

Patron's Message

A Word from our Patron

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation continues to play a major role in the healing of our nation, while reminding us of the need to reach towards a goal that often seems beyond our immediate grasp. It upholds a set of values and ideals against which to measure both our nation and other African countries in which it works. Most important, it offers practical ways of dealing with problems that hinder the realisation of these goals. This requires a capacity for creativity, compromise, coaxing, critique and provocation. I am proud to be associated with an Institute within which these characteristics are so obviously present. It shows impressive dedication in all that it does. Its professionalism and delivery is remarkable.

May God continue to bless the work of this Institute.

Archbishop Emeritus Desmond The Mpilo Tutu



Chairperson's Report

Chairperson's Report

I continue to believe that we are doing remarkably well as a nation after only twelve years of democracy. We, at the same time, continue to face enormous challenges. Some of these are leftovers from our oppressive past, retaining much of their old shape. Others are coming at us in new forms and with new ferocity. The good news is that the institutions of state and our constitutionally guaranteed freedoms are not only entrenched, but highly active in this demanding time. Bernard Crick once observed that democracy is necessarily 'a messy, mundane, inconclusive, tangled business, far removed from the passion of certainty and the fascination for a world-shaking quest that drives the totalitarian state'.



We dare not be complacent. We need to nurture and sustain our democratic institutions and to participate wisely and thoughtfully in strengthening our constitutional democracy. Our future as a nation is dependent on such institutions, on the rule of law and constitutional freedoms.

Civil society has a major role to play in the creation of the new out of the vestiges of the old. The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation has grown into a significant role player in this regard. I value its judgement of what to engage with, and how it goes about its work. It plays a valuable role in extending the scope of civil society and in the overall nation-building endeavour.

I am grateful to the Executive Director and our staff for the professional and passionate manner in which they undertake their work. It is a privilege to serve the Institute as Chairperson of the Board of Directors. The Deputy Chairperson, Hugh Corder, has undertaken many administrative duties on my behalf. I am most grateful to him. I also extend my appreciation to the Executive Committee members and my fellow Board members for their support of the Institute. Donors continue to assist us in an impressive manner. Especially pleasing is the way in which South African companies have augmented the important contributions of overseas donors. We are most grateful to all who sustain us in our work.

Prof Jakes Gerwel

Introduction by the Director

The identity of this Institute is grounded in a commitment to both justice and reconciliation. Rooted in the South African experience, the Institute's work proceeds from the idea that these goals are complementary and that each must be brought to bear on the challenges that define South Africa's ongoing transition. In contrast to most international NGOs, this attention to the synergy between justice and reconciliation is also a cornerstone of the Institute's larger engagement in Africa. The Institute's engagement in the South African transformation and its country-to-country African dialogue is at the heart of who we are and what we do.

A South African-based NGO, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation pursues its vision and work through three interrelated programmes: Reconciliation and Reconstruction, Transitional Justice in Africa, and Political Analysis.

The Reconciliation and Reconstruction Programme locates the work of the Institute at the heart of the contemporary challenges and opportunities that face South Africa.

Through the Institute's Transitional Justice in Africa Programme, this grappling with the day-to-day realities of political transition in South Africa provides a realistic basis for co-operative engagement with other African countries in transition. At the same time, our work in there is



necessarily contextual, based on mutual learning and the exchange of insights and skills, recognising that the experience and strategies adopted in one country can never be imposed wholesale on another.

The Political Analysis Programme provides research essential to the work of the Institute both within and beyond our borders. This involves quantitative as well qualitative analyses of socio-political dynamics, a regular national public opinion survey, *in situ* case studies, and political analysis aimed at quantifying the nature and extent of economic and political transition.

The growth in both the scope and reputation of the Institute's work since its inception in 2000 suggests a resonance with a broad cross-section of society in South Africa and other countries in Africa. The willingness of different sectors in these societies to co-operate with the Institute and solicit its intervention – in what are often complex and seemingly intractable problems – both challenges and reassures this organisation in its undertakings. Refusing to engage beyond its sphere of competency and resources, the

[Introduction]

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Institute has also learned to turn down requests for its services, and even for offers of funding, where this is seen to be inappropriate.

We are extremely grateful to our donors who partner with us in our endeavours. We are especially pleased to see our funding base extending to South African corporations and organisations. Individual friends of the Institute continue to provide inspiration and guidance in our work. The staff of the Institute is made up of a team of dedicated people with different skills, life experiences and visions, united in their commitment to the integration of justice and reconciliation in South Africa and the broader

African continent. The patron of this Institute, the chairperson and deputy chairperson, the board members and members of the executive committee all contribute richly to the life of the Institute. I am extremely grateful to everyone involved. Ours is a team effort: we would not have survived the early tenuous years or grown in stature without this sense of unity and common vision.

