, testified6 0 :

Let them tell us the full story so that we can – we are deeply hurt. If they tell the s t o ry, we will be okay. We want to know where these children were buried because we were never told the truth of where they were buried.

I want to enquire from

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

many, may never reach conclusion.

THE STORY OF MAGISENG ABRAM MOTHUPHI

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

consequences of a particular violation.

55. At the same time, unique as it is in terms of the usual experiences of victims and the Commission, Mr Mothupi's story is important because it illustrates the potential benefit that interventions from a number of sectors can have. It also shows how the amnesty process identified victims who would not otherwise have entered into the Commission processes.

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

'LEFTOVERS FROM THE STRUGGLE': THE STORY OF MR XOLILE DYABO

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

59. It must be stressed once again here that the stories presented in this section are not representative either in terms of violations or the experiences of victims. Each of these stories has its own individuality and texture, and this must be borne in mind when considering the special needs and circumstances of each victim.

60. What is, of course, representative about these stories is that they are about ordinary men and women whose lives were irrevocably changed by the violations they suffered during the course of political conflict.

Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

civil society groups and individuals.

The story I'm about to tell

4. One such example is a theatrical play called The story I'm about to tell. This was (and still is) an initiative using acting, audience participation, real-life recollections of violations and an improvised script that was true to life events.

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

often kept secretly to themselves.

7. One such powerful encounter occurred whilst performing the play in Germany. The widow of a man killed by the South African Defence Force (SADF) approached the actors, saying that she had always felt

that she would die in un resolved pain. However, through experiencing the stories retold in the play, she found herself able to forgive and let go.

Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

who had benefited from apartheid.

11. The story I'm about to tell is an ongoing initiative and many requests have been made for it to be staged in township contexts. Importantly, the play has received sponsorship from the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

solution to this pervasive tension.

21. The challenge to us all is to honour the process and to take responsibility for shaping our future. If we ignore the implications of the stories of many ordinary South Africans, we become complicit in contributing to an impoverished social fabric – to a society that may not be worth the pain the country has endured.

Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

176. The story of Mr Tlhomedi Ephraim Mfalapitsa, aka Francis Tladi [AM3592/96] provides insight into the experience of a soldier. Mr Mfalapitsa left South Africa in 1976 and joined the ANC in exile. He underwent military training, was deployed on missions into South Africa and finally ended up at military headquarters in Zambia.

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

350. In other examples of deception, Major Craig Williamson testified that the Security Branch had been responsible for the story that had surfaced, suggesting that Mr Joe Slovo had been responsible for the death of his wife, Ruth First.

351. Captain Willem Coetzee testified

Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

377. One of the more remarkable strengths of the Commission itself was that it has opened the way for the stories of individual people. The amnesty process continued the work of the Commission by helping to find people who would not otherwise have been found and by helping to lead families to a truth that would otherwise forever have been denied. Without some of these applications, many deaths and disappearances would have remained unexplained.

Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

member, Thabo:

When the MK cadres returned from exile after the unbanning of the ANC, we received some rumours that he died in exile ... As a result of this we started making enquiries and follow-ups. We went to Shell House at ANC Headquarters but because each time we went there, we were meeting different people, eventually ended up not getting the full story. I know that at the end they typed an unsigned statement to say that he died in exile. On our own, we requested a death certificate from court and [it] was issued to us. At some stage Chris Hani visited my father and confirmed that my brother had died but they were still to make more investigations into his death, most unfortunately he [Hani] was killed before returning to us. Up to this moment, we do not know how my brother met his death. I would appreciate it from the applicant to tell us how my brother died.

96. Cases where ANC members

Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearing at Durban, August 1997)

61. Key members of the Caprivi group, such as Daluxolo Luthuli and Zweli Dlamini, did not testify at the so-called 'Malan' trial and told their story publicly for the first time at the Commission's Caprivi hearing. Their Counsel argued on their behalf:

Members of other Amnesty Committees

Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

only sources of information in

the hands of the State, broadly speaking about these incidents. It's not as though they faced imminent prosecution. They've come in a genuine effort to tell their whole story. (Hearing at Durban, August 1997)

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

The story of Andile Shiceka

76. Born in

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

dropped for lack of evidence.

The story of Walter Falibango Thanda

81. Born at

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

0103 and AC/1998/0016].

84. Thanda is currently serving with the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The story of Gcinikhaya Makoma

85. Born in

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

hands of the Amnesty Committee.

166. The Amnesty Committee deliberated about whether or not this was an APLA operation. It noted that two of the applicants did not live in Natal and that they had not known one another at all until they met for the purpose of carrying out the operation. This gave credence to their story that they were brought together by their military commander 'Power', who was known to all of them. The victims of the attack were also not known to them and they derived no personal benefit from the attack. In considering why strangers should come together and trust each other in order to plan such an operation, the Committee reached the inescapable

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

to take statements from them.

19. Moreover, when the Commission's investigators requested hospitals and police stations for information, they were told that, as the matters were more than five years old, they no longer had files. This had the potential to cause great hardship to the victims in this province who had, for the most part, lived through a conflict that had lasted much longer than in other parts of the country. They had little hope of assistance if the Commission did not make an effort to find creative ways of corroborating their stories.

V O L U M

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

be more important than another.

38. This project became a mission of love and devotion for those who worked on it. The passion of the summary writers and the pain they shared with victims as they wrote their stories is reflected in this volume. In time, it is hoped that it will become a living monument to those who suffered great pain and loss during the years of struggle. Volume Seven will endure in the nation's memory for many years to come. It remains a major achievement of the HRV C .

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

Tembisa (26-28 November 1996). Commissioners heard stories of state repression in the 1980s in this township and in the neighbouring Ivory Park informal settlement. In the 1990s, the IFPaligned Toaster gang committed many violations in the context of violence between the ANC and the IFP.

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

paragraph is amended as follows:

Tembisa (26-28 November 1996). Commissioners heard stories of state repression in the 1980s in this township and in the neighbouring Ivory Park informal settlement. In the 1990s, the Toaster gang, comprising members who claimed to be IFP supporters, committed many violations in the context of violence between the ANC and the IFP.

Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

- The TRC acted contrary to the provisions of section 30 of the Act which required it to act in a procedurally fair manner and give notice of its contemplated findings to persons who might be implicated. The requirement of procedural fairness was aimed not only at protecting those persons who might be adversely affected but also at enabling the TRC to assess the other side of any given story or allegation. Firstly, the TRC failed to give the IFP and Prince Buthelezi notice of most of its contemplated findings. This meant that they were not afforded the opportunity of rebutting such findings and did not allow the TRC to consider their response to any particular allegation. Secondly, in respect of certain contemplated findings the TRC gave notice of such findings but failed to identify the evidence supporting such findings to enable the IFP and Prince Buthelezi to adduce countervailing evidence. Thirdly, in those cases where adequate notice of the contemplated

Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

extravagance of spending financial resources on language (interpreting) reduced the total operating time of the Commission by more than five times. The contribution of the Commission to the interpreting industry in South Africa should not be underestimated. The extensiveness and continuous interpreting service required by the Commission, especially to previously disadvantaged communities, meant that interpreters had to be trained and employed simultaneously. The fact that different African languages were used so consistently and on such a scale, and that people were given the opportunity to tell their stories in their own language at such a highly regarded forum, was indeed an empowering experience.

Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

Executive Officer: Mr Martin Coetzee

because of you this country no longer lies between us but within it breathes becalmed after being wounded in its wondrous throat in the cradle of my skull it sings, it ignites my tongue, my inner ear, the cavity of heart shudders towards the outline new in soft intimate clicks and gutturals of my soul the retina learns to expand daily because of a thousand stories I was scorched a new skin. I am changed for ever. I want to say: forgive me forgive me forgive me You whom I have wronged, please take me with you.
POEM BY ANTJIE KROG

Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

This volume is a tribute to the victims of Apartheid and a living monument to those who sacrificed so much in order that we could all enjoy the fruits of democracy. It contains the stories of those who came forward to speak of their suffering. Their stories symbolize the greater experience and suffering of our people, many of who were not able to come forward to tell their own story.

Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

mail: fhoosen@justice.gov.za

The Commission received statements from 21290 (twenty one thousand two hundred and ninety people, of whom more than 19 050 (Nineteen thousand and fifty) were found to be victims of a gross violation of human rights. In addition, more than 2975 victims emerged from the amnesty process. It is regretted that in a number of cases, applicants were found not to have been a victim. This does not mean that their stories are untrue or that they did not endure suffering. Rather in these cases the Commission was unable to make a finding because so little corroborative information was available. In a small number of cases, victims' statements were turned down because the matter fell outside the mandate period, or because the matter could not be proved to be politically motivated.

Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

a victim and a perpetrator.

Many victims came forward to tell the story on behalf of loved ones, hoping that the Commission would be able to establish what happened to them. In some cases, this was possible; in others the Commission was unsuccessful.

Many of the victims asked

Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

There were other reasons why many people did not come forward to tell their stories. Some were afraid; some chose not to participate because they did not support the process, particularly the concept of granting amnesty. The choice not to make a statement had to be respected by the Commission and as a consequence, many cases that may be expected to appear here do not, including those of a number of well-known victims. Despite their exclusion from these summaries, we recognise that their stories too form part of this period of the history of South Africa.

Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

make a finding or decision.

The Commission wanted to ensure that the summaries tell the stories of the victims and do not become about the perpetrators. It is about reclaiming victims' spaces. For that reason, the summaries do not name individual perpetrators but specify the group to which they belonged. If the specific identity of the perpetrator is known, the summary usually indicates this. For example, "Mr Martins was shot dead by a named member of the SAP". In instances where there were amnesty applications, this is indicated by the final sentence of the summary and a reference to the Amnesty decision number (For example, "Four members of the Eastern Cape Security Branch applied for and were granted amnesty for this incident (AC/2001/433)").

Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

This volume records the names of those who have been found to be victims of gross human rights violations and a brief summary of each victim's story. We acknowledge that the brevity of each story in no way provides a complete picture of the pain and suffering of the many thousands of victims who came forward.

The names listed in this

Reference 172 - 0.01% Coverage

This volume is there f o re intended to acknowledge those who did come forward to tell their stories. In re c o rding these summaries, the Commission has made use of a similar template for each story and has endeavoured to be as accurate as possible. The summaries are listed alphabetically according to victims' names and indicate the age of the victim, if known, at the time the violation occurred. Name spellings are generally those used by the deponent in their HRV statement. In amnesty cases where the victim could not be traced, the spellings are not verified. The names reflect those in use at the time the violation was committed although name changes are sometimes indicated. In a few cases, where only part of the name is known, the victim may be listed by this partial name. Generally these cases arise from the amnesty process where a perpetrator did not know the identity or full name of the victim.

The summary also indicates the

Reference 173 - 0.01% Coverage

received a cent from them."

The summaries are clearly not able to do justice to these and the many other similar stories heard .

Violations involving sexual torture are

Reference 174 - 0.01% Coverage

those tortured were largely male.

What is not adequately captured is the story of the thousands of women in South Africa who were left behind to fend for themselves and who experienced the brutality of the Apartheid system, particularly where their loved ones had left the country or had been identified by the Apartheid apparatus as opposing the state. Another story that is untold is that of the many women who went into exile to join the liberation movements. We have not been able to do justice to them. This remains unfinished business.

Although there are necessary areas

Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

We apologise if there are any factual errors remaining in the summaries. Researchers and analysts in the future will take up the challenge to elaborate and interpret these stories m o re fully. This volume is a contribution to their archive and as such, it is probably the richest legacy the Commission is able to leave for the future. The names of the people in this volume will remain as a memorial and testimony to the suffering endured during a time of conflict which must now be put behind the nation as a whole: not to be forgotten, but to be transcended in the building of a diff e rent and better society for all.

Glossary and List of Abbreviations

Reference 176 - 0.01% Coverage

■ Unknown victims Many unnamed and unknown South Africans were the victims of gross violations of human rights during the Commission's mandate period. Their stories came to the Commission in the stories of other victims and in the accounts of perpetrators of violations.

Like other victims of political

Reference 177 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 1 9 2

K H O W A, Thulisile Theku (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by another IFP supporter in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 29 April 1994 in the course of an internal feud within the organisation. K H O W A, Zenzele Wifred (21), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Margate, Natal, on 21 March 1994, during intense political conflict in the area. Mr Khowa had refused to leave the area despite persistent intimidation by IFP supporters. K H O W A, Zwelifile, an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters while on his way to a bus stop in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 December 1990 and has not been seen again. He is presumed dead. KHOZA, Amos Delekile, an MK operative, was killed when he fell seven stories from a flat in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, in December 1988 while in custody. The police report that Mr Khoza fell to his death while escorting members of the SAP to a place where he had made contact with an ANC operative. KHOZA, Beyan (33), a BLATU member, lost his house in Kagiso, Tvl, when it was petrol-bombed on 19 January 1990 by SARHWU members during strike action. Mr Khoza's union was opposed to the strike. His wife was killed in the attack. KHOZA, Bhakuyise (21), an IFP supporter, was shot and burnt to death near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 September 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. KHOZA, Bindiwe (63), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBORSONATTA CKS. KHOZA, Bongani Sylvester (37), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in an attack on residents in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 8 November 1990. See BRUNTVILLEATTA CKS. KHOZA, C, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCHSTREETBOMBING, PRETORIA. KHOZA, Christian Kungumuzi (48), an ANC supporter, had his house in KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed in April 1994 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. More than 15 people died in KwaMashu over a two-week period. About 3000 residents were forced to flee their homes. KHOZA, Dami Lydia (47), had her home in Empangeni, Natal, burnt down on 21 August 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. KHOZA, Daniel, a member of the SAP, was shot dead by an APLA member at Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 11 January 1993, during the course of an attempt to spring another APLA member from hospital where he was being held under police guard. The perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0263).

V O L U M

Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MAZWAI, Siphiwo Hamlet (30), an MK operative, was shot dead in a shoot-out with members of the Transkei Police at Mount Fletcher, Transkei, in 1987. MAZWEMBE, Luke Storie (32), an ANC supporter and trade union organiser, was found hanged in his cell at Caledon Square police station, Cape Town, a few hours after he had been arrested on 4 September 1976. His body had several other injuries. The

Commission found that his death was the direct or indirect result of torture. MAZWI, Abednigo Nzimeni, a member of SAYCO and the Khutsong Youth Congress, was dragged from his home and stabbed to death at a taxi rank in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, on 31 October 1990. One ANCYL/ SAYCO member was granted amnesty. Although convicted, two others denied involvement in the killing and were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0002; AC/1997/0003 and AC/97/0005). MBABELA, Gladman Mankenke (18), a PEYCO member, was arrested and tortured in Port Elizabeth, on 15 August 1985. He was accused of being in possession of illegal firearms that police said were stolen from a policeman who had been killed earlier. MBADI, Moses Themba (27), had his house petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters, some of whom are named, in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. MBALA, Mthetho (26), a UDF supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in November 1985 at Burgersdorp police station, Cape. Mr Mbala was again tortured by being repeatedly admitted to a mental hospital in Queenstown in 1986. MBALANE, Mathwethu Sheshi (21), disappeared while schooling in 1983 in Butterworth, Transkei. He was thought to have gone to Lesotho but has never been seen again. MBALATI, Stranger Jabulani (27), an ANCYL member, was tortured in police custody at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, and Duiwelskloof police station, Lebowa, in 1990. MBALI, Abegail Nomvuselelo (33), had her home destroyed by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 March 1993, in ongoing political conflict in the area. MBALI, Buziwe (61), an IFP supporter, died on 6 May 1991 in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, after being necklaced by named ANC supporters who accused her of witchcraft. There was political conflict in the area at the time. MBALI, Herbert Fanele, an ANC member, was abducted from Lesotho and detained by the Orange Free State Security Branch during November 1972. The Lesotho Government rendered a formal protest and Mr Mbali was returned to Lesotho. The divisional commander of OFS Security Branch and an operative from Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/236). MBALI, Nozuko Monica (33), had her home and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the ISU,

PAGE 3

Reference 179 - 0.01% Coverage

GES84

NAKWA, Mzayifani Alfred, was detained for a month by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. NAKWA, Vuyisile (31), an IKONGO member, was assaulted by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in April 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. NALA, Andries Xolani, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVA INEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). NALA, Lillian (69), lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 June 1989 in political conflict between Inkatha supporters and UDF/ANC supporters. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga during 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless. NALA, Zodwa Rachel (34), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 June 1989, in intense political conflict in the area. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga during 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless. NALELI, Adam Mochela (23), was abducted and stabbed to death by members of the ANC-aligned Lanada Gang in Kroonstad, OFS, on 16 March 1991. Mr Naleli was thought to be a member of the THREEMILLION GANG. NAMA, Nosisana Colleen (17), was shot in the head and blinded in one eye by members of the security forces in August 1976, in Nyanga, Cape Town, during the

SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. NAMANE, Josiah T s e l e n g , a minister, died in a t a r g e t e d killing by MK operatives outside his home in Tembisa, Tvl, on 25 June 1992. The MK operative had allegedly been instructed by a more senior MK member to assassinate Mr Namane, as it was believed he was co-operating with the old community council s t r u c t u r e s . One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/135). NAMANE, Klaas Ontshitse , an ANC support e r , was shot dead by a named member of the Bophuthatswana Police in Tigane, Hartebeesfontein, Tvl, on 14 Febr u a r y 1 9 9 3 . NAMANE, Ramolipa (63), was stabbed to death with a spear by an IFP supporter during an IFP march in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 March 1992. Soweto was one of several Transvaal townships e m b r o i l e d in conflict between ANC and IFP support e r s in the early 1990s. NAMANE, Stephen Kobue , had his pro p e r t y d e s t r o y e d and looted in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in 1984. Animosity between Mr Namane and a named form e r mayor led to violent conflict which engulfed the entire c o m m u n i t y . The mayor allegedly incited youths with fabricated stories about Namane as a result of which his pro p e r t y was d e s t r o y e d .

V O L U M

Reference 180 - 0.01% Coverage

MAZIBUKO, Suzan Elizabeth MAZIBUKO, Thabeleni

MAZIBUKO, Thandiwe Gladness MAZIBUKO, Themba Isalah MAZIBUKO, Thembi Beauty MAZIBUKO, Thokozile Samaria MAZIBUKO, Thulisile Kate MAZIBUKO, Vikinduku Stephen MAZIBUKO, Vusi Anderson MAZIBUKO, Vusumuzi Andrias MAZIBUKO, Zinhle Yvonne MAZIKO, Princess Mandisa MAZIYA, Lindiwe Roseline MAZIYA, Mokabhe Alpheus MAZIYA, Thandi Elizabeth MAZIYA, Zwelakhe MAZIYANE, Nozukile MAZOKWANA, China Gray MAZOMBA, Boy Charles MAZOMBA, Sindiswa Flora MAZUBANE, Lamekhi Mbongiseni MAZUBANE, Magudeni MAZUBANE, Mfanuswano MAZUBANE, Ngwala MAZUBANE, Thokozile Alice MAZUBANE, Thomas Sakhiwe MAZUBANE, Thulani Goodboy MAZUBANI, Dumephi MAZULA, Kenneth Mbulelo MAZUNGULA, Sizwe Douglas MAZUZA, Phillip Lukhele MAZWAI, Siphiwo Hamlet MAZWEMBE, Luke Storie MAZWI, Abednigo Nzimeni MAZWI, Elliot

MBABELA, Gladman Mankenke MBADI, Moses