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The Trip of The First Lady
Hillary Rodham Clinton

to

Senegal,
South Africa,
Zimbabwe,
Tanzania
Uganda,
and Eritrea

March 15-29, 1997

VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
JOHANNESBURG, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

MARCH 18-19, 1997

EVENT: Arrival

DATE: Tuesday, March 18, 1997

TIME: 5:15 a.m.

LOCATION: Johannesburg International Airport

GREETERS: Ambassador Joseph
Mrs. Joseph

PRESS: Open

REMARKS: None

SCENARIO: Mrs. Clinton will deplane and be greeted by Ambassador Joseph and Mrs. Joseph. Mrs. Clinton will then depart for the hotel.

Staff Note: Staff may deplane at the rear of the aircraft.

VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
JOHANNESBURG, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

MARCH 18-19, 1997

EVENT: Departure

DATE: Wednesday, March 19, 1997

TIME: 8:00 a.m.

LOCATION: Johannesburg International Airport

GREETERS: Ambassador Joseph
Mrs. Joseph

PRESS: Open

REMARKS: None

SCENARIO: Mrs. Clinton will greet Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph and board the plane.

Staff Note: Staff may board at the rear of the aircraft.

South Africa: Visit to Entandweni Lower Primary School

Context

The inequitable allocation of resources, differing education standards, and the extraordinary fragmentation of apartheid-era educational policies have resulted in a bitter legacy for South Africa's schools. Sixty percent of black African primary teachers and 20 percent of black African secondary teachers lack the proper teaching qualifications, a situation especially acute among black African female teachers. These previously disadvantaged teachers have been the beneficiaries of the training provided by the Open Learning Systems Education Trust (OLSET), a USAID grantee. The OLSET "English in Action" program is now used in over 3,000 South African schools.

To upgrade teacher skills, President Mandela has launched the President's Education Initiative (PEI), which calls upon international donors to assist the national Department of Education and provincial Departments of Education in establishing a teacher education program for pre-primary and primary school teachers. In 1996, President Clinton pledged \$19 million to the PEI which will be implemented through a USAID bilateral agreement with the South African government. This support will begin in May 1997, and will focus on four provinces -- Eastern Cape, KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Cape and Northern Province.

The Entandweni Lower Primary School was selected for your visit not only because of its substantial improvement in teaching methodology and student performance, but because it has a teacher who had considerable experience with OLSET's "English in Action" program. Mrs. Vilikazi, a dynamic first grade teacher, has been using the "English in Action" interactive radio series for two years with ongoing training support from the OLSET staff. Moreover, Entandweni is typical of many township schools, although it does have fundamental resources such as chairs, desks and toilets which is not the case for thousands of other schools.

Deputy Minister of Education Father Mkhathshwa, OLSET Director Gordon Naidoo, and Principal of the School Mrs. Sishi will greet and escort you on a short tour of the school grounds. You will then go to Mrs. Vilikazi's classroom where you will meet Mrs. Vilikazi and her Grade 1 students. Because the "English in Action" radio lesson is broadcast at an earlier time, this lesson will be based on an audiotape of the lesson.

After observing the class, you will be escorted to a classroom where you will record a radio message for the children of South Africa.

Objectives

- o To emphasize the importance of teacher development in improving the quality of education.
- o To emphasize the use of innovative teaching methods that enhance student learning, such as interactive radio instruction, which is a cost-effective way to improve access to education for disadvantaged communities.
- o To broadcast a radio message on education to the children of South Africa.

Talking Points

Classroom:

- It gives me great pleasure to be with you today in your classroom and to see just how you learn from "English in Action."
- Your teacher has done a wonderful job in working with you. I know she is very proud of your accomplishments.
- I do not need to tell you how important education is. The fact that you are studying so hard shows that you care about learning.
- Keep up the good work, and thank you for letting me join you today to see your classroom in action.

Radio Message:

- I am very happy to be visiting beautiful South Africa, and am delighted to greet the children of South Africa through this radio broadcast.
- I have just come from a classroom where students use the radio to learn the English language. These lessons from the radio are a new and effective way to learn, and I hope they are fun too.
- Your parents, your teachers, and other friends have told you how important education is for you. Through it, you can learn to read and write, to find out about new places and people, to learn a different language, to search for new ideas.

- My visit here to the Entandweni School has made it possible for me to visit not only with the people in the school but with all of you across South Africa who are listening to me speak on this broadcast.
- I hope you will keep studying hard and learning since that is the best chance for making a good life. I send all of you my very best wishes and thank you for giving me the chance to visit with you over the radio.

**Visit of The First Lady
To
Johannesburg, South Africa**

March 18, 1997

Event: English in Action Observation and Town Forum

Date: March 18, 1997

Time: 11:30 a.m. - 2:15 a.m.

Location: Entandweni Lower Primary School

Attendees: Father Mkhathshwa, Deputy Minister, National DOE
Gordon Naidoo, Director, OLSET
Mrs. Primrose Sishi, Principal, Entandweni Lower Primary School
Walter Mokoape, Soweto Chamber of Commerce
Njabulo Maphanga, Student

Approximately 120 community members will be in the audience

Press: American and South African Press Corps (Open)

Remarks: Brief

Scenario: Mrs. Clinton arrives in front of the school where she will be greeted by Ambassador James Joseph and Mrs. Mary Joseph, Father Mkhathshwa, (Deputy Minister), Gordon Naidoo, (Director OLSET), and Primrose Sishi, (School Principal). Mrs. Clinton will tour the school grounds and arrive at the door of classroom #5, where she will be met by the teacher Mrs. Vilakazi. Mrs. Clinton, escorted by Primrose Sishi, will take her seat in the front of the classroom. Primrose Sishi will provide translation if necessary. Mrs. Clinton will observe an interactive "English in Action" lesson. Upon conclusion of the 10- minute lesson, Mrs. Clinton will interact with the students and depart the classroom en route to hold. Mrs. Clinton will depart hold and proceed to the school garden where she will be joined by Mrs. Primrose Sishi and the entire student body, approximately 750 students. The students will sing the national anthem, "Nkosi Sikeleli" and depart the school grounds for the day. Mrs. Clinton, accompanied by Primrose Sishi will proceed to the educational forum, where she will meet the five participants at the offstage announce position. Mrs. Clinton, accompanied by Father Mkhathshwa, will be announced into the room where she will take her seat at the head of the table. Father Mkhathshwa, program moderator, will make brief welcoming remarks and introduce the first of the five testimonials. Upon conclusion of the testimonials, Mrs. Clinton will make remarks from her seat and participate in a question and answer session. After the discussion, Mrs. Clinton will exit stage left and work a ropeline from left to right and proceed to hold. Mrs. Clinton will proceed to classroom #1 for an informal lunch with the Education Forum participants. Upon completion of the lunch, Mrs. Clinton will proceed to hold to tape her radio address to the children of South Africa. Upon completion of the radio address, Mrs. Clinton will depart.

Staff Notes: Seats will be available in the back of the "English & Action" classroom and in the back of the Education Forum near the press area.



U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Invitation to an Education Roundtable Discussion with the First Lady of the United States

You are cordially invited to attend an Education Roundtable discussion with Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton, the First Lady of the United States of America, on Tuesday, March 18, 1997. On March 18, 1997 Mrs. Clinton will be visiting Entandweni Lower Primary School in Zondi, Soweto which is one of more than 3,000 South African schools benefitting from USAID support to the Open Learning Systems Education Trust (OLSET) "English in Action" radio program.

Participation is limited. Please be seated by 12:30 for a 12:45 start.

For security reasons, no late arrivals will be admitted.

This invitation will be required for admittance. Please bring it with you to the school.
Location: 673 Masingafi Street, Zondi Soweto. Directions are attached.

Background:

-- The purpose of the First Lady's visit to Entandweni Lower Primary School is to meet with South African educators, community leaders, parents and students to learn more about education in South Africa and the ways in which the "Culture of Learning" campaign and OLSET's interactive radio language project are contributing to the transformation process. Attendance at the Education Roundtable is strictly limited to selected guests.

-- The purpose of OLSET's Radio Learning activity is to improve the quality of basic education for disadvantaged South Africans in a cost-effective manner through interactive radio instruction. USAID support since 1992 has allowed development of English-language instructional materials, including teacher training, radios and cassette recordings, teacher notes and pupils' workbooks, covering Grade One and Grade Two. Tests indicate substantial improvements compared to schools not using the program. At Entandweni Lower Primary School, OLSET has supported the "English in Action" interactive radio series for several years. "English in Action" is now used in over 3,000 schools in South Africa. In 1996 alone, over 1,000 teachers were trained through workshops and other on-the-job techniques, and 242 new schools were reached across six of South Africa's nine provinces.

Please confirm attendance by Friday, March 14 by calling Lesslah Msiithini at USAID at (012) 323-8869. Thank you.

For cable to White House

RADIO LESSON TO BE OBSERVED: The OLSET ENGLISH IN ACTION program to be taught and observed by FLOTUS at Entandweni Lower Primary School in Zondi, Soweto is program number 32. The program, which is 30 minutes long, is intended for Grade 1 students. It includes the following activities:

BEGINNING SEGMENT

Before the program begins, the teacher will spend a few minutes explaining what "inside" and "outside" mean. The aim of the program is to be able to use prepositions such as "on," "under," "inside" and "outside." The content structures will focus on "This/That is here/there" and "I am/you are here/there."

Just before the Opening Activity, there is a short segment to be broadcast on the radio which provides an example of something found inside and something found outside. After the teacher-led activity, the children will hear a number of sound effects of different animals on the radio (eg., a dog barking, a cock crowing, a bee buzzing, etc.). They are then asked by the radio character to repeat short sentences such as: "The dog is barking." "The cock is crowing." "The bee is buzzing.")

MIDDLE SEGMENT

From page 4 in the workbook, the children are asked by a radio character to point to picture number 1 and then to listen to the sound of the elephant. They are then asked to say "That's an elephant." "That's a lion." "That's a frog" and "That's a monkey."

The next activity follows a brief story to be told as part of the radio drama which uses "knocking and guessing" techniques as in "who's there?" The children are asked who was inside the room and who was outside the room. There is a long pause in the program at this point during which the teacher engages with the students and asks a number of questions.

This is followed by the sounds of either a whistle or a drum and questions such as: "Is that your whistle/drum?" The answers are either "Yes, that's my whistle/drum" or "No, it's not." This is then followed by an activity in which the students participate in the "Stand up, sit down" song which is to be sung either loudly or softly.

The next segment of the radio broadcast involves three girls who will make different statements. For example: "I am standing here." The intent is to differentiate between "here" or "there." The activity alternates between the girls and the whole class.

The next activity is based on a chant and asks the children to "Put your hands on the table." The class is asked to divide

The activity involves clapping, snapping and stamping of feet.

CLOSING ACTIVITY

The closing activities include the following:

One child stands at his/her desk and another at the door. The children are asked to point to the child next to his/her desk and say: "This child is here." They then point to the other child and say "That child is there."

This is followed by two children who demonstrate similar sentences. "I am here." "You are there." They will also point at the table and say similar sentences.

This will be followed by the broadcast of a song: "Listen to the animal say..." with humans making the animal sounds. The children are then asked to play a game in which they are asked to identify "where" certain things are located.

The radio program will end with the "English in Action" signature song.

TALKING POINTS FOR FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S
RECORDED RADIO ADDRESS TO THE CHILDREN OF SOUTH AFRICA

-- I am delighted to be in South Africa once again. My first visit here was in 1994, to attend President Mandela's inauguration which was held on May 10 of that year. It was an inspiring celebration of freedom and democracy and one which meant a great deal to me personally as well as to all Americans who joined in the celebration from a distance. Americans of all ages and walks of life have long supported the struggle for democracy in South Africa.

-- I know that the first democratic election in 1994 was a special occasion for the millions of students in South Africa, despite the fact that they were not of voting age. Students were at the vanguard of the struggle for freedom, and right here in Soweto in the 1976 uprising hundreds of young people stood up against racism and oppression. Some of them, such as Hector Peterson, paid with their lives for the future of South Africa. Today's students can look at the 1994 elections as the prize of the struggle. They know it was worth it because they can enjoy the freedom and responsibility of a democratic system for the rest of their lives.

-- President Mandela's launch of the "Culture of Learning" campaign here in Soweto on February 20 highlights the importance of education in South Africa's new democracy. The culture of learning seeks to leave confrontation and conflict outside the schools. It involves a pact between teachers and students of mutual respect and shared responsibility. It is about involvement of parents in the guidance of schools and the education process. It also emphasizes the need for collaboration between government and civil society.

-- I saw evidence of one such successful partnership between civil society and the school system today in my visit to Entandweni Lower Primary School in Zondi, Soweto. The program I saw this morning was the "English in Action" interactive radio program which is being broadcast nationally by the SABC. I saw it being used in a Grade 1 classroom. It was a wonderful example of active learning and the use of media. I was overwhelmed by the enthusiasm and joy of these students and their eagerness to learn. I was also impressed by the special skill of the teacher, Mrs. Vilakazi, who was quite capable in using the program to engage her students.

-- The series, which was produced by the Open Learning Systems Education Trust, is a vivid example of how a learner-centered program can excite students and inspire teachers. We are pleased that the U.S. government has been able to provide significant financial support for the development of this very special program. We are also very pleased that it is being used in more than 3,000 primary schools in South Africa.

-- I believe that education is absolutely vital for the reconstruction and development of this country. Of course, that is true for all countries, including my own. However,

with South Africa's past inequities, education here is truly the key to the future and the path for disadvantaged communities to advance and prosper. Today's children and youth are the future of South Africa, and there is no better investment than in your education.

-- I am very impressed with the strong emphasis South Africa is placing on education and other support for its children. Your President has personally raised millions of Rands for the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, and these resources have gone for homeless or disabled children, education, rehabilitation, and other important programs.

-- Another important program initiated by President Mandela is the President's Education Initiative. This program focuses on teacher education. It has the objective of enhancing the teaching abilities of the thousands of teachers who were disadvantaged under apartheid. This will improve the quality of education for millions of learners. There is no better way to increase the quality of education for children than to produce more qualified and effective teachers. President Clinton has demonstrated his whole-hearted support for this program by committing \$19 million through the U.S. Agency for International Development to the President's Education Initiative. We are excited about being in partnership with South Africa on this very special initiative.

-- You may be interested to know that the U.S. also has a presidential education initiative, known as Goals 2000. Of course the U.S. is a very different country from South Africa, just as all countries have their own unique characteristics. However, educational needs are often similar. In all countries education drives development and strengthens the major institutions. Equal educational opportunity contributes to social and economic equality. Education systems in democracies must be committed to the principle that every child has the potential to excel and should be provided with an opportunity to become all that they can be.

President Clinton's Goals 2000 is focusing on the following objectives:

- o Every child should be able to read by the age of eight years, since reading is the gateway to academic success.
- o All twelve-year-old children should have access to a personal computer and to the vast information resources of the Worldwide Web via internet.
- o All youth should have access to community college education, which is defined as the first two years of tertiary education, by the age of 18.
- o Lifelong education should be available to citizens of all ages.
- o Teacher development and the conditions of service should be improved.

early childhood development programs, and violence issues including the need to increase security and eliminate drug use. The parallels and differences between the South African and U.S. presidential education initiatives are interesting. In some ways they may reflect an emphasis on different development problems, but they both focus on common values of democracy and human potential. Most of all, both countries' education initiatives have a strong focus on children and youth, and on supporting the fulfillment of this wonderful potential to transform the world and lead us into the next century.

I know how hard many of you are working to transform South Africa and to play a meaningful role in the country's development. I commend you for your commitment to learning and for the progress that has been made so far. Children are South Africa's future and education is the key to unlocking this potential. I am confident that you will meet the challenge.

Draft

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS TO THE CHILDREN OF SOUTH AFRICA
SOWETO, SOUTH AFRICA
MARCH 18, 1997**

Hello, my name is Hillary Rodham Clinton. My daughter Chelsea and I have come from America to visit many of the nations of Africa, including your beautiful country. This is my second visit to South Africa. I first came nearly three years ago to help celebrate the inauguration of your President, Nelson Mandela. Some of you may remember what an exciting time it was for South Africa and for the world. And I am very happy to find that that excitement, that commitment to freedom and democracy is thriving in schools, communities, and cities throughout this country.

I am delighted to be able to say hello to all of you, the children of South Africa. You are the hope and the future of your country. We are all looking to each of you -- every single boy and girl listening today -- to show how all peoples of all colors and races can live together peacefully and work together to build a better South Africa and a better world.

To do that, you must go to school and study. Your parents, your teachers, President Mandela and other friends have told you how important education is for your future. And they are right. Because by learning to read and write, to add and subtract, and to study new ideas, people, and places, you will gain the tools you need to secure better lives for yourselves, to strengthen your families and communities, and to understand the world you live in.

I have just come from a classroom at the Entandweni School in Soweto, where students are using the radio to learn English. These lessons are a new and effective way to learn, and I hear they are fun, too. So I hope you will take advantage of these new methods of learning and that you will look to your teachers as your allies in your efforts to prepare for the future.

Never forget that each one of you has the power to change the world. You only need to study hard and learn how to use it. I send all of you my very best wishes and thank you for giving me the chance to visit with you over the radio.

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South Africa: Education Town Forum

Context

After your visit to the Entandweni School, you will be escorted to a tented area just outside the classroom where an Education Roundtable/Town Meeting with about 100 people will take place. The audience will include Government officials, broadcasters, community leaders, parents and approximately 25 children from the school. After a welcome by Deputy Minister of Education Father Mkhathshwa, five-minute testimonials will be given by a student, a teacher, a community leader and an education expert on the importance of education in their lives. You will then make a few remarks, which will be followed by a Question and Answer session.

Objectives

- o To bring greetings from the United States and to emphasize its support for assisting South Africa in the development of its educational system for all South Africans.
- o To stress the importance of education in the historic transformation now underway in the new South Africa.

Talking Points

- I am so happy to be here and to see this wonderful example of creative learning and the use of media. I am also overwhelmed by the enthusiasm and joy of these students.
- I believe that education is absolutely vital for the future of this country, and indeed for all countries. Especially in view of South Africa's past and its great potential, continued educational development and equal access and opportunity for all children is the key to a better future.
- President Mandela's launch of the "Culture of Learning" campaign here in Soweto on February 20 highlights the importance of education in South Africa's new democracy. It also emphasizes the need for collaboration between government and civil society.
- I've seen evidence of one such successful partnership today at this school.
- I want to take a moment to pay tribute to another important element of education's advance in South Africa. This is President Mandela's "President's Education Initiative," which will upgrade the skills of thousands of teachers

disadvantaged under apartheid, and benefit millions of children. The United States is pleased to be able to support this effort. We are contributing \$19 million to this special initiative.

- I know how hard many of you are working to transform the educational system. I commend you for your commitment, for your enthusiasm, and for the progress that has been made.

FATHER SMANGALISO MKHATSHWA (DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION)

Father Smangalisio Mkhathswa was ordained as a Catholic priest in 1965. He did post-graduate studies at the University of Leuven in Belgium, specializing in philosophy and theology. He later acquired a Masters Degree in Theology. He has honorary doctoral degrees from Georgetown University and the University College of La Rochelle New York and from the University of Tubingen in Germany. He served as a parish priest at St. Charles Lwanga Church in Soshanguve from 1976 to 1994 during which time he was involved in many conflicts with the apartheid regime, including being detained, interrogated and tortured by the security forces during the National State of Emergency from 1986 to 1987. In 1994 he was elected to Parliament as an ANC candidate. He was appointed Deputy Minister of Education in June 1996.

MRS. PRIMROSE SISHI (SCHOOL PRINCIPAL)

Mrs. Primrose Sishi was born in Johannesburg in Alexandra township. She obtained her teaching diploma at Vista University in 1972 and in 1974 began teaching science, languages and mathematics at the primary school level. In 1989 she became the principal of Entandweni Lower Primary School in Zondi, Soweto where she currently serves as the principal, assisted by a deputy principal. She lives in Krugersdorp and has two children, Lebo and Mpumi.

MR. WALTER MOKOAPE (COMMUNITY LEADER)

Mr. Walter Mokoape is chairman of the Phafrika Holding Company which deals with development, low-cost housing construction, office equipment, car sales and printing. He currently serves as chairman of the Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industries and is an active board member of numerous community and civic organizations, including Twilight Street Children, the National Environmental Awareness Council, the Kilnerton Students Organization, and the South Africa-based United Nations Committee on Development and Industries. He obtained a Teacher's Diploma in 1950 and has since obtained additional diplomas in middle management, human resource development, soil conservation, literacy and youth leadership and education planning. He began his career as a teacher at Roodeport West Methodist School and has served as a principal and advisor.

GORDON NAIDOO (DIRECTOR, OLSET PROJECT)

Mr. Gordon Naidoo, the Director of the Open Learning System Education Trust (OLSET) was born in Durban, South Africa. He lived abroad for 25 years in Ireland, England and Zimbabwe. He studied at Ulster University and the London School of Economics and holds a Bachelors Degree in Social Administration with a major in Education and a Masters Degree in Educational Policy and Planning. Research for dissertations focused on education policy in South Africa. Mr. Naidoo has taught "O" levels and has worked as a project manager on a social project in London with Caribbean youth. He lives in Johannesburg with his wife and three children, Mala, Sinead, and Gerlin.

NJABULO MAPHANGA (STUDENT PARTICIPANT)

Njabulo Maphanga, age 12, was a student at Entandweni Lower Primary school for four years where he first encountered the "English in Action" radio program. He was born in Nelspruit in Mpumalanga province and currently lives in Soweto with his parents and two brothers (ages 9 and 6) and a sister who is 2 years old. Njabulo is the "head boy" at Naturena Primary School in Soweto where he excels in his studies, having scored 93% in science in 1995. A "head boy" is recognized for his academic, athletic and personal accomplishments. His favorite subjects are

mathematics and science and he is eager to be a pilot or brain surgeon when he grows up. He is also eager to read Mrs. Clinton's Book -- It Takes a Village -- and to meet her at the Education Forum.

South Africa: Educational Forum Questions and Answers

Q: What is the educational system like in the U.S.?

A: As in South Africa there is a national Department of Education in the U.S. which plays a key role in setting certain policies and in supporting key innovative programs.

Education is, however, primarily a local responsibility beginning with state and local Departments of Education. At the level of individual schools, parents and communities play a large role in how their children's school is run. As envisioned in your schools bill here in South Africa, budget decisions are made at the local level.

Q: How is the community involved in education in the U.S.? Are there parent/teacher associations?

A: I understand that the Entandweni School has a governing body very much like our PTAs. I would like to hear what your organization has done or hopes to do in the future.

Q: Is schooling free in the U.S.? How about university?

A: Yes. Through high school, schooling is free through public school systems that are managed at the local level. While there are no school fees, parents support education through local and state taxes which are allocated to local school districts for the operation of public schools.

There are also many private schools in the U.S. Parents pay a fee for their children to attend these institutions.

Universities in the U.S. vary. Some are private and others are operated by the state government in question. At all of them there are tuition payments, along with costs for books and lodging. There is also a wide range of institutions, from technological schools to two- and four-year institutions to large research universities with graduate schools. There are also many options for financial assistance, which include work-study programs for needy students, scholarships and other financial awards, and a variety of low- or deferred-interest loan programs.

Q: What is President Clinton doing to help improve education?

A: Like South Africa, the U.S. also has a presidential educational initiative, known as Goals 2000. In the U.S., as is true here and in all countries, education drives development and strengthens the major

institutions. Equal educational opportunity contributes to social and economic equality. Educational systems in democracies must be committed to the principle that every child has the potential to excel.

President Clinton's Goals 2000 includes the following objectives:

- Every child should be able to read by the age of eight years, since reading is the gateway to academic success.
- All twelve-year-old children should have access to a personal computer and to the vast information resources of the World Wide Web via internet.
- All youth should have access to community college education, which is defined as the first two years of college-level education, by the age of 18.
- Lifelong education should be available to citizens of all ages.
- Teacher development and the conditions of service should be improved.

There are a variety of other objectives, such as improved early childhood development programs, and issues related to violence, including security and drugs. The parallels and differences between the South African and U.S. presidential educational initiatives are interesting. In some ways they may reflect an emphasis on different development problems, but they both engender common values of democracy and human potential. Most of all, the educational initiatives in both countries focus on children and youth, on supporting the fulfillment of their potential for a better future and life.

Q: When you meet President Mandela, what will you tell him about our school?

A: I will tell him how welcome I felt here. I also want to tell him about the wonderful learning experiences that you and your teachers are having through OLSET's English in Action series.

I will share with him your views on the importance of education in your lives and the importance of parents engaged in their children's education.

I understand that President Mandela came to Soweto to introduce the Culture of Learning Campaign so I will tell him that you are all--students, teachers and parents--making a fine start of creating such a culture in Zondi (Zon'-dee).

Q: What role do you see technology playing in education?

A: It's really an exciting time for children. There are many innovations using computers, television and radio to expand access to education.

Television programs such as Sesame Street in the U.S. and radio programs like English in Action bring education to students wherever they are.

Although technology will continue to play an increasing role, it is important for all of us to remember to stay involved--teachers, parents, and the community. Education doesn't just happen in a vacuum, it must be nurtured.

Q: What do you like most about South Africa?

A: South Africa is a beautiful and inspiring country. It was wonderful that my first time here was for President Mandela's inauguration--to see this great nation start the process of a democratic transition. The progress made since then is inspiring--a new constitution is in place which demonstrates respect for the rights of the individual, particularly women and children; elected local governments are in place and operating; and, departments of health and education are reaching out to serve ALL South Africa. This is a country of hope.

I am continually amazed at the extraordinary diversity of South Africa's people. Archbishop Tutu's description of South Africa as a rainbow nation describes the country. And it is significant--the rainbow is a symbol of hope.

South Africa stands as a great example of the possibilities for all of the countries of Africa and the world. There is hope for diverse, democratic societies working and living together.

Q: How are South Africans and Americans similar and different?

A: There are many similarities and differences. Perhaps the most important similarity is the parallel struggle over the past 50 years for equal rights for all people.

The U.S. has a long history of working to ensure equal opportunity and to eliminate discrimination. Our efforts--similar to those issues identified in South Africa's new Constitution--have targeted the protection of women, children, minorities, and disabled individuals. While we still have much work to do in this area, great strides have been made.

Americans feel a special bond and affection for South Africa and for its people. As I am sure you know,

thousands and thousands of Americans worked to abolish apartheid and demonstrated in the streets of Washington and other cities.

As to differences, well, South Africans play rugby and Americans play football. South Africans play cricket and Americans play baseball. But, we all play soccer. I don't really think we are all that different.

South Africa: Education

Education in South Africa was severely warped by apartheid policies. Separate education systems for each race and each region resulted in 19 Ministries of Education and huge disparities in resources and services. The quality of education was high for the privileged white 20% of the population and very poor for the disadvantaged majority. Reconstruction and development efforts focus on attaining equality of educational resources and opportunities, but will take decades to achieve. The challenge is to maintain and enhance the quality developed for privileged communities, while expanding education services to all.

The 19 ministries have been reorganized into one National Ministry of Education and new provincial departments of education in the nine provinces are being created. The new provincial administrations are responsible for the delivery of education services. Their handling of the daunting task of getting organized, assessing and allocating teaching and other resources, registering students and starting classes has been a mixed success.

At the school level, there are serious inequalities in education resources among ethnic groups, and the extensive efforts to mitigate the disparities will take some time. The education budget is being revised to equalize funding distributions, but the inequities built up under apartheid are enormous. Disadvantaged communities lack school rooms and qualified teachers at all levels of education. Policy reforms focus on equalizing the student/teacher ratios in all communities, and government programs are being developed to educate new teachers and provide in-service training for current teachers and administrators. New curricula are also being developed to eliminate past apartheid biases and incorporate modern content and teaching practices.

In higher education, the problems are similar to those in the rest of the system. South Africa's 15 historically disadvantaged institutions share many problems the historically black colleges and universities in the U.S. once had. They suffer from inadequate physical facilities and overcrowding, insufficient funding, and under-qualified teaching and administrative staff. They are the focal point for large numbers of under-prepared students who are the products of a flawed primary and secondary education system.

The "advantaged" higher education institutions which were largely (although not exclusively) segregated under apartheid are now integrating. Most have 50% or more of their enrollment from black students, but have the resources to provide tutorial or bridging programs.

In response to President Mandela's request for teacher training assistance, President Clinton agreed to provide \$19 million through USAID for the Ministry of Education. USAID and USIA programs, covering pre-school through university support, make the United States the largest bilateral donor in education.

South Africa: Visit to Hector Peterson Memorial

Context

The Hector Peterson Memorial commemorates Hector as the very first youngster killed in the June 1976 Soweto student uprising. Most South Africans see the Soweto student rebellion, in which students and others died, as the first step in the bloody 18-year struggle which finally led to a free South Africa in 1994. The inscription on the memorial is dated June 16, 1976, and says: "In memory of Hector Peterson and all other young heroes and heroines of our struggle who laid down their lives for freedom, peace and democracy." Since it was inaugurated by President Mandela on June 16, 1992, the memorial has become a major place of veneration.

Premier Tokyo Sexwale (pron: seg-WAH-lay) of Gauteng Province will greet you on your arrival at the memorial, and introduce you to the assembled guests. He will then make a few short introductory remarks. You will respond with a few brief remarks of your own and then proceed to lay a wreath at the Memorial. After the wreath-laying, Premier Sexwale will escort you through a photo exhibit commemorating the anti-apartheid struggle.

Objectives

- o To recognize the enormous personal sacrifice the children and families of South Africa made to win their freedom.
- o To exchange greetings with Premier Sexwale of Gauteng Province, the Mayor of Greater Johannesburg, and the Mayor of the Southern Metropolitan Substructure (which includes Soweto and Johannesburg's Central Business District).

Talking Points

- I am thrilled to be able to bring Chelsea to Soweto, which for me and the President is the symbol and the soul of South Africa's struggle for freedom.
- I have just come from an inspiring visit to the Entandweni Primary School and am overwhelmed by the joy and achievement I saw there.

Suggested Remarks

- When I stand here and think about what the Hector Peterson Memorial signifies to South Africa and to Mrs. Peterson, my heart is deeply touched.

- As a mother, I find it hard to accept that any parent should ever have to bury one of her children, even in a noble cause.
- As a President's wife, I know that sacrifice for one's nation is a high and noble honor which can give comfort to parents who lose their children in the service of their country's fight for justice and freedom.
- Mrs. Peterson, you and your family have made the greatest possible sacrifice to South Africa's freedom. On behalf of President Clinton, myself, and Chelsea, we praise and honor you, and share the sorrow you must feel every day as a mother who has buried a child.
- Hector Peterson was a young boy when he died. Youngsters around the world like Hector renew us daily with their boundless energy, soaring spirits and fearless pursuit of justice.
- I know if Hector were here with us today he would be urging all of us to look beyond the sad daily news of poverty and violence which still grips too much of the world and to strive with all our might, and with the same love and determination that fires the hearts and minds of the young, to carry forward the eternal struggle for a safe, peace-loving and caring world.

(Depending on who hosts the event, the First Lady may add the following:)

- I would like to ask Reverend (name: TBD) to lead us in a prayer of remembrance and dedication to Hector Peterson and the people of South Africa.
- Thank you.

Tentative Guest List: Hector Peterson Memorial

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Miss Chelsea Clinton

Archbishop and Mrs. Desmond Tutu (she, Leah)

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Sislu (pron: sis-SOO-loo) (she, Albertina)

Mr. and Mrs. Tokyo Sexwale (she, Judy), Premier, Gauteng Province (Host)

Mrs. Victor Peterson (Hector Peterson's mother) and daughter Mrs. Antoinette Sithole (Hector's sister)

Photographer Mr. Peter Magubane (pron: mah-goo-BAH-nay)

Johannesburg Mayor and Mrs. Isaac Mogase (pron: moh-HAH-say) (she, Netta)

Ms. Sophie Masite (pron: mah-SEATtay), Mayor of Soweto

Ambassador and Mrs. James J. Joseph (she, Mary)

Consul General and Mrs. Gregory Engle (she, Maureen)

VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
JOHANNESBURG, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

MARCH 18-19, 1997

EVENT: Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Hector Peterson Memorial

DATE: Tuesday, March 18, 1997

TIME: 2:30 p.m. - 3:20 p.m.

LOCATION: The Hector Peterson Memorial, Soweto

GREETERS: Mr. Tokyo Sexwale (seg-WAH-lay)
Mrs. Judy Sexwale
Mrs. Victor Peterson
Mr. Peter Magubane (mah-goo-BAH-nay)
Mr. Isaac Mogase (moh-HAH-say)
Mrs. Netta Mogase
Ms. Helen Suzman
Ms. Sophie Masite (mah-SEAT-tay)
Mr. Walter Sisulu (sis-SOO-loo)
Rev. Peter Lenkoe (LEN--koo)
Mrs. Makhubu (mah-KOO-boo)
Mr. Sam Nzima (in-ZEE-mah)

PRESS: Open

REMARKS: Brief Remarks

SCENARIO: Mrs. Clinton will arrive and meet greeters curbside. Premier Sexwale will show Mrs. Clinton the Mural of the Children of Soweto and then escort Mrs. Clinton, Ambassador Joseph and Mr. Magubane to trailers 10 through 5. Crossing the memorial park, the tour will then continue at trailer 4 and proceed to trailer 4. Pool press will cover trailers 1 and 2. At trailer 4 Mrs. Clinton may view the souvenirs for sale and sign the guest book. Upon conclusion, Mrs. Clinton and the Premier will proceed to the memorial and enter with Mrs. Clinton on the Premier's left. They will stop at stage-left of the memorial. Premier Sexwale will make brief remarks and introduce Mrs. Clinton who will make brief remarks. At the conclusion, the children will enter carrying the wreath. After the wreath is in place, Mrs. Clinton move in order to face the center of the memorial. Mrs. Clinton should adjust the sash on the wreath and, backing up, she will join the Premier for a moment of silence. The moment of silence will end with a prayer by Rev. Lenkoe. Upon conclusion, Mrs. Clinton and the Premier should proceed to the arrival point and exchange gifts with Premier Sexwale, Mayor Mogase and Mayor Masite. After the exchange Mrs. Clinton will depart.

Staff Note: During Mrs. Clinton's tour the staff may tour trailers 1 through 4 or proceed directly to the tent. Staff may view the ceremony from outside of the memorial.

3/14/97

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
HECTOR PETERSON MEMORIAL
SOWETO, SOUTH AFRICA
MARCH 18, 1997**

Thank you Premier Sexwale [seg-WAH-lay]. I am honored to be here today to pay tribute to the memory of Hector Peterson, to his family and to the young people of Soweto whose courage more than twenty years ago set this country firmly on the path to freedom, peace and democracy.

Mrs. Peterson, you and your family made the greatest sacrifice for South Africa's freedom. It was a sacrifice no family can ever forget, a sacrifice whose pain no amount of time can ever diminish. President Clinton, Chelsea and I, along with our fellow Americans, honor your courage and share your sorrow.

But let us take comfort in the knowledge that out of such tragic beginnings and so many dark and difficult years has come a new South Africa, a new era of hope and faith in the future. And so long as we commit ourselves to building a more just society, to instilling the ideals of democracy in the hearts and minds of our fellow citizens, and to preparing our children for the challenges and opportunities of the future, then Hector Peterson's legacy will live forever.

###

South Africa: Visit to Orlando Children's Home

Context

Mrs. Miriam Mazibuko, the Home's Director, will meet you and take you on a tour of the facilities in this order: creche (where you will be greeted with a song); children's cottage (ages 3 through 19); infants cottage; and dining room. In the dining room, you will be introduced to the other guests (the Home's committee, supporters, staff, and children). Tea will be served. Mrs. Mazibuko will offer a brief welcome. You will be invited to respond, at which time Mrs. Mazibuko will answer any questions you may have. You will have an opportunity to talk with the children and answer their questions. You will present a gift; Mrs. Mazibuko will respond. The participants will form a queue leading to the door. You will shake their hands as you exit and Mrs. Mazibuko will escort you to your car.

Since 1940, the mission of the Orlando Children's Home has been to support girls and women of Soweto who are overwhelmed by motherhood, and to give care and find placements for their babies. The Home has 75 resident children and a creche for 80 children of working mothers. The Home tries to find parents for the children, but many (especially males) remain there until adulthood. For these the Home's staff are the only parents the children will ever know.

In Soweto, the anti-apartheid culture of non-attendance persists and many children do not go to school, while others leave after two or three hours. They are without adult supervision for most of the day. Soweto families are suffering from the "absent Granny syndrome." In the traditional South African context, the Granny takes care of the sexual education of girls, and teaches them about adult responsibilities. However, in 80 percent of families, girls are raised by working mothers they rarely see. With neither sex education nor birth control, many girls get pregnant. The stresses of childbirth, parental disapproval, and parenthood may make girls severely depressed or even suicidal. If a girl abandons her baby, the child may become a resident of the Orlando Children's Home.

The Home's children also come from liaisons between migrant male workers and their local mistresses. If the mistress has the worker's child, and finds that marriage is not forthcoming, she may abandon the child to its father, who then brings it to the Home. A third source of residents are mothers with HIV/AIDS.

The staff reach out to families in churches and to children at schools; go to clinics throughout Soweto weekly; get referrals of new mothers from hospitals, schools, and parents; and run a drop-in center for depressed or overwhelmed mothers. A three-year grant from the Kellogg Foundation is helping to fund a study to

identify if there is a pattern to the unplanned pregnancies, child abandonments, and new-mother suicides in Soweto. The USG also has made grants to the Orlando Children's Home (in 1986 and 1989) from the Ambassador's Special Self-Help Fund.

Objectives

- o To emphasize the need for community organizations offering support and intervention to families and to children at risk.
- o To emphasize the importance of nurturing and educating children without families so that they can become functioning members of their communities.
- o To emphasize the importance of giving children relevant information on sexuality and birth control early enough to avoid unwanted pregnancies and their consequences.

Talking Points

- I am happy to visit the Orlando Children's Home and to meet the healthy and active children being raised here. It is clear that this is indeed a family.
- I share your concern for young people growing up without the guidance and support of parents. Both in the U.S. and in South Africa, parents must be encouraged and helped to meet the responsibilities of parenthood. For the sake of future generations, parents must guide, protect, and lend psychological, as well as economic, support to our children.
- How many children have found a home here at Orlando in the last 57 years?
- I encourage young mothers who are experiencing difficulties not to give up on their lives or their futures. With the help of institutions like the Orlando Children's Home, you and your children can share South Africa's wonderful future.
- I urge South Africa's teens to develop their minds and their skills, to prepare themselves for higher education, for work, and for life in the 21st century. You are all needed to build the great multicultural society which South Africa uniquely represents.

Tentative Guest List
Visit to Orlando Children's Home, Soweto

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Miss Chelsea Clinton

Mrs. Miriam Mazibuko (pron: mah-zee-BOO-koh), Director, Orlando Children's Home (Host)

Mr. Edwin Dike (pron: DEE-kay), Chair, Orlando Children's Home Managerial Committee

Mrs. Linde Myeza (pron: me-AY-zah), Assistant Chair, Orlando Children's Home Managerial Committee

Mr. Malinga (pron: mah-LING-gah), Headmaster, Orlando Primary School

Mr. Mazibuko, Headmaster, Pace College (and husband of the Director of the Home)

Dr. Mary Hlalele (pron: lah-LAY-lay), Representative of the Kellogg Foundation

Staff of the Orlando Children's Home (to be identified)

Children of the Orlando Children's Home (to be identified)

(In addition, nine other members of Committee may also be present.)

Ambassador and Mrs. James Joseph (Mary)

CG and Mrs. Gregory Engle (Maureen)

**Visit of The First Lady
To
Johannesburg, South Africa**

March 18, 1997

Event: Orlando Children's Home

Date: March 18, 1997

Time: 3:35 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

Location: Orlando Children's Home

Attendees: Mr. Edwin Dike, Chairperson, Orlando Children's Home, Managerial Committee
Mrs. Linde Mycza, Vice Chairperson, Orlando Children's Home
Mrs. Miriam Mazibuko, Director, Orlando Children's Home
Mr. F.D. Mazibuko, Spouse
Dr. Mary Hlalele, Representative of the Kellogg Foundation
Mr. Malingo, Headmaster, Orlando Primary School

Press: American and South African Pooled Press

Remarks: Brief

Scenario: Mrs. Clinton arrives at the front entrance to the Orlando Children's Home where she is greeted by:

Mrs. Miriam Mazibuko, Director, Orlando Children's Home
Mr. F.D. Mazibuko, Spouse
Mr. Edwin Dike, Chairperson, Orlando Children's Home, Managerial Committee
Dr. Mary Hlalele, Representative of the Kellogg Foundation
Mr. Malingo, Headmaster, Orlando Primary School

Mrs. Clinton, accompanied by the greeters will tour the creche. Mrs. Clinton has an option to drop in on one of the classrooms and observe an activity. Upon completion of the creche, Mrs. Clinton will proceed into cottage #3, where an informal discussion will take place between Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Mazibuko and others TBD. Mrs. Clinton will then proceed into the library, where the books that she has donated will be displayed on the bookshelves. After the library, Mrs. Clinton will proceed to hold, and Mrs. Mazibuko will proceed into the Dining Room. Mrs. Clinton has an option to hold. Mrs. Clinton will be announced into the Dining Room by Mrs. Mazibuko where she will take her place in the front of the room next to Mrs. Mazibuko. Mrs. Clinton will view a singing program performed by the children and make brief remarks upon the completion of the program. Mrs. Clinton will depart Orlando Children's Home after her remarks.

Staff Note. Staff will have an area to stand in the back of the room.

Crime/Domestic
Violence Roundtable

South Africa: Roundtable on Crime and Domestic Violence

Context

You will be meeting in roundtable format a group of social workers, government officials, business leaders, and prominent women who are active in the effort to rein in crime in South Africa. The proposed site for the meeting is the U.S. Information Service office in downtown Johannesburg. The walls of the meeting room will be decorated with paintings by women from a drop-in shelter for prostitutes and street children.

The meeting will be limited to a total of 15 invited participants, seated at a round or octagonal table so as to encourage a free-flowing discussion in an informal setting. About 10-15 observers, including Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph, will be seated along the perimeter of the room. There will be space for members of the press to cover the event.

Violent crime is not a new phenomenon in South Africa but has been part of the political and social landscape for decades. While the political violence of the recent past has receded in the wake of democratic elections in 1994, criminal activity in the new South Africa is, by all accounts, more pervasive, more violent, and increasingly indiscriminate. The Mandela government is seized with the issue and has urged community organizations, law enforcement officials, and the business community to get involved in tackling the problem. President Mandela maintains that government alone cannot reduce crime. He argues that the problem will persist unless all South Africans reject a culture of violence and disregard for the law.

Domestic violence and crimes against women are in focus of late due to several highly-publicized and heinous cases of rape in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and elsewhere. Girls as young as two years old have been victims of serious sexual abuse; a serial rapist stalked coeds at Pretoria University; two young teenage girls were raped at home by an intruder; and the wife of a prominent member of Parliament was raped on Cape Town's Robben Island. These incidents highlighted the country's horrifying rape statistics, with conservative estimates that a rape occurs every 18 seconds. All too often, the perpetrators are relatives of the victims. Girls as young as 12 years old have ended up on the streets of Johannesburg after running away from home to escape sexual abuse.

The increasing incidence of domestic violence and crimes against women and girls has numerous causes. These include poverty, extreme income disparities, police incompetence and insensitivity to domestic violence, and the social upheaval associated with South Africa's transition from apartheid. Equally important, however, is that the horrific violence which was so commonplace

in the townships under apartheid (such as "necklacing," letter bombs, assassinations, police brutality) has desensitized an entire generation of South Africans. Inevitably, women and children are the most vulnerable victims of this culture of violence and disrespect for human dignity.

Objectives

- o To demonstrate your commitment to raising the status of women and children in society, particularly in terms of changing traditional male attitudes toward women.
- o To share your ideas on how the United States and other countries you have visited are coping with domestic violence and crimes against women. Note that in the United States, community programs have often served as an effective means of dealing with such problems.
- o To understand the challenges that South African women (and children) face in a society where crime and domestic violence appear to be on the rise.

Talking Points

- I think it is appropriate to be here talking with you about crime and domestic violence so soon after International Women's Day. In far too many societies around the world, women continue to be treated as second-class citizens and are subjected to discrimination and physical abuse.
- In societies where women are denied education, they are deprived of one of the few avenues that can help them achieve social equality with men.
- Regrettably, however, the achievement of social equality does not automatically mean an end to the physical abuse of women.
- As you are well aware, women and children remain most vulnerable to crime and violence, whether in South Africa, the United States, or elsewhere.
- Domestic violence, often accompanied by sexual abuse, is a particularly troublesome aspect of the crime problem because it so often goes unreported and its victims feel powerless to defend themselves.
- In the United States, we have found that support through shelters, community and neighborhood programs has been instrumental in increasing public awareness of crimes against women, while providing appropriate assistance to helping solve these problems.
- I know that each of you is involved in one way or another in seeking an end to senseless crime and violence. I would be

interested in hearing your assessment of the problem of domestic violence and crimes against women in South Africa.

Facts About Violence Against Women in South Africa

- Reported cases of child rape have increased from 7,559 in 1994, to 10,037 in 1995, to 13,859 in 1996.
- Child rapes reportedly account for 38% of South Africa's total rape caseload.
- Statistics for the first eight months of 1996 (last available) indicate that South Africa's rate of 141 reported rapes per 100,000 females is almost double the U.S. rate for 1995 (last available) of 72 reported rapes per 100,000 females.
- It has been estimated that only one in every 20 rapes is reported in South Africa. Poor record keeping and bureaucratic disarray in the transition are at least partially to blame.
- The South African Police Service reportedly proposed the one-stop shop concept for victims of domestic violence. The concept is not finalized and funding sources have not yet been identified. Proponents hope to include in identified police stations services for reporting domestic violence or rape, an emergency counseling and health center, social assistance for long-term counseling, and possibly a shelter.
- The one-stop shop concept is being discussed by the coordinating body of the National Crime Prevention Strategy.

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SOUTH AFRICA: ANTI-CRIME ASSISTANCE

Question:

Is the U.S. doing anything to help South Africa combat its growing crime problem?

Answer:

In July 1996, Vice President Gore and Deputy President Mbeki signed a Declaration on Mutual Anti-Crime Cooperation outlining the ways our countries can work together to reduce organized crime, drug trafficking, money laundering, and international terrorism.

Steps we are already taking in cooperation with South Africa include opening regional offices in Pretoria of our Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and U.S. customs Service to maintain liaison with South African law enforcement authorities.

We have also allotted \$1 million this year to provide criminal justice expertise and training for South African officials, as well as additional funds for a professional study of drug use in South Africa.

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
JOHANNESBURG, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

MARCH 18-19, 1997

EVENT: Round Table on Crime and Domestic Violence

DATE: Tuesday, March 18, 1997

TIME: 5:10 p.m. - 6:25 p.m.

LOCATION: The Multi-Purpose Facility, DCS Unit (1st floor above lobby)

GREETERS: Captain E J Hutchcoons, DCS commander
Captain Carel Booyaan, Child Protection Unit
Captain Teresa Vermaak, Sexual Assaults Unit
Inspector Elsa Kreef, Domestic Violence Unit

ATTENDEES:

Mrs. Clinton	Ms. Janine Rausch (moderator)
Mrs. Judy Sexwale	Dr. Melvyn Friedman
Mrs. Adelaide Tambo MP	Ms. Adele du Plessis
Mr. Cassim Saloojee MP	Ms. Wendy Lucas-Bull
Ms. Jessie Duarte	Dr. Marilyn Donaldson
Ms. Lisa Vetten	Ms. Zubeda Dangor
Ms. Mmatshilo Motse	Ms. Patience Pashe
Ms. Ingrid McCaen	Inspector Celeste Van der Klashorst

PRESS: Opening Remarks - Pool
Discussion - Print Only

REMARKS: Opening Remarks and Discussion

SCENARIO: Mrs. Clinton will arrive and proceed to the lobby. Mrs. Clinton will board an elevator for one floor. Turning left, Mrs. Clinton will enter the Domestic Violence/Child Protection/Sexual Assaults Unit ("DCS Unit") and be greeted by the Center's commanders. Mrs. Clinton will then enter the Conference Room and greet the moderator. The participants are pre-set in the Multi-Purpose Facility. Mrs. Clinton and the moderator will proceed to the Multi-Purpose Facility via the rear entrance. Mrs. Clinton and the moderator will take their places at the table. The moderator will make opening remarks and introduce Mrs. Clinton. Upon conclusion of Mrs. Clinton's remarks, the moderator will invite the participants to introduce themselves and begin the discussion. The moderator will close the discussion. Mrs. Clinton will greet the participants and depart the Multi-Purpose Facility through the rear entrance and depart.

Staff Note: Staff may view the event from seats in the back of the room.

3/14/97

ROUNDTABLE ON CRIME AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

With Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

March 18, 1997, 5:00 p.m.

Participants

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Ms. Janine Rausch

Director of Policy, Ministry of Safety and Security

Mrs. Adelaide Tambo

Member of Parliament

Mr. Cassim Saloojee

Member of Parliament, Chmn. Parliamentary Welfare Committee

Mrs. Judy Sexwale (pron: seg-WAH-lay)

Social Worker and wife of Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale

Ms. Adele du Plessis

Co-founder and Director of The House, a drop in shelter for prostitutes and female drug addicts

Ms. Wendy Lucas-Bull

Executive Director, Rand Merchant Bank and Chairman, Business Against Crime

Ms. Jessie Duarte (pron: do-ART-tay)

Member of the Gauteng Executive Council, Responsible for Safety and Security

Dr. Marilyn Donaldson

Child Psychologist, Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Ms. Lisa Vetten

Sexual Harassment Education Project

Ms. Zubeda Dangor (pron: DANG-gore)

Director, NISAA (means "women" in Arabic), an organization which offers protection, counseling and shelter to battered and abused women and children

Ms. Mmatshilo Motsei (pron: moat-SAY-ee)

Director, Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training, an organization which helps to empower abused women with skills training and counseling

Ms. Patience Phasle (pron: PASS-lay)

Director, Women for Peace, an organization which trains abused women and places them in jobs

Ms. Ingrid McCaan

Director, Bethany Shelter, an institution with programs for women and children from abusive environments

Inspector Celeste Van der Klashorst

Child Protection Unit, South African Police Service

Dr. Melvyn Friedman

Director, Office of Mental Health, Ministry of Health

South Africa: Anti-Crime Initiatives

South Africa's major cities have experienced an alarming increase in crime, with some 500 crime syndicates or gangs operating -- half of them in greater Johannesburg. Money laundering and financial crimes are also emerging as major concerns. Drug traffickers capitalize on South Africa's porous borders, well-developed infrastructure, numerous air links and airports, overworked customs inspectors and convenient locations between Asia and South America. Frustrated by the government's inability to control crime, vigilante groups have sprung up, most notably the Cape Town-based People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), which publicly assassinated a leading drug figure in 1996.

South Africa has begun engaging with other states to dismantle criminal groups with international connections. Bilateral cooperation in this area was discussed during the July 1996 meeting of the Bi-national Commission. Since then, several senior South African government officials, including the Minister of Justice, have visited Washington. The State Department has established a \$1 million assistance budget for FY 97 to provide criminal justice expertise and training to the South African government.

This assistance encompasses:

- providing advisors to help revamp the Western Cape judicial structure and establish a national drug strategy;
- undertaking an immigration/border security assessment of land, sea and air ports of entry and between border crossings;
- providing a judicial assessment of relevant institutions;
- establishing a regional witness protection training curriculum under the auspices of the South African government; and,
- assisting in legislation governing money laundering, bank secrecy and anti-crime initiatives.

In addition, law enforcement cooperation will be fortified by the recent addition to our Embassy in Pretoria of DEA, FBI, and Customs offices, established in cooperation with the South African government.

The South African government is also making good progress in legislative reform. In October 1996, Parliament approved legislation providing a framework to fight crime and allowing the country to accede to relevant international anti-crime conventions. Parliament plans to review a money laundering bill and a law to create a new "Super Attorney General" with oversight of the nine provincial Attorneys General. In November, President Mandela participated in an Anti-Crime Summit attended by national government, labor business, and civic leaders. There are also several public education initiatives designed to urge the citizenry to take part in cooperative community action with the police.



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

MAR 13 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR MELANNE VERVEER

When I was in Cape Town for the meeting of the Gore-Mbeki Binational Commission, I joined the South African Minister of Health, Dr. Nkosazana Zuma, in signing a Joint Statement on Violence as a Public Health Problem. Because the First Lady will visit the Cape Town Trauma Center for Victims of Violence and Torture, I thought you would be interested in this violence prevention effort.

We will assist in the development in South Africa of a regional center for Africa that would establish definitions, guidelines and methodologies for violence surveillance throughout the continent. The regional center would play a very important role in carrying out the plan of action for the World Health Organization's violence prevention project.

Collaborative efforts will include:

1. Development of health surveillance systems to measure, document, and monitor both intentional and unintentional injuries.
2. Development, sharing, and application of models for addressing violence prevention from a public health perspective to facilitate violence prevention efforts.
3. Identification of causal risk factors.
4. Development and testing of community-based violence prevention and control approaches and interventions.
5. Research on such topics as the links between drug use and crime and the relationship among violence, drug abuse, and health.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Donna E. Shalala", is positioned above the printed name.

Donna E. Shalala



Violence Against Women in South Africa

State Response to Domestic Violence and Rape

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH / AFRICA

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH WOMEN'S RIGHTS PROJECT

1
INTRODUCTION

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) must focus on the reconstruction of family and community life by prioritising and responding to the needs of ... women and children who have been victims of domestic and other forms of violence.¹

It has been a year and a half since the multiracial elections of April 1994 marked the end of the apartheid system in South Africa. An "interim" constitution that will be in effect for two years has established South Africa's first justiciable bill of rights, in a country previously characterized by legislated inequality and severe human rights abuses.² The African National Congress (ANC), the foremost group in the struggle to end racial oppression, is the majority party in the government of national unity that will rule the country for five years until the next general elections. As the leader of the new government, the ANC has reaffirmed its pledge to respect human rights and uphold the rule of law.

A key element of the new dispensation in South Africa is a formal commitment to gender as well as racial equality. During the lead up to the 1994 elections, the ANC published a policy document known as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which states that a "key focus throughout the RDP is on ensuring a full and equal role for women in every aspect of our economy and society." The interim constitution guarantees gender equality and prohibits

¹ The Reconstruction and Development Programme of the Government of National Unity (RDP) sets out the policy goals and strategies of the new government. The original RDP document forms the basis of the policies of the new government, and has been succeeded by a white paper which sets out RDP priorities in greater detail. Government of South Africa. *The Reconstruction and Development Programme*, (Johannesburg: African National Congress, 1994), section 2.13.15.

² The text of the interim constitution was agreed to at the multiparty negotiations that led to a new government, and was passed by the old (all-white) parliament as the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (Act No.200 of 1993). It came into effect on the first day of the elections and will remain in effect until a final constitution is adopted during 1996 by the National Assembly and Senate, elected in April 1994, sitting jointly as a constitutional assembly.

discrimination on the basis of sex,³ and also provides for the creation of bodies to monitor the government's respect for human rights, including a Human Rights Commission and a Commission for Gender Equality. In addition, South Africa now ranks seventh in the world for the number of women in its parliament.⁴

Despite these changes, South African women remain second class citizens. Economic, social and legal inequalities persist. Women are subject to widespread violence that prevents them from enjoying the other rights that they are ensured by the interim constitution. Although reliable national statistics are not readily available, both domestic violence⁵ and sexual assault are pervasive in South Africa and are directed almost exclusively against women, often in places in which they should be safe and by men they know and should be able to rely on. South African women's organizations estimate that perhaps as many as one in every three South African women will be raped and one in six South African women is in an abusive domestic relationship. These are issues of immediate concern to South African women across the political and racial spectrum.

³ The preamble to the interim constitution declares that "[a]ll South Africans will be entitled to a common South African citizenship in a sovereign and democratic state in which there is equality between men and women." The bill of rights (Chapter 3) also guarantees equality before the law to "all persons," and states that "no person shall be unfairly discriminated against, directly or indirectly [on the grounds of] gender [or] sex."

⁴ Of the 400 members of the national assembly, there are 106 women. Six members of the cabinet are women: Minister for Health Nkosazana Zuma; Minister for Public Enterprises Stella Sigcau; Minister for Housing Sankie Nkondo; Deputy Minister for Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Brigitte Mabandla; Deputy Minister for Agriculture Thoko Msane; and Deputy Minister for Welfare Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi.

⁵ The term "domestic violence" is used in this report to refer to violence between spouses or sexual partners, not necessarily occurring at home — although in practice the majority of such violence will occur in the home. In addition, although this report often distinguishes domestic violence from rape for the purposes of examining the criminal justice system's distinct treatment of these abuses, it in no way means to suggest that domestic violence does not include rape.

South African women victims⁶ of violence, regardless of race, continue to face a judicial and police system which is often unsympathetic and hostile to women seeking redress. Although new legal procedures for obtaining protection have been introduced, the efforts to transform the police from enforcers of apartheid into "community" police have in most cases not yet led to improved protection and recourse for women victims of violence. A dearth of support services further exacerbates the effects of violence against South African women.

South African women of all races continue to complain of mistreatment at the hands of police officers taking statements; prosecutors and magistrates in court; district surgeons (government doctors) who examine them; or court clerks who issue forms to abused women for an interdict (restraining order). Women victims of violence frequently experience indifferent or hostile treatment from police officers when they attempt to report abuse. Ignorance of the laws protecting women from domestic violence, including the 1993 Prevention of Family Violence Act, is common in many police stations and among court clerks. The act itself does not address violence by non-live in and same sex partners and does not cover the verbal and emotional abuse.

The state's response has also been problematic with respect to rape. Existing rape laws narrowly define this crime as occurring only between a man and a woman and involving the penetration of the penis into the vagina. Acts of forced oral or anal sex, or penetration by foreign objects are not considered rape. Moreover, while the government acknowledges that the number of reported rapes is only a fraction of the total, the number of prosecutions is even smaller. Police are often unaware of the procedures to follow when a rape is reported, and state medico-legal services are often substandard and can compromise medical evidence crucial to corroborating allegations of sexual abuse. In some cases, poor medico-legal work has also resulted in the denial to women the legal right to abortion in cases of pregnancy resulting from rape. In the courts, judges often discount the testimony of rape survivors and hand down lenient sentences to rapists.

The apartheid policies of the past continue to have an effect on women who are victims of domestic violence and rape. The legacy of violence that underpinned the apartheid state has led to extremely high levels of violence

⁶ There is an ongoing debate over the use of the word "victim" to describe women who have experienced domestic abuse or rape. Many find this term disempowering and believe that the word "survivor" more aptly describes their struggle to deal with both the violence and the law enforcement system. Both terms are used interchangeably in this report in the recognition that battered and raped women are both victims and survivors. Of course some victims do not survive.

throughout society — including in the home. State racism and sexism has prejudiced black women in particular in their interactions with police and judicial authorities. In the rural areas, where black women have the least education and work under the worst conditions, access to redress against perpetrators of violence is even more limited. In the townships, inaction by the police has led to a dangerous reliance on young "comrades" to mete out vigilante justice against alleged perpetrators of violence, including violence against women, undermining the rule of law.

The South African government, at the highest policy-making levels, has expressed a commitment to addressing these forms of violence against women. However, violence against women has not achieved the sort of high-level political attention that the more general political violence, for example, has been given both during the transition period and under the new regime. Although there are a number of encouraging initiatives, there is, to date, no coordinated national strategy to address the problems in the criminal justice, law enforcement, health and welfare systems in a systematic fashion. Policy changes have yet to be implemented consistently across government departments. The government attributes this lack of progress both to the fact that it is overwhelmed in trying to address all the problems caused by apartheid, and to entrenched attitudes in society which condone violence against women. These are valid points. However, lasting political and social transformation towards a democratic South Africa cannot be achieved without systematically addressing the violence inflicted on South African women by men.

The South African women's movement has made a number of significant efforts to address the state's inadequate response to domestic violence and rape.⁷ Their efforts, although at times hampered by limited resources as well as by race, class, and other divisions between women's groups, have resulted in many positive developments. These include the establishment of privately funded hot-lines and shelters for women in need, and the conducting of occasional training sessions on

⁷ These nongovernmental organizations include, among others, the Advice Desk for Abused Women, Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training (ADAPT), Black Sash, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Crisis Line, End Racism and Sexism Through Education (ERASE), 702 Helpline, Ilitha LaBantu, Inkross Women's League, Kimberley Rape Crisis Committee, Lawyers for Human Rights, Lifeline, National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO), NISAA Institute for Women's Development, People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), Rape Crisis, Salvation Army, Women Against Women Abuse (WAWA), Woman and Child Project, Women's Health Project and Yohuselo Haven for Battered Women.

violence against women for police and judicial officers. These nongovernmental organizations have also been deeply involved in legal reform and in lobbying the police and judiciary to improve their response to domestic and sexual abuse. Where these organizations have had an impact on government policy and practice, women victims of violence are receiving somewhat better treatment. Yet, South African women's organizations contend that these improvements remain piecemeal and do not address the need for systemic change.

There are a handful of pioneering efforts to improve the state response to violence against women in South Africa. These include a specialized sexual offenses court in Cape Town, the Wynberg Court. At the Wynberg Court trained prosecutors achieve an almost 20 percent higher conviction rate in rape cases than that obtained in other courts. At Newcastle in KwaZulu-Natal, a "Crisis Centre" has been established at the hospital for women victims of violence, with the cooperation of the police and health personnel, and police handling of women who report abuse has been improved. At Sunnyside police station in Pretoria, a trauma center has been established, staffed by woman detectives, who are called when sexual abuse or domestic violence cases are reported. These initiatives, while not without difficulties, are commendable contributions. While moves have been made to extend their experience nationwide, progress has been slow, and these examples remain the exception. In other instances, positive efforts have not received sustained attention from the government and have closed down. For example, the work of a centralized rape reporting center in Hillbrow, a district of central Johannesburg, at which raped women receive police, medical and counseling services in the same centralized location has been significantly scaled back.

This report underscores the need for the South African government to improve its response to domestic violence and rape. These types of gender-based violence against women remain at extraordinarily high levels and, while there are encouraging initiatives, the state response has so far lacked the necessary commitment and sustained attention. If the new South African government is indeed serious about its RDP pledge to "ensure a full and equal role for women in every aspect of [the] economy and society,"⁸ it must take immediate steps to address violence against women — in particular rape and domestic violence — and fulfill its responsibility to prohibit and protect women against such abuses. Furthermore, these efforts to address violence against women must recognize the intersection of race and class with gender as it affects South African women who experience violence and seek state redress.

⁸ Government of South Africa, *The Reconstruction and Development Programme of the Government of National Unity*, section 2.13.15.

The South African government's commitment to the elimination of violence against women will entail legal reform, police and prosecutorial training, enhanced inter-agency cooperation, improved data collection, and support for and collaboration with nongovernmental organizations. It may also require considerable resources at a time when there are many urgent calls on the government's funds. However, no progress can be made towards establishing the type of society that the liberation movements have pledged to create without addressing the violence suffered by women — a majority of the population — on a daily basis.

Recommendations to the Government of South Africa

Legal Reform:

International Law:

- ◆ While Human Rights Watch is encouraged by the South African government's efforts to sign Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, it urges the government to formally ratify CEDAW without further delay.

Domestic Violence:

- ◆ The 1993 Prevention of Family Violence Act should be expanded (1) to include protection for individuals who are abused by a partner with whom they have never lived and lesbian and gay couples and (2) to extend jurisdiction over abuse cases to ensure that women can be protected wherever they are in South Africa when the abuse occurs.
- ◆ The Department of Justice should issue guidelines for magistrates in order to clarify the types of abuse which would qualify for an interdict (a form of restraining order) under the Prevention of Family Violence Act. These guidelines should expressly include both verbal and emotional abuse, in addition to physical abuse.
- ◆ Delays in payments to agents — the sheriffs — responsible for delivering court orders prohibiting abuse should never be considered a justification

for failing immediately to deliver interdicts that have been issued as emergency remedies to domestic violence.

- ◆ Legal provisions must be introduced to protect counseling service workers who advise abused women from violence or threats of violence directed against them by their clients' abusive partners.
- ◆ Without diminishing protection to domestically-abused women, policymakers must address the concern that interdicts granted under the Prevention of Family Violence Act may violate the *audi alteram partem* rule (which allows both sides to present their cases before courts) because such interdicts are issued without a hearing and are for unspecified durations. One possibility might be to create a temporary interdict order which can be made final after a hearing.
- ◆ Guidelines must be adopted by the police and prosecution service on arrest and prosecution policy so that domestic violence cases are accorded the full attention of the criminal justice system. Family violence cases must not be treated as "private problems" and therefore not suitable for intervention by the criminal justice system. Appropriate sentencing policies must be developed, including compulsory attendance at programs designed for abusive partners.
- ◆ Prosecutors must be trained to deal with domestic violence cases in accord with clear guidelines. While prosecutorial discretion must be safeguarded, prosecutors should be instructed to refrain from dropping cases of domestic abuse and to argue for strict bail conditions to be imposed where there is a history of violent assault.

Rape:

- ◆ It should be recognized in law that this crime can be committed by men or women against men or women. The definition of rape should be broadened to include anal and oral penetration as well as penetration by foreign objects such as sticks, bottles, or knives. The definition should focus on coercion by the perpetrator rather than lack of consent by the victim.

- ◆ Legislation should be introduced to abolish the use of the cautionary rule, which permits courts to exercise an excessive level of discretion in deciding whether or not to credit the testimony of women who allege they have been raped, in cases of rape or sexual assault, on the grounds that it discriminates against women on the basis of sex.
- ◆ Guidelines on sentencing for rape should be adopted by the Department of Justice and circulated to all judges. At the moment, rape sentences are wide-ranging and appear to be related more to the judge's views on rape than to any consistent application of established standards.
- ◆ Judges, magistrates, and prosecutors should receive mandatory training on rape and domestic violence and in the use of medico-legal evidence.

Improved Police Services

The police appear to be a major impediment to effective action in addressing violence against women.

- ◆ A standard course of training on domestic violence, rape, and sexual assault should be completed by new recruits and by serving officers. The government should commission individuals and institutions with expertise in this area to develop such a program and should work together with the relevant government departments to effect its implementation on a national scale. Law enforcement personnel should be trained in procedures and enforcement of the Prevention of Family Violence Act and about the social and psychological context in which domestic violence occurs.
- ◆ Police are obligated to ensure protection and equal enforcement of the law in domestic abuse cases. Police must be trained to eliminate gender, class and race bias in their responses to such abuse and to realize that domestic violence is not to be excused, tolerated or condoned. Standardized arrest policies should be considered for domestic violence cases.
- ◆ Police who are involved in investigating rape cases should receive proper training in forensic skills and in the importance of medical information.

- ◆ Police must provide prompt protection to women by diligently enforcing court orders that prohibit abuse and reduce the abuser's access to the victim. Police stations must make it a priority to respond speedily to a woman's urgent call in cases of domestic violence.
- ◆ The government should create an independent mechanism to monitor and oversee police treatment of women victims of violence. This body should be empowered to hear complaints and to take steps to sanction police officers who do not act professionally, including cases in which the abused woman is a partner of a police officer.

The Medico-Legal System

- ◆ Provincial authorities should review government health services directly responsible for the examination and treatment of rape survivors to ensure the most responsive, effective, and accessible delivery of service.
- ◆ The Department of Health should establish standardized procedures and services to ensure that all district surgeons are appropriately trained in the treatment of rape and domestic violence survivors. The treatment should be expanded from the collection of medical evidence to the provision of basic medical treatment. This after-care should include, at a minimum, medical treatment, emotional support and referral to the nearest counseling service. District surgeons should be required to provide rape survivors with information about additional existing services in the area.
- ◆ More district surgeons should be appointed in the rural areas.
- ◆ Rape reporting centers, modeled on the Hillbrow Medico-Legal Clinic, should be established as widely as possible, and in particular in townships. Such facilities must be staffed by trained police and medical personnel to allow victims to report cases of rape or battery, undergo medical examination, and receive appropriate treatment and counseling.
- ◆ Abortion laws which protect the right for rape victims to have access to abortion should be upheld without discrimination.

Inter-Departmental Coordination

The effectiveness of the law depends on cooperation and coordination among implementing law enforcement, judicial and social service agencies.

- ◆ A national multi-disciplinary task-force on violence against women should be created to improve social, medical and legal procedures for women affected by violence. It should include, at a minimum, representatives from the Departments of Justice, Safety and Security, Health and Welfare. Liaison officers in each of the relevant departments at the state and provincial levels should be authorized to communicate and initiate changes within their department in coordination with the other departments and in consultation with nongovernmental organizations. One function would be to expedite the creation of local units, like the Hillbrow Medico-Legal Clinic, to attend to the needs of abused and raped women.
- ◆ Regional forums, similar to the Johannesburg rape forum, should be established in each province with government and nongovernmental organizations on it. Government representatives should include district surgeons, police, and the Department of Justice.
- ◆ In each province, the government should form a working group in which governmental and nongovernmental organizations meet on a regular basis in order to improve the government's response to and services for domestic violence and rape victims.
- ◆ The government should help fund the creation of legal assistance programs, accessible and affordable shelters, as well as counseling services for abused women.

Documentation of Violence against Women

Efforts to improve the South African government's response to domestic abuse and rape would be greatly enhanced by the availability of reliable national data detailing the nature and degree of the violence. At the moment, police do not distinguish cases of domestic violence from other assaults, while national statistics regarding rape are not comprehensively compiled.

- ◆ We urge the South African government to improve the collection of data concerning crimes of violence against women. We recommend that the government first conduct a review of all existing statistical information. Such a review should include, at a minimum, the incidence of such violence, the identity of the parties, rates of prosecution and nature of punishment. The collection and reporting of statistics must also be improved, specifically to distinguish domestic violence cases from other assaults. Sufficient details should be recorded to create profiles of victims and perpetrators, including their racial and class status, so that intervention to stop or remedy abuse can be most effectively crafted. Efforts must be made to survey the extent of unreported violence against women.

- ◆ Studies of the nature and extent of violence against women should be carried out or funded by the government in close cooperation with nongovernmental organizations active in this field.

BACKGROUND

Women in the Struggle

From the outset, women were an important — although often marginalized — part of the resistance to the racial discrimination of the colonial and later apartheid regimes. In 1913, just one year after the founding of the ANC, a widespread campaign of passive resistance to the application of passes to African women in the Orange Free State was organized by women in the province. As a result of the campaign, a Bantu Women's League was established within the ANC; although the role of women within the ANC itself remained limited and largely restricted to support roles. Under the 1919 constitution of the ANC, for example, women had no voting rights: only in 1943 was the constitution amended to give women full membership and voting rights within the ANC. At the same time the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) was established, to which all women members of the ANC automatically belonged. In 1954, two years after the ANC's Defiance Campaign, which saw its membership surge to over 100,000, a national conference of women saw the creation of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) and the adoption of a Women's Charter (parallel to the Freedom Charter adopted by a range of organizations at the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955) that committed the organization to the removal of "the laws and practices that discriminate against women." In 1956, the introduction of passes for African women throughout South Africa saw a highly visible nationwide anti-pass campaign by the ANCWL and FEDSAW, including a demonstration in Pretoria on August 9, thereafter "women's day" within the ANC alliance, and now recognized as a national holiday.

Anti-pass demonstrations were organized over the following years by the ANC, FEDSAW and the Pan-African Congress (PAC), after its formation in 1959, and culminated in the Sharpeville killings of March 21, 1960 and the banning of the ANC, the PAC and the South African Communist Party (SACP). With the onset of heightened state repression, FEDSAW also suffered although it was not itself banned. Women were recruited into the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), when the strategies of passive resistance were abandoned in favor of armed struggle. In 1983, FEDSAW became a member of the United Democratic Front (UDF), a coalition of anti-apartheid organizations formed to resist the imposition of a new constitution that continued to exclude blacks from meaningful political power. During the late 1980s, the ANC issued a number of documents relating to the form of a future government in South Africa,

and by the early 1990s had committed itself, among other principles, to the creation of a non-sexist state.

With the unbanning of ANC, PAC and SACP in February 1990, the ANCWL was also reconstituted. Among other activities, the ANCWL made demands for at least 30 percent of the ANC's National Executive Committee to be women (which was rejected at the first national conference of the ANC in July 1991). Nevertheless, the ANC adopted a quota for one third of their parliamentarians to be women. Eventually, one quarter of the members of parliament elected in April 1994 were women, most of them from the ANC. Two small political parties explicitly committed to women's issues contested the April 1994 elections, the Women's Rights Peace Party and the South African Women's Party. A Women's National Coalition (WNC) was launched in April 1992 by a large number of women's groups from across the political spectrum, and conducted a nationwide survey with the aim of finding women's demands for the new constitution of South Africa. In February 1994, a Women's Charter for Effective Equality was adopted at a national convention called by the WNC, which set out women's demands in fields ranging from the administration of justice to family life and partnerships, and called for "respect and recognition of [women's] human rights and dignity."

The new constitution contains a commitment to the elimination of discrimination on the basis of sex, gender and sexual orientation, and, in addition, to the creation of a Commission on Gender Equality, whose object is "to promote gender equality and to advise and to make recommendations to Parliament or any other legislature with regard to any laws or proposed legislation which affects gender equality and the status of women."⁹ However, legislation to establish the Gender Commission has not yet been passed.

The South African women's movement has made significant efforts since the 1970s to draw attention to the problems of domestic violence and rape, while few of the "traditional" human rights groups in South Africa have devoted much time to these issues. Every government action to improve the situation can be traced to advocacy efforts by these nongovernmental women's groups, including the creation of the Wynberg Sexual Offenses Courts, the acceptance of the Rape Trauma Syndrome by courts in the Western Cape and the creation of centralized rape reporting centers. The women's organizations have also been responsible for the establishment of privately funded hot-lines and shelters for women in need as well as training sessions for police and judicial officers on violence against women

⁹ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (Act No.200 of 1993), section 119. See further below, in the section on the position of women under South African law.

in a number of areas. Where these organizations have had an impact, raped and abused women are receiving somewhat better treatment.

An important development is the growing number of women's groups in black communities. Increasingly, women's organizations based in the Indian, coloured and African communities are emerging to deal with these issues. One woman told Human Rights Watch that in the past black women were told that domestic violence and rape were issues for white women. Such things didn't happen to black women, they were told, or there were more important political and anti-apartheid issues to focus on:

In the past, black men, and even black women, would say that domestic violence was a white issue. That it didn't happen here. Now, our sisters are coming around the townships, banging on the doors and they are saying it does happen here and we must do something about it. It gives us strength to speak out.¹⁰

The successes of the South African women's movement would be further enhanced by increased coordination among the women's groups themselves, with other human rights organizations and with government agencies at the national level. At the regional level, there has already been some effective coordination and cooperation.

Women and Poverty

South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world. Moreover, its inequalities are based to a unique extent on race: despite being a middle income country, the key indicators of poverty for the African population are equal to or worse than those for much poorer countries elsewhere in Africa.¹¹ The economic

¹⁰ Interview, Alexandra Community Center, February 17, 1995.

¹¹ The poorest 40 percent of households in South Africa (equivalent to 53 percent of the population), accounts for less than 10 percent of total consumption, while the richest 10 percent (equivalent to 5.8 percent of the population) accounts for over 40 percent of consumption. South Africa's Gini coefficient, which measures inequality, is much worse than that of most countries with a similar per capita Gross National Product, and about the same as the worst, Brazil. A Gini coefficient of 0 signifies absolute equality, and 1 signifies absolute concentration of wealth: South Africa's Gini coefficient is 0.61 (GNP per capita U.S.\$2,670); Brazil's 0.63 (GNP per capita 2,770); Poland's 0.27 (GNP per capita

disparities between races introduced by the colonial regime were sharply accentuated by the policies of apartheid implemented by the National Party government elected in 1948: black¹² South Africans were forcibly removed from "white" areas and compelled to live in substandard housing in the townships or, if they were African, in the already overcrowded "tribal reserves" established in colonial times, which were now renamed "bantustans" or "homelands" and granted nominal "independent" or "self-governing" status. Blacks were excluded from opportunities for advancement by job reservation and legal restrictions on economic activity for "non-whites." Pass laws prevented Africans from working, traveling or living outside certain areas without official permission. While focusing on race, the legislated inequalities of the apartheid system applied also to gender, and women were brought under direct state control after 1948 to a far greater extent than had previously been the case.¹³ Women of all races were legally inferior to men, and African women were especially disadvantaged.

Among the effects of the apartheid system was the impoverishment of large sections of the population: the alleviation of poverty is perhaps the most urgent problem facing South Africa's new government.¹⁴ Poverty is concentrated amongst the African population: 95 percent of those in the poorest 40 percent of the population are African, and 65 percent of Africans are poor, by the same

U.S.\$1,910); Chile's 0.58 (GNP per capita U.S.\$2,730); Kenya's 0.57 (GNP per capita U.S.\$310); Zambia's 0.44 (GNP per capita U.S.\$370). The World Bank, *Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa: An Analysis Prepared for the Office of the Reconstruction and Development Programme by the World Bank, based on the South Africa Living Standards Survey, coordinated by the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit at the University of Cape Town* (Pretoria: Office of the President, 1995), p.8.

¹² In this report, "black" will be used to refer to South Africans previously classified by the apartheid system as "African" or "black" (of solely African ancestry), "Indian" or "Asian" (largely descended from indentured servants brought from the Indian subcontinent to work the sugar plantations in Natal), "coloured" (of mixed ancestry) and "white" (of European ancestry). The subcategories will also be used, since their previous racial classification remains relevant to the living circumstances of all women in South Africa.

¹³ See generally, Cheryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991).

¹⁴ See generally, Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele, *Uprooting Poverty*, (Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip, 1989).

measure.¹⁵ Research published by the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal found that seventeen million people were living below the minimum subsistence level in 1992.¹⁶

Women are disproportionately represented both amongst the rural population and (in part as a consequence) amongst the poor. The population profile of the former homelands is heavily weighted towards women and children. The majority of working-age men leave the area to look for work in the urban areas, either permanently or as migrant laborers returning home only occasionally.¹⁷ Until the abolition of the "influx control" laws in the mid-1980s which controlled population movement, women were unable to leave to seek work in the cities, and so if a woman's husband died or ceased to send money home, total destitution could result. While state control of the labor flow and regulation of residential areas by race is over, the legacy of such apartheid policies is very much present. Nearly 70 percent of the poor (defined as the poorest 40 percent of the population, with an income of R.301 (U.S.\$86 per month per "adult equivalent") are resident in the former homelands: in all the homelands except KaNgwane the poor form over half of the population, and in the former Transkei 92 percent of the population is poor.¹⁸ Remittances home from migrant workers and old age pensions are the only source of income for many families in those areas.

While women carry out the bulk of the subsistence farming that takes place in the homelands, their access to land under the communal tribal land tenure systems is only through their husbands or male relatives. Traditional leaders, or chiefs, who decide land allocations, are almost exclusively men, and men are

¹⁵ The World Bank, *Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa*, p.13.

¹⁶ In 1993 it was estimated by the Department of National Health and Population Development that 68 percent of Africans living in rural areas and 32 percent in urban areas had an income below the official government poverty line (R.1,200 per family per month (about U.S.\$340)). Forty-five percent of rural coloureds and Indians, 23 percent of urban coloureds, 8 percent of urban Indians, and less than 1 percent of urban whites were also poor by this definition. South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race Relations Survey 1993/94* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1994), pp.490-491.

¹⁷ An estimated 54.99 percent of the adult population of South Africa is female, and 45.43 percent of the total population is under eighteen years of age. In the former homelands, the gender and age imbalance is even more marked. Figures supplied by the World Bank.

¹⁸ The World Bank, *Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa*, p.12.

regarded as the head of the household for land tenure purposes. A large number of rural households, both in the homelands and the commercial farming areas, in fact have no access to land other than a plot for a house. Of the nearly 2.5 million poor rural households (representing roughly twelve million poor people) more than two million have no access to piped water, modern sanitation or electricity, and nearly 1.6 million poor rural households (roughly ten million people) rely on wood as the main source of energy for cooking. Fetching water and collecting wood are overwhelmingly regarded as female tasks: in the vast majority of poor rural households women are thus forced to spend more than four hours a day collecting water and firewood.¹⁹

The migrant labor system also has a negative impact on women in the cities. Migrant workers still stay mostly in supposedly single-sex hostels run by the state or private companies. As apartheid controls have broken down, women have increasingly moved into the hostels where their partners are living — due to housing shortages elsewhere and in some cases as a consequence of political violence — as a result, they are dependent on the man with whom they are staying. Conditions in these hostels are appalling, but the consequences of being thrown out are nonetheless sufficiently serious to result in tolerance of abuse.

Women form 36 percent of the total work force in South Africa, as recorded in the 1991 population census.²⁰ When they do have paid employment, women are concentrated in lower paying service-sector jobs, including domestic service (where they form 89 percent of those employed); in other sectors they are concentrated in secretarial and other non-managerial positions.²¹ In the African and coloured townships of the small towns of the commercial farming areas, often the only work available for women is domestic work at rates even lower than those paid in the cities, and few women are able to secure such positions. Even where

¹⁹ Ibid., p.20.

²⁰ Ibid., pp.15,16. This figure may underestimate the unemployment rate for women, since many women who defined themselves as housewives in the survey would actually like to work out of the home. Average unemployment rates, defined as those who are not working but would like to work and are either actively seeking work or have given up looking, are 35 percent for women and 25 percent for men. Forty-eight percent of working-age women are in poor households, compared to 42 percent of working age men.

²¹ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race Relations Survey 1993/4*, p.457. The position of domestic workers was improved by the 1993 extension of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act to apply to domestic workers.

they are employed to do the same work as men, women may receive lower rates of pay: for example, women farm workers both depend on their husbands or male relatives for access to work and are paid at a lower hourly rate than their male counterparts.²² Women form a majority of the work force earning less than R.3,000 (U.S.\$857) per year, and less than 10 percent of those earning more than R.70,000 (U.S.\$20,000).²³ Disadvantaged in the job market, women in South Africa are additionally almost exclusively responsible for child care. Even where both parents are present, men in all South African cultures are unlikely to take more than token responsibility for care of children.²⁴

Women and Violence

The implementation of apartheid over forty-five years has resulted in an economic and social crisis in South Africa that in turn has led to extraordinarily high rates of violent crime. Over the past decade, statistics for homicide and serious assault have escalated dramatically, and crime is one of the principal preoccupations of South Africans under the new government. South Africa has the highest per capita figures for violent death recorded in any country not at war;²⁵ rape figures are similarly high, as discussed in the body of this report. The

²² Sandra Hill Lanz, *Women on Farms* (Pretoria: Lawyers for Human Rights, 1994).

²³ RDP Office, *Beijing Conference Report: 1994 Country Report on the Status of South African Women* (Pretoria: Office of the President, 1995), p.36.

²⁴ Moreover, 39 percent of the population lives in households without a resident male head, and these households make up 50 percent of those who fall in the poorest 20 percent of the population. Nearly 70 percent of female-headed households are poor (that is, they fall in the poorest 40 percent of the population), while households with a resident male head have a poverty rate of 43 percent. The World Bank, *Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa*, p.14.

²⁵ The World Health Organisation reports South Africa's murder rate as fifty-four per hundred thousand; another study has put the figure even higher, at ninety-four per hundred thousand. "Shock murder figures for SA," *City Press*, March 5, 1995; "SA gets 'most violent' label," *The Star*, March 27, 1995. These figures are averages, and the rates are much higher in some localities: Human Rights Watch calculated a murder rate of 193 per hundred thousand during an investigation of violence on the Natal South Coast in late 1994: Human Rights Watch/Africa, "Threats to a New Democracy: Continuing Violence in KwaZulu-Natal," A Human Rights Watch Short Report, May 1995.

destruction of families and stable social conditions by the enforcement of the pass laws and the forced removal of whole communities under the infamous Group Areas Act, which demarcated residential areas for the different "races," created perfect conditions for a rise in crime. The impoverishment of the African population, in particular, has meant that many individuals are driven to crime in the absence of other economic opportunities. The vicious repression of political opposition by the apartheid police machinery, which at the same time largely ignored ordinary crime within black communities, has embedded a belief in the effectiveness of force in solving problems and encouraged the development of a culture of vigilante justice and noncooperation with state structures.

The rise in violent crime coincided with the development of endemic political violence in many black communities. Political violence first became a significant phenomenon in South Africa in the mid-1980s, at the time of the mass uprising against continued minority rule coordinated by the United Democratic Front (a coalition of anti-apartheid groups that led the opposition to the white government while the ANC was still banned) and the subsequent state of emergency that was declared by the government in 1985 and lasted, with a brief interlude in 1986, until 1990. In Natal and the homeland of KwaZulu (contained in several pieces within Natal's borders), violence broke out between supporters of the UDF and the KwaZulu-based Inkatha, at that time registered as a Zulu "cultural movement" and not a political party. Violence was particularly bad in the areas surrounding Durban and Pietermaritzburg, but later spread throughout most of the province.

During the 1980s, this type of political violence was largely concentrated in KwaZulu and Natal, although there were outbreaks elsewhere, especially in the townships surrounding Cape Town. In 1990, after the unbanning of the ANC and the initiation of negotiations for a transition to a democratic government, the ANC suspended its armed struggle, and politically motivated violence by or against state structures and representatives decreased. However, violence between black political parties spread dramatically from KwaZulu and Natal to the townships of the greater Johannesburg area. Although from 1993 the violence in the Johannesburg area was mostly confined to the East Rand townships of Katlehong and Thokoza, it continued unabated throughout large areas of KwaZulu.

The main protagonists of the violence were members of Inkatha, which transformed itself into the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in 1990 and of the ANC, although other parties involved included the Pan-African Congress (PAC), South African Communist Party (SACP), and right-wing groups, such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB, or the Afrikaner Resistance Movement). However, as the transition to democracy progressed, ever more evidence emerged of the

deliberate promotion of violence by members of the security forces or the KwaZulu government. In KwaZulu and Natal, violence peaked before the elections at 429 recorded deaths in political conflict during the last two weeks of March and first two weeks of April 1994, reported by the Human Rights Committee of South Africa (HRC), a nongovernmental organization monitoring human rights and political violence.²⁶

Although violence between supporters and members of different political parties has virtually ended in most parts of the country since the elections, it has continued in KwaZulu-Natal, now a single region incorporating both the former homeland and the white province under the new structures of provincial government. Fighting between supporters of the ANC and the IFP continues in the province at levels which merited headlines during the 1980s, but are now apparently regarded by the media as "normal." As recorded by the Human Rights Committee, the average monthly death toll from political violence in KwaZulu-Natal was at least seventy-five for the first eight months of 1995. Some monitors place the figures even higher.

The participants in political violence, as in criminal violence more generally, are largely men. Men also form a majority of those killed in political violence. Nevertheless, a number of political massacres have included indiscriminate killings of the elderly, women and children: for example, of twenty-three people killed at the Uganda squatter camp at Umlazi, Durban, on March 13, 1992, twenty-two were women and children. In other cases, women activists have been targeted. Moreover, the victims of political violence include not only those killed and injured, but also the displaced. In rural KwaZulu-Natal, where a

²⁶ For background on the history of political violence in South Africa and particularly KwaZulu-Natal, see Africa Watch, *The Killings in South Africa: The Role of the Security Forces and the Response of the State* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991); Africa Watch, "Half-Hearted Reform: The Official Response to the Rising Tide of Violence," *A Human Rights Watch Short Report*, vol. 10, no. 2, May 1993; Africa Watch, "'Traditional' Dictatorship: One Party State in KwaZulu Homeland Threatens Transition to Democracy," *A Human Rights Watch Short Report*, vol. 5, no. 12, September 1993; Human Rights Watch/Africa, "Impunity for Human Rights Abuses in Two Homelands: Reports on KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana," *A Human Rights Watch Short Report*, vol. 6, no. 2, March 1994; Human Rights Watch/Africa, "Threats to a New Democracy: Continuing Political Violence in KwaZulu-Natal," *A Human Rights Watch Short Report*, vol. 7, no. 3., May 1995.

substantial majority of the residents are women,²⁷ the destruction of property and creation of "no-go" areas that has accompanied the violence has had the most severe impact on women and children. As in other conflicts, women and children form the majority of the displaced, most visibly amongst those found in the camps for displaced people that continue to exist in some parts of KwaZulu-Natal. Even where there are no camps — as is the case in most areas, where individuals and families have sought shelter in existing squatter camps or with relatives in the townships or still unaffected villages — it is women who have had to pick up the pieces and attempt to recreate a life with what they can salvage from a burnt or abandoned home.

While no major studies have been undertaken, there is evidence that women have also on occasion been targeted for rape as part of the political conflict. One reason may be that most of the recorded statistics are of deaths only. On the other hand, there are no reports of systematic rape targeted at women believed to support an opposing political party. Nevertheless, the Durban office of the Human Rights Committee of South Africa has recorded a number of rapes apparently committed with a political motive: for example, four rapes in the violence-torn Sundumbili area north of Durban during June and July 1995.²⁸

Among the effects — or possibly causes — of the political conflict has been a reinforcement of a violent and "macho" definition of manhood in the affected communities. One of the consequences of the implementation of the apartheid system was a speeding up of the erosion, begun under colonial rule, of the traditional systems of patriarchy that operated in the pre-colonial societies of South Africa. But while political power and responsibility was taken away, African men retained their dominant role in the family, as breadwinner and head of a household in which women and children deferred to the husband and father. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, rapidly increasing male unemployment prevented many youth from setting up households, both because few women would be prepared to marry a man who could not support them, and because it would be difficult to raise the money to pay *lobola*, or brideprice. At the same time, rapid urbanization, as apartheid controls broke down, and the increased politicization of young people

²⁷ According to World Bank calculations based on figures supplied by the government's Central Statistical Service, women form 60.48 percent of the adult population in the former KwaZulu, and children 53.36 percent of the total population of the homeland area. Table supplied by the World Bank.

²⁸ Human Rights Committee of South Africa, "Human Rights Update for Week 30," (Johannesburg, July 1995).

brought rising expectations and an intensified challenge to the existing order of racial domination.²⁹

While the political uprising of the mid-1980s was based on a number of interlinked causes, the background to the mobilization of "youth" in those protests included the need to reassert masculinity in face of a system that disempowered black men. Violence in support of a political cause offered these young militants known as "comrades" an opportunity to define themselves in an overtly macho manner, when other routes — as breadwinner and head of a household — were denied. Violence as a reaffirmation of manhood has been emphasized particularly within Inkatha ideology — Chief Buthelezi, for example, described the ANC's demand for the banning of the public display of "traditional weapons" such as assegais (spears) as equivalent to "cultural castration."³⁰ But male ANC youth have also defined themselves as explicitly masculine warriors as evidenced by this quote:

Women are ashamed to hit someone or to kill them.... Girls don't feel ashamed to be attacked by Inkatha. And there are no girls doing the attacking, only men. And we go out as men to meet these men. We are men. How can we tolerate being attacked by men? Boys have got the desire not to be shamed in this way.³¹

While a link between a rise in political violence and a rise in violence against women more generally has not been demonstrated, there is at least circumstantial evidence that those areas worst affected by the uprising against the state and by intra-community political conflict are also those areas where reported rapes are highest.

²⁹ See Catherine Campbell, "Learning to Kill? Masculinity, the Family and Violence in Natal," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.18, No.3, September 1992. The observations of the Campbell article have been confirmed by conversations of Human Rights Watch representatives in conversations with activists especially in the KwaZulu-Natal region.

³⁰ "The Record of Understanding Signed by Mr. F.W. de Klerk and Dr. Nelson Mandela: An Inkatha Freedom Party Assessment," address by Chief Buthelezi in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, September 29, 1992.

³¹ Quoted in Campbell, "Learning to Kill?"

In some rural areas of South Africa, violence against women also includes the phenomenon of witchcraft killings, which are most often directed against women, although men are also on occasion attacked after accusations that they have practiced black magic. At least ninety-seven women and forty-nine men were killed in Northern Province during the period April 1994 to February 1995, according to police statistics quoted in an interim report published by a commission of inquiry appointed by the new provincial government to investigate witchcraft and ritual killings in the province.³² All kinds of misfortune, including matters as varied as financial problems, illness, drought or lightening strikes, are blamed on witchcraft, and traditional healers or "witch doctors" may then be paid to search out the individuals responsible. A number of villages have even been created under police protection to house people accused of witchcraft who have fled their homes. While convictions of the perpetrators of these killings have been secured in some cases, in many cases the reluctance of witnesses to come forward prejudices any investigation.

Violence Against Women by the Police

This report does not focus on violence committed against women by state structures. Nevertheless, there is evidence that women are subject to abuse at the hands of the police in particular. During the emergency of the 1980s, many women were detained without trial for political activities, and some were tortured. Political detentions have ceased, and, as in most societies, women form a small minority of those who come into conflict with the criminal justice system: women form less than 3 percent of the prison population. Where they are criminal suspects, however, women may be subject to assault and torture as are men. In a report on police torture published by three South African nongovernmental organizations in April 1995, for example, several cases described torture of women who were criminal suspects: in one case, a woman accepted a R.50,000 (U.S.\$14,285) out of court settlement from police in connection with allegations that she had been stripped naked and tortured, including by the use of electrodes placed in her vagina,

³² *Interim Report of the Ralushai Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murder in the Northern Province* submitted to Advocate Seth Nthai, Member of the Executive Council for Safety and Security, Northern Province, July 1995, p.128.

during the 1992 investigation into a payroll robbery.³³ In July 1995, two women served legal papers on the Department of Safety and Security for injuries sustained when they were arrested in the previous year during a strike. One of the women said she had been assaulted, forced to strip naked and do drill exercises, causing unhealed scars from a recent operation to open and bleed.³⁴

Even where they are not directly in conflict with the police, women may be the targets of police violence — often when the police are attempting to locate a relative or partner. The report on police torture cited in the previous paragraph published details of a case in which a number of plainclothes detectives arrived at the house of a woman who had just returned from visiting her husband in the hospital, conducted a search, and demanded to know where "George" was. When she denied knowledge of anyone by that name, she was taken with the detectives in the car, they assaulted her. She was taken to an open field, where her skirt and shoes were removed and something was attached to her feet which caused searing pain. Eventually, she gave her stepfather's address, to stop the torture. After returning to the car, she was threatened with "losing" her two year old child if George was not at the address she had given: at one point, the child, who was with her at the time, was held out of the window.³⁵

Similarly, in a survey carried out by the Women's National Coalition, women in the former homeland of Bophuthatswana reported that women arrested by the police had been sexually abused or raped. Rapes in police cells are occasionally reported in the press. When a police officer has been charged with the offence, workers in advice offices confirm that it is likely that in most cases a victim would not report such an assault, for fear of retaliation or lack of confidence in a constructive response, and thus that the problem is far more widespread than

³³ Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture and Independent Board of Inquiry, *Breaking with the Past?* (Johannesburg: Network of Independent Monitors, Trauma, April 1995), p.84.

³⁴ Khangale Makhado, "Two women sue govt. for R.50 000," *The Sowetan*, July 24, 1995.

³⁵ Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture and Independent Board of Inquiry, *Breaking with the Past?* p.123 and 124. The police subsequently went to the clinic where her husband was being treated, removed him and took him to the police station, with two other "suspects," where the woman later heard screams. Seven members of the Vanderbijlpark Murder and Robbery Unit were charged with two counts of attempted murder, two counts of kidnaping and one count of assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm. All of the accused remained on duty while the case was proceeding.

appears from the number of reports.³⁶ No systematic studies have been carried out of the treatment of women in police custody, but the evidence suggests that an effort to halt police abuse of suspects — still common today, despite the political transition — should include a particular focus on abuse of women who are either suspects or potential informants.

Lack of State Resources to Combat Crime and Violence

One of the legacies of apartheid is that, despite its high level of violence, South Africa is greatly underpoliced. Historically, the police force was required only to protect the interests of the white population and to suppress political activism among the black majority. Accordingly, little attention was paid to the detection and prevention of crime within the black communities. The new government has inherited a police force of approximately 146,000, including uniformed and nonuniformed members and administrative staff, which is responsible for a population of over forty-four million. The former attorney-general for the Witwatersrand, Klaus von Lieres, stated in March 1995 that the nationwide ratio of police is approximately 2.5 per thousand population, against an international norm of three to five per thousand.³⁷ Moreover, personnel and resources are still disproportionately devoted to "white" areas, leaving the most troubled regions even more severely neglected. According to information supplied to Human Rights Watch by the Port Shepstone police station — responsible for maintaining the peace and investigating crime in one of the areas worst affected by political violence — there is a local ratio of approximately 0.75 police to every 1,000 population.

Under the new government, South Africans are also for the first time demanding that the police respond to their concerns by cracking down hard on violent crime. However, the lack of personnel alone means that response times to

³⁶ For example, a police constable was charged with rape in August 1995, after allegedly raping a woman while she was held in the cells at the Carletonville police station and offering her R.100 (U.S.\$33) to keep quiet. "Alleged rape in cell: Const is charged," *The Citizen*, August 10, 1995. In May 1995, a police sergeant was sentenced to five years prison for raping a fifteen year old girl inside the Mabopane police station in August 1994, after she had come to the police to report another rape. "5 Years for Cop who Raped a Rape Victim," *The Sowetan*, June 1, 1995; interview, advice office worker, KaNgwane, September 8, 1995.

³⁷ "Shock murder figures for SA," *City Press*, March 5, 1995.

emergency calls can be unacceptably slow. Individual detectives are required to handle a case load of fifty or a hundred dockets at any one time. Training has in the past not emphasized sound investigative techniques, contributing to a reliance on confessions — often obtained under dubious circumstances — to obtain convictions. Supervision of crime investigation by superiors is often virtually nonexistent, and inexperienced officers are therefore left to handle serious cases on their own. Poor pay and working conditions at junior levels means that well-qualified officers are hard to recruit.

The transition to a new era has been marked by the symbolic renaming of the South African Police Force as the South African Police Service. New police commissioners supposedly untainted by association with the security branch of the old force have been appointed nationally and in each of the nine new provinces. A new ANC minister for safety and security, Sydney Mufamadi, has been appointed to replace the old minister of law and order, and has expressed his commitment to the renewal of the force. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the police leadership is working with personnel recruited and trained during the era when the police were the front line of repression in the apartheid state. White officers in many areas remain deeply suspicious of the new ANC-led government, and some black officers have also absorbed the norms of the former regime.

Similar obstacles to change are found in all departments of state responsible for the criminal and civil justice systems and the welfare of victims of crime and violence. It cannot be expected that a transformation in the attitude and capabilities of the police, courts, correctional and welfare systems will occur overnight. This report aims to highlight the current deficiencies, while being conscious of the efforts that have been made already, and to suggest further steps to be taken in the future.



Washington, D.C. 20530

March 10, 1997

Violence Against Women Act Initiatives

The Clinton Administration has been steadfast in its commitment to ending violence against women and children. As a result, we have been able to lay a strong foundation for implementing the 1994 Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) and related laws. In the nearly 3 years since VAWA was enacted, we have made tremendous forward movement in enforcing its criminal provisions, strengthening its legal protections (with antistalking and firearms legislation, for example), helping states build law enforcement and prosecution infrastructures, and providing helplines to victims.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT GRANTS: In 3 fiscal years (beginning FY 1995) the Violence Against Women Grants Office has announced more than \$275 million in S*T*O*P grants to help states, territories, and Tribal jurisdictions restructure their criminal justice response to sexual and domestic violence. Additional funds will enable states to intensify intervention efforts in rural jurisdictions and address child victimization (\$7 million). Another \$28 million in grants to states was awarded to promote mandatory arrest or proarrest policies.

The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) awarded more than \$46 million to police departments working in partnership with service providers and advocates to combat domestic violence. 336 departments received COPS funding.

NATIONAL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOTLINE: The domestic violence hotline opened February 21, 1996. By the end of its 1st year, the hotline had received more than 87,000 calls for help from residents of all 50 states, the District of Columbia, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and U.S. Virgin Islands. Roughly 47 percent of callers said they were victims of domestic abuse. The hotline is operated under