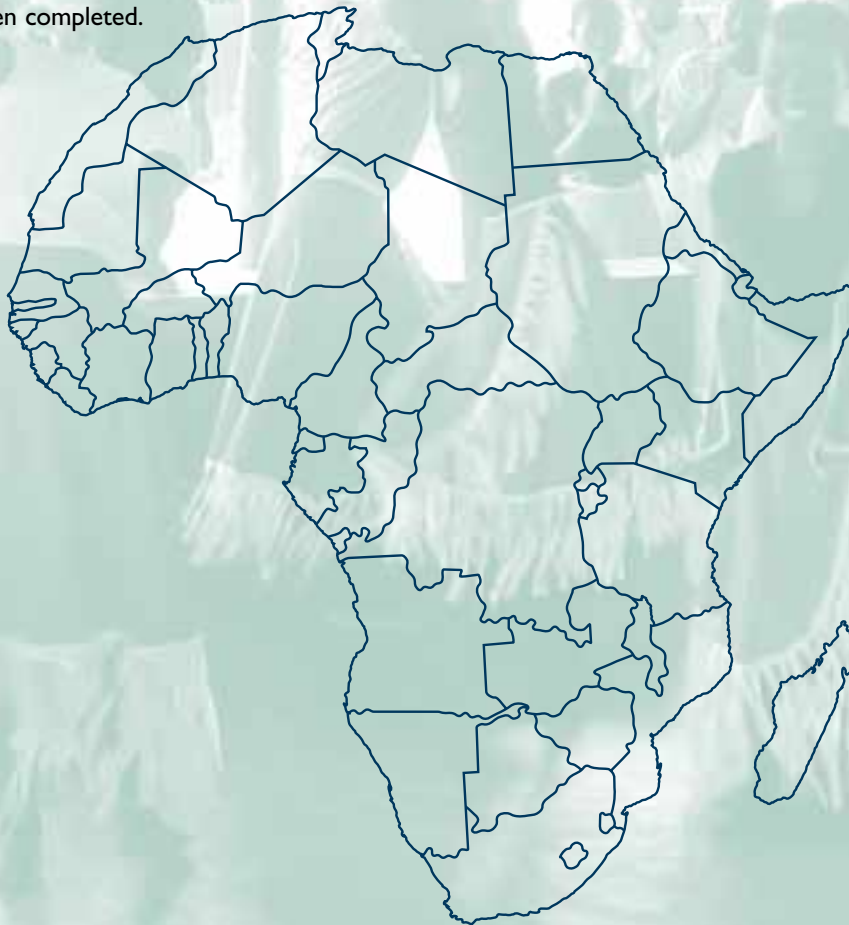
The reports that follow give content to this vision. The outputs and impact of the three programmes under review are a tribute to the staff members involved.


Charles Villa-Vicenzio



Transitional Justice in Africa Programme

Institute engagement in the African Greater Horn and Great Lakes regions has increased extensively during the past year, resulting in increased demands on Institute time and an intensification of requests for assistance in the political transitional mechanisms of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, the Sudan and Uganda. This has required a reassessment of the Institute's work in Africa and a reallocation of its resources. A major readjustment in this regard is the suspension of our direct involvement in the Mano River countries in West Africa, where travel and related costs have escalated and the commitment by the Institute to work with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone, together with preparatory work for a TRC in Liberia, has been completed.





[Transitional Justice in Africa]

The appointment of a full-time officer on the Zimbabwe Desk and the presence of a field officer in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) greatly augmented the impact and effectiveness of Institute interventions. As our work in Rwanda grew in partnership with local organisations, so the Institute developed a stronger presence in Burundi and continued to work closely with the leadership of the SPLM/SPLA (Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA)/Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)) in efforts to establish a functional reconciliation process inside southern Sudan, as well as in the border areas with northern Uganda.

The Great Lakes Region

The Institute's growing involvement has been supported by continuing research and analysis in Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda, Sudan and Uganda. A comprehensive 'profile' has been compiled on each of the countries. These identify and analyse indicators of development, examining their relationship with justice and reconciliation issues in contemporary transitional processes. Key chapters of the Institute's 2004 publication, *Pieces of the Puzzle*, were translated into French and developed into a booklet that provides a significant resource in francophone regions of engagement. An update of the Institute's transitional justice bibliography, first published in 2002, appeared in the *Journal of Law and Religion*. The Institute also produced a handbook, *Building Nations: Transitional Justice in the African Great Lakes Region*, examining the challenges of transition and the variety of justice and

reconciliation initiatives currently under way in the Great Lakes countries.

Rwanda

Institute engagement in Rwanda saw a deepening of working partnerships with key institutions, including the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), National Service for Gacaca Courts and the Ministry of Justice.

As part of an agreement made during a study tour to South Africa by the members of the National Service for Gacaca Courts in December 2004, the Institute collaborated with the Ministry of Justice and selected Gacaca staff to deliver research methodology training courses for researchers assigned to monitor, document and critically report on the Gacaca process.

In response to resolutions formed at a conference entitled 'National Unity as a Framework for Reconciliation and Good Governance in Rwanda',

Rwanda leads the way with traditional reconciliation

In many ways, Rwanda stands out as one of the few African countries that have integrated traditional and modern peace mechanisms practically. Fatuma Ndagiza, the Executive Secretary of the NURC, captured this well when she said:

We had to think of fresh, original and unique models and not just copy others blindly. For us, perpetrators and survivors had to continue living side by side. If we had resigned ourselves to the conventional way of doing things and forgotten our own rich traditions of dealing with conflict, we would have ended up with a rather formalised, legalistic and elite driven reconciliation mechanism, with little or no relevance at all to the grassroots. This is not the route we wanted to follow.

The commission uses a combination of traditional tools to promote healing, including the Ingando (solidarity camps); Abakangurambaga (peace mobilizers); Abunzi (mediation committees) and Ubudehe (bottom-up consultations). The Gacaca courts handle truth telling and truth seeking. The classical courts and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) handle issues of impunity. The Travaux D'interet General (TIG) deals with community reintegration. These models complement and support each other in a framework that is increasingly recognised as a unique model of post-war reconciliation.





[Transitional Justice in Africa]

This was the first formal evaluation of Rwanda's reconciliation process since the 1994 genocide, and therefore a potentially strategic contribution to that country's ongoing peace-building initiatives.

co-hosted by the Institute and key Rwandan institutions in October 2004, a formal evaluation and impact assessment of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was carried out from its inception in 1999 to date. Paul Nantulya led the evaluation team, with the support of Karin Alexander and Burundian citizen Didace Kanyugu a former graduate of the Institutes' Transitional Justice Fellows Programme. In line with building local capacities, two Rwandan researchers were recruited to help the team.

This was the first formal evaluation of Rwanda's reconciliation process since the 1994 genocide, and therefore a potentially strategic contribution to that country's ongoing peace-building initiatives. The Institute has subsequently been requested to facilitate the development of a five-year strategic plan for NURC involving impact indicators based on the evaluation report.

Burundi

In Burundi, Institute engagement opened with a conference in Bujumbura in July to critically evaluate formal reconciliation processes under way in the countries of the region as well as to identify and analyse the growing use of traditional reconciliation methods within communities. Participants included selected policy makers, academics and practitioners from governmental and non-governmental sectors in Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda. Tactical and strategic

responses and mechanisms for political reconciliation and peace building in each of the region's countries were presented and reviewed. Participants compared experiences, shared best practices and addressed some of the pressing challenges facing the sub-region. Inputs to the conference served as resource material for the Institute's handbook, *Building Nations: Transitional Justice in the African Great Lakes Region*.

Following the general elections in September 2005, the Institute undertook a preliminary assessment of the reconciliation process to draw out perspectives and viewpoints on post-war reconciliation mechanisms. The assessment was well timed to support the ongoing dialogue around peace-building models, including the possible establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Institute was extensively involved in a colloquium on Justice in the Aftermath of Genocide, hosted by the UNESCO Programme for Peace Education and Conflict Resolution at the University of Burundi, which brought together over 200 participants from Burundi and the sub-region.

Working relations were established with the South African Embassy in Burundi and a high-level representative of the Burundian Government participated in an international conference on conflict transformation and transitional justice, hosted by the Institute in October, in collaboration with UNESCO and Globalitaria. In

[Transitional Justice in Africa]

addition, groundwork was laid for the Institute to work with Burundian institutions in civil society and government in their search for consensus on a reconciliation mechanism that will be broadly acceptable to all key stakeholders.

Democratic Republic of Congo

The Institute's continuing co-operation with the civil society umbrella organisation, Société Civile du Congo (SOCICO), provided support for local groups involved in national and regional transitional processes, in particular reconciliation, transitional justice and reintegration. Critical engagement with truth and reconciliation processes in the Congo took the form of technical capacity-building workshops with the Commission Vérité et Réconciliation (CVR), the drafting of a Code of Conduct for the commission and assistance in outlining problems facing the commission ahead of consultations with President Joseph Kabila and UN Special Representative, Ambassador Bill Swing.

Through its officer in the field, the Institute made critical inputs into civil society's report on the activities of the CVR in its first two years. The report was conducted in response to the call by President Joseph Kabila to evaluate all institutions involved in the transition process at the end of the first phase (June 2005), and to develop new action plans. The work of the Institute with the CVR has resulted in building relationships of trust



with a cross-section of Congolese society, both in government and civil society. At the same time it has become clear to the Institute that the CVR in its present form probably cannot achieve its intended aims. The Institute has communicated this to all authorities concerned.

A preliminary audit of grassroots reconciliation initiatives in the DRC was also made in the course of 2005. This led to consultations with civic leaders in the Kivu provinces on the Barza Intercommunautaire, a traditional mechanism of conflict resolution with the potential to advance transition at community level, and promoted by the vice-president, Z'Ahidi Ngoma. Groundwork is currently being laid for more formal co-operation between the office of the vice-president and civic actors involved with the Barza. The Institute also conducted a needs assessment of Congolese civic organisations with regard to reintegrating demobilised combatants in the DRC's conflict-torn eastern provinces.

[Transitional Justice in Africa]

The Institute closed the year with a series of focus groups held in Kinshasa and Bukavu that canvassed views from researchers, policy makers and shapers of public opinion on prospects for justice, reconciliation, development and nation building as the DRC moves into its final phase of transition.

Greater Horn Sudan and Uganda

In the Greater Horn, the Institute continued to work closely with the leadership of the SPLM/SPLA in efforts to establish a functional reconciliation process inside southern Sudan, as well as in the border areas with northern Uganda. Institute efforts centred around the Sudan peace process and the ongoing search for solutions to the crisis in northern Uganda.

Activities opened with Institute attendance at the official signing ceremony of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2004, at Nyayo Stadium in Nairobi. This was followed by a consultative conference on Prospects for Peace in northern Uganda in light of the CPA, held in Kampala under the joint auspices of the Institute and the Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies. High-level officials from the Ugandan government, civil society and senior SPLM/SPLA leaders attended. Frameworks for closer collaboration between the Institute and local partners, including

the Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies, the Amnesty Commission and a ministry responsible for driving the northern Uganda mediation were established.

A follow-up planning workshop on Preparing Groundwork for Peace in northern Uganda was held in Kampala in July. Key outcomes included the elaboration of an intervention programme to provide training and critical support to key institutions in the northern Uganda peace process, including the Amnesty Commission and the mediation team in 2006, in collaboration with the Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies.

The death of SPLM/SPLA leader John Garang greatly impacted the peace process and, with it, the work of the Institute. In response to the crisis, the Institute consulted with local actors and intensified its dialogue with key figures in the SPLM/SPLA amidst fears that the peace process would unravel. The close working relationship of Paul Nantulya with SPLM/SPLA leadership played a positive role in this regard, which resulted in keeping on track a planned course on leadership in transition, rescheduled for early 2006.



Zimbabwe

Amidst the continuing sense of crisis in the country, the appointment of Karin Alexander as programme officer gave new incentive to the Institute's Zimbabwe Desk, which steadily continued its work of analysis, consultation and intervention in the process of democratisation in Zimbabwe.

The Parliamentary Elections in March were a primary focus. The Institute played a leading role in the establishment of the Zimbabwe Observer Mission, bringing together several South African NGOs including Idasa, the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference. It led the Mission's Political Parties sub-committee on a pre-election mission during which consultations were held with the opposition forces and the civics in order to understand the ways in which Zimbabwean society was reading and preparing for the elections. The Mission also benefited from the Institute's close working relationship with Dr Zola Sonkosi, who has historical links with ZANU PF, and undertook two fact-finding missions to assess political sentiment within the ruling party around the election. In addition, despite being denied accreditation, two members of the Institute were in Zimbabwe as election observers.

In the aftermath of the election, the Institute led the process of assessing the ramifications. The Zimbabwe think tank, under the leadership of the

Institute's Distinguished Scholar Brian Raftopoulos, developed and published a major report on the electoral process, widely distributed as *The Struggle for Legitimacy: a Long-Term Analysis of the 2005 Parliamentary Election and its Implications for Democratic Processes in Zimbabwe*. The Institute also sent a consultative mission to assess the impact of the elections on the socio-economic situation in the country. Under the guidance of think tank economist Mr Rob Davies, Dr Mills Soko and Ms Thandeka Gqubule spent several days in Harare engaging stakeholders from across the spectrum of business and the trade unions, and also held a meeting with Dr Gideon Gono, head of the Reserve Bank in Zimbabwe.

In keeping with our commitment to work with sectors of Zimbabwean society that have been particularly heavily impacted by the crisis, the Institute facilitated a dialogue between women leaders from Zimbabwean civil society. 'Gendering Zimbabwe: Towards a National Women's Consensus', was intended as a forum for reflection and discussion, in order to plan the way forward strategically. Facilitated by a Zimbabwean lawyer, the event developed into a workshop aimed at reinvigorating the Zimbabwean women's movement through the creation of a new women's organisation with an emphasis on civic and political education. The organisation will be launched in 2006, with continued Institute support.

Transitional Justice in Africa

The Zimbabwe think tank

The Zimbabwe think tank has had a growing impact, both as a unit and through its individual members, in the shaping of perceptions on Zimbabwe in partner organisations, the media and elsewhere.



As 'Operation Murambatsvina' – the government-sanctioned destruction of informal housing and businesses – unfolded in Harare, the Institute facilitated a briefing by Institute staff working on the situation. One result was the proposal of a pastoral mission by South African church leaders to meet with victims of the Operation. This generated significant public interest that led to the establishment of church-to-church channels for humanitarian support to the victims.

As the Operation continued and through to the close of the year, the Institute facilitated public presentations and discussions led by members of the think tank in recognition of the fact that as authoritarian rule is normalised in Zimbabwe it is imperative that the question of Zimbabwe remains an issue in the public discourse of South Africans and the world. Brian and Bella Matambanadzo led a public discussion on Murambatsvina and, in October, Bella joined trade unionist Raymond Majongwe on a panel at the 'Transforming Conflicts' conference.

The close of the year saw the think tank working towards the publication of a text examining 'lessons learned' and the future of democratic politics in Zimbabwe (due in early 2006). As Brian Raftopoulos led the group's interrogation of the strategic way forward, he was simultaneously mediating the intra-party conflict in the MDC over participation in the senate elections of November.

[Transitional Justice in Africa]

Transitional Justice Fellows Programme

For the fourth successive year the Institute, in co-operation with the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), hosted the Transitional Justice Fellows Programme. Two groups of scholar-practitioners from sixteen societies in

transition participated in the programme spent three months in Cape Town exploring the theoretical and practical demands of socio-political transition. The 2005 Fellows represented Cameroon, DRC, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Kosovo, Liberia, Nigeria, Palestine, Rwanda, Serbia and Montenegro, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe.




The programme comprised a mix of hands-on capacity building and rigorous academic coursework. Fellows visited various parts of Cape Town and surrounds, exposing them to the city's history and ongoing transition. The academic component provided them with an opportunity to develop comparative and critical perspectives on the transitional challenges facing their home countries. In all, nine Institute staff facilitated sessions on a variety of topics, including public memory, economic transformation, restorative justice, truth commissions, media and transitional justice, conflict resolution and community healing. Required to deliver a single, publication-length paper, the Fellows produced some excellent work, which was presented to the broader Cape Town public at conferences held at the end of the programmes.

Additionally, the programmes coincided with two major events coordinated by the host organisations. In March, ICTJ and the Japan International Co-operation Agency hosted a conference on transitional justice and human security. In October, the Institute, in co-operation with the Madrid-based Globalitaria, hosted a conference entitled 'Transforming Conflict: Options for Reconciliation and Reconstruction' attended by delegates from Africa, Latin America and the Balkans. The two events provided Fellows with extraordinary exposure to the international dimensions of transitional justice and opportunities to interact with practitioners from a wide range of societies in transition.



[Political Analysis]



Political Analysis Programme

The Institute's Political Analysis Programme conducts research and analysis directly related to our on-the-ground work. The programme undertakes quantitative as well qualitative analyses of socio-political dynamics, as well as a regular national public opinion survey, and in situ case studies and political research aimed at quantifying the nature and extent of economic and political transition. Its central aim is to define and identify the hindrances and incentives affecting political reconciliation, human rights and social justice.

**LOCAL
GOVERNMENT**
OVERCOMING THE
OBSTACLES TO DELIVERY

INSTITUTE FOR
JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

The work of the Programme is structured around its two flagship research undertakings and their publications – the annual Transformation Audit, now in its third year of publication, and the SA Reconciliation Barometer, now in its fourth year. The SA Monitor, available on the Institute's website, is a high-calibre electronic public information and research tool (see www.ijr.org.za/politicalanalysis/samonitor), and the programme's website material on www.ijr.org.za/politicalanalysis and www.transformationaudit.org.za are also a key part of its public profile. The programme produces several additional publications and magazines, and engages dynamically in the wider print and broadcast media. It also mentors several young black graduates by helping them gain research experience, as well as website skills and publication opportunities.

Transformation Audit Project

The Institute's annual Economic Transformation Audit seeks to provide insights into how inequality and injustice are embedded in our economic, educational and governance systems, and the extent to which policies designed to change them are succeeding and why. Contributions are elicited by both renowned and emerging researchers, and structured with the emphasis on strong policy analysis based on excellent quantitative evidence. Landmark research has been provided so far on poverty and inequality, schooling and education, unemployment and the labour market, the impact of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy,

and the small enterprise sector – all crucial to economic transformation and to reconciliation.

The Transformation Audit frames its data gathering and analytical reviews around:

- The changing structure of the economy
- Schooling and the education sector
- The labour market
- Poverty and inequality

The Transformation Audit is published as a book, edited for visual accessibility, liveliness and impact. A booklet summarising key issues accompanies this. The *2004 Transformation Audit: Taking Power in the Economy* was the first of these annual reviews, followed by the *2005 Transformation Audit: Conflict and Governance* which, with impeccable timing, included striking case studies of conflict governance in three district municipalities whose precarious conflict management strategies were one of the study's investigations. The *2006 Transformation Audit: Corruption and its Costs* will be the third in the series.

The Transformation Audit's website (www.transformationaudit.org.za), from whose sourcelist a large variety of transformation-related documents can be downloaded, had 25 000 hits within 24 hours of the launch of 2005 edition. The website also contains the full academic articles from which the shortened Transformation Audit articles are derived, and is used by academic as well as media researchers. It openly makes available the methodology used to calculate its scorecards for public review on its website.

Political Analysis

Audit 'scorecards' take the measure of transformation

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Transformation goal	Indicator	State 1995	State 2004	State 2005	Direction of change
Reduced access poverty	Percentage of households living in a permanent electricity	77.6%	76.8% (2003)	74.0% (2003)	↑
	Percentage of households with access to electricity	42.0%	76.6% (2003)	76.6% (2003)	↑
	Percentage of households with access to a bore-deeping water or the town	48.0%	67.6% (2003)	68.7% (2003)	↑
Reduced education poverty	Percentage of children 7 to 18 in school	96.7%	93.1% (2003)	92.5% (2003)	↑
Reduced health poverty	Infant-mortality rate	40 (1996)	52.2 (2003)	52.6 (2003)	↓

1. Sources: Statistics South Africa, 15 Other Household Survey (2005), General Household Survey (2005), General Household Survey (2005)
2. Sources: (a) South African National Development Bank (2004-2005), 2005 South African National Development Bank (2005) Survey of Local Practices (2005) Survey of Local Practices (2005)

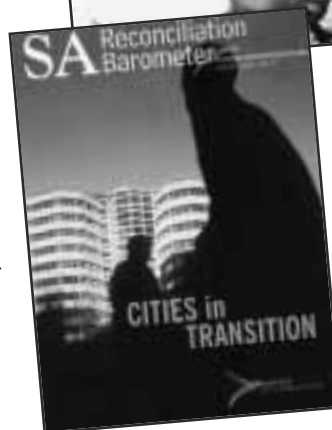
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SA Reconciliation Barometer

The SA Reconciliation Barometer, the founding research project of the Political Analysis Programme, continues to grow in stature. Over the past three years this survey-based project has been honed to become an essential, if not the most eminent, project tracking public attitudes on national reconciliation and the broader evolution of a human rights culture in post-apartheid South Africa.

The sixth round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey will be conducted during the first quarter of 2006. The wealth of data amassed by this survey since 2003 is substantial, and will provide a baseline for future projects undertaken by the Institute and other researchers working in this field.

In our quest to expand the breadth and depth of our understanding of the reconciliation process, new dimensions were added to the survey questionnaire for 2005, while other sections were expanded. Growing emphasis on memorialisation in post-apartheid South Africa has convinced us to explore the role of symbolism to promote reconciliation. We have also assessed South Africans' confidence in the institutions that were created to promote and adjudicate the basic rights of citizens. While previous surveys focused exclusively on the role of Parliament and national



government in this regard, the fifth survey has also gauged attitudes towards courts and local government.

Having completed the fifth round of the survey, we are beginning to discern apparent longitudinal response patterns enabling us to point to trends and begin to predict. These findings will continue to strengthen the project's ability to diagnose and anticipate trends in the socio-political environment.

The analysis of this data and comparisons with previous rounds of the survey is made available to the public in the following formats: four quarterly newsletters that are distributed in print and via e-mail to a broad spectrum of opinion leaders; access on the IJR website; and through workshops

and public briefings.

The quarterly SA Reconciliation Barometer newsletters of 2005 focused on the themes of public attitudes to South Africa's cities, youth, education and local government. Linkages and synergies with the Transformation Audit were highlighted. The newsletters have been extensively cited in print, electronic and broadcast media.

Barometer reveals the Great South African Divide

Reconciliation and Reconstruction Programme

During the past year the Reconciliation and Reconstruction Programme has broadened its engagement in society to meet a number of evolving challenges facing South Africa as it enters the second decade of its democracy. It has sought to build on the nation's gains in the struggle to overcome poverty, racial divisions and inequality, while endeavouring to address issues that continue to challenge the capacity of South Africans to co-operate in the pursuit of social transformation and national reconciliation.

Against these perceived needs, two central objectives have formed the focus in 2005: the realisation of sustainable outcomes, and positive engagement between diverse communities.

[Reconciliation and Reconstruction]

Political Perpetration

The programme saw the completion of a four-year project involving interviews with over thirty self-defined perpetrators of politically-motivated violence conducted by the Institute's Paul Haupt. This work culminated in the publication of a book entitled *Theatre of Violence* under the co-authorship of Don Foster, Paul Haupt and Maresa de Beer.



amongst the material dealt with during the training was the Institute's Turning Points in History series for Grades 10–12 that now features on education departments' lists of recommended teacher resources nationwide.

Requests for the Turning Points series to be translated into Afrikaans – a second language in which school-leaving examinations are written – were

supported by the National Education Department and this project is currently underway.

A Western Cape event entitled *A Celebration of Memory, Healing and Education* hosted with the J.L. Zwane Homework Centre in Gugulethu attracted participation from a diverse range of schools from across the socio-economic spectrum, highlighting possibilities for co-operation and dialogue between secondary schools in the region.

Building an Inclusive Society

In this project, the Institute commits itself to work with communities, policy-makers and political groupings to develop ways of enabling former adversaries – and many who simply do not know one another – to learn to live together in peaceful co-existence and democratic practice.

Turning Points

Democratic South Africa inherited a divided and unequal system of education, resulting in deep cleavages between learners who carry this heritage into the broader society. These concerns have shaped the Institute's work in the educational field for the past four years. Having worked closely with the National and Provincial Education Departments, the Institute now enjoys the confidence of major players in formal and civic educational structures, both at the level of policy and curricula development as well as at classroom and community level.

Building on this in 2005, the Institute focused on teacher training and support. Seminars on history education were conducted in all nine provinces involving 400 key officials and teachers from districts covering the entire country. Prominent

Reconciliation and Reconstruction



This goal was pursued in a number of initiatives:

- A reassessment and analysis of the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was undertaken, with a view to promoting debate on the unfinished business of the Commission. Special attention was given to recommendations on access to TRC archives, reparations, memorialisation and prosecutions. A publication entitled *Provoking Question – an Assessment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Recommendations and their Implementation* was produced as an outcome of the project and was widely reported on in the media.
- An international conference entitled Transforming Conflicts – Options for Reconciliation and Reconstruction was held in October, co-hosted with the Spanish-based Globalitaria – a partnership that has grown out of four years of co-operation by the Institute with the Madrid office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. This event provided a unique platform for comparative dialogue, attracting experts on issues of peace-building and political reconciliation from different parts of Africa, the Balkans and Latin America. Skills, experiences and insights were shared and good practices identified in order to assess and promote peace-keeping operations in the various regions.
- A workshop on economic transformation was held with the FW de Klerk Foundation, jointly chaired by FW de Klerk and Jakes Gerwel (in his capacity as Chairperson of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation). Following from this, a public forum was addressed by FW de Klerk and Tokyo Sexwale on options for nation building and social transformation.
- A two-day encounter between Western Cape-based labour and business leaders was conducted on strategies for job creation and transformation. A statement emanating from the meeting called on all stakeholders for greater co-operation in the fight against poverty and joblessness. One of the key outcomes is a commitment to jointly engage the Western Cape construction industry, amongst others, to ensure that the building boom in the province delivers housing and jobs to those most in need.

Memory and History

This project emerged from cooperation between the Institute and the City of Cape Town to develop a public conversation on possibilities for memorialising local experience. An initial outcome was the construction of a database of 500 Capetonians working in the field of memory and history. The launch in the City Hall resulted in several hundred Cape Town residents committing themselves 'to ensure that memories and

Reconciliation and Reconstruction

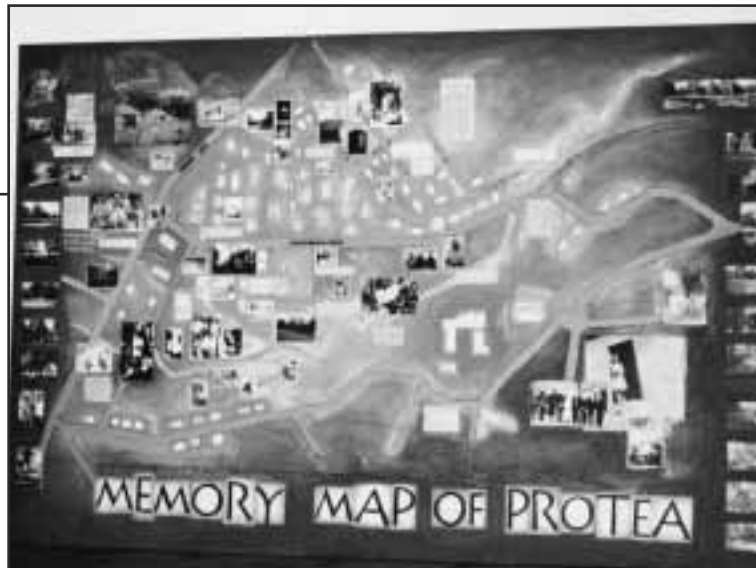
experiences are reflected in the life of the city with a view to reinforcing reconciliation, respect, democratic values and civic concern'. Stakeholders were subsequently brought together in monthly reference and working groups.

Further activities included staging an exhibition in the Cape Town Civic Centre during Heritage Month, in which memory projects stemming from communities as diverse as Lwandle, Simonstown, New Crossroads and Bonteheuwel were displayed. A Memory Project Booklet featuring the project aims and objectives was also produced and distributed to schools and communities.

Community Healing

This project assists communities to come to terms with a divided past. Initiated by the Institute in 2001 in Cradock, this model is becoming an important social reconstruction tool in the Western Cape. The focus on common values, storytelling, and healing of collective memories makes it of interest in a region where the racial legacy of the past has a tangible presence. Its use of cultural symbols and

During the year participants from the 'coloured' Bonteheuwel and 'black' Kwa-Langa areas met for the first time to share histories and explore ways in which these communities – living in what has been called the 'unforgiving Cape Flats' – can foster greater co-operation and understanding.



From this encounter, a joint forum was created to promote and guide a partnership that has become known in the wider community as 'Bonte-Langa'.

In October individuals, academics, organisations and institutions dealing with issues of community development, collective healing and reconciliation were invited to participate in a regional conference hosted by the Institute. The gathering served as a basis for networking, the dissemination of research and policy directives, and skills-building.

Oral History

This project trains Grade 11 learners to collect and record oral histories about themes with current importance to communities in and around Cape Town.

Forced removals formed the main focus of research in 2005. The Institute was approached by the Western Cape Education Department's Metropole South District to partner them in producing a case study on forced removals in Constantia. The initiative trained FET learners from a cross-section of local schools to conduct interviews and compile profiles. Results were

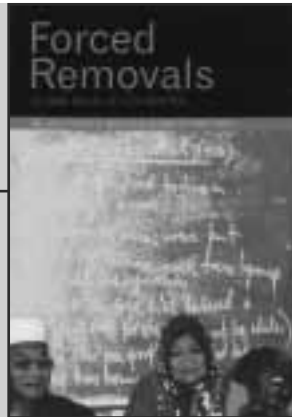
Reconciliation and Reconstruction

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These white people used to come there and used to come and measure the ground and then he used to ask them "what are you doing?" and they used to tell him "you will have to move sooner or later because this is going to become a group area and you will have to move out of Constantia". My granny, she said she is not going move out of Constantia and funnily the year before we had to move, she died... The night before we had to move, we were looking for where is my Daddy, and he was sitting around the corner crying. What was so funny for me was the day we moved our furniture just fell off the cart, so I was just wondering the furniture don't want to move either.

Mrs Marie Frans, former resident of Constantia

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Grade 11 students talk to Mr Chris Pieterse at the launch of Forced Removals: A case study of Constantia

posted on the Institute website. A second resource guide in the Institute's oral history series entitled *Forced Removals – a case study on Constantia* was produced and distributed in Western Cape schools.

At the request of the Education Department, a revised edition of the 2004 resource guide, *Pass Laws in the Western Cape: Implementation and Resistance*, was produced and distributed in Western Cape schools.

The second annual Ashley Kriel Memorial Youth Lecture was hosted during the year. The aim of this lecture series is to commemorate and promote youth activism and civic responsibility. Keynote speaker Ebrahim Patel focused on the role of 'The Committee of 81' which co-ordinated students from 81 educational institutions in the Western Cape to resist apartheid and fight for their rights.

Outputs and Events

The more prominent outputs and events of the Institute include the following:

Reconciliation and Reconstruction Programme

February – November Training Seminars in all nine provinces for key officials and teachers in history education.

August Second Ashley Kriel lecture: 'The Committee of 81' (Cape Town).

October International Transitional Justice Conference, Monkey Valley (Cape Town).

Exhibition of Memory Projects in Cape Town Civic Centre.

Western Cape regional conference on Community Healing (Cape Town).

Public meeting with Tokyo Sexwale and FW De Klerk at University of Cape Town.

November Western Cape workshop with leaders from Business and Labour (Cape Town).

Transitional Justice in Africa Programme

January Conference on peace and transition in the Sudan (Uganda).


February Meeting in Pretoria with SPLM/SPLA delegation at a meeting on post-conflict reconstruction in Sudan and participation in a seminar hosted by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs.

June 'Consultative mission on Economics and Business' in Harare engaging with economic stakeholders (including Dr Gideon Gono, the Head of the Reserve Bank in Zimbabwe) across the spectrum of business and the trade unions (Zimbabwe).

July A regional conference of experts and practitioners on reconciliation tactics, strategies and challenges in Burundi, DRC, Rwanda and Uganda, held in Bujumbura (Burundi).

Consultations with civil society leaders including the co-ordinator of traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution and peaceful coexistence known as the Barza Intercommunautaire (eastern DRC).

August 'Operation Murambatsvina' – a public debate on the effects of and reaction to the 'clean-up' operation in Zimbabwe, co-hosted with the Zimbabwe Solidarity Forum, featuring Isabella Matambanadzo (Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa) and Brian Raftopoulos (Zimbabwe).



Outputs and Events

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| October | In co-operation with the UNDP, capacity-building workshops with the Commission Vérité et Réconciliation (CVR) in the areas of statement-taking and information management (DRC). |
| November | Evaluation of the activities of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (Rwanda). |
| | 'Gendering Zimbabwe: Towards a National Women's Consensus' – a consultative meeting (Zimbabwe). |
| Political Analysis Programme | |
| June | Bosberaad with FW de Klerk Foundation |
| June | Public symposium with Deputy Minister Johnny de Lange and UCT Dean of Law, Professor Hugh Corder, on the transformation of the judiciary and the separation of powers – held at the Centre for the Book, the event attracted approximately 250 people (Cape Town). |
| October | Launch of 2005 Transformation Audit in Pretoria, keynote speaker Maria Ramos, CEO of Transnet. |
| October | Cape Town launch of 2005 Transformation Audit, keynote speaker Cheryl Carolus. |
| | 2005 Transformation Audit Seminar at the Presidency |

Publications

The listing below reflects some of the more significant publications of the Institute during 2005. Further publications are reflected on the Institute's website: www.ijr.org.za

Books and Manuals

The Theatre of Violence: Narratives of Protagonists in the South African edited by Don Foster, Paul Haupt, and Maresa de Beer (HSRC Press).

Provoking Questions – an Assessment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Recommendations and their Implementation.



[Outputs and Events]

Economic Transformation Audit 2005: Conflict and Governance edited by Susan Brown.

SA Reconciliation Barometer Newsletter titles:

Forced Removals: a case study on Constantia – an oral history guide for teachers.

Pass Laws in the Western Cape: Implementation and Resistance – an oral history guide for teachers (revised edition).

Building Nations: Transitional Justice in the African Great Lakes Region by Charles Villa-Vicencio, Paul Nantulya and Tyrone Savage.

Injustice and Political Reconciliation in Zimbabwe edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Tyrone Savage (Weaver Press).

The Struggle for Legitimacy: A Long-Term Analysis of the 2005 Parliamentary Election and its Implications for Democratic Processes in Zimbabwe edited by Karin Alexander and Brian Raftopoulos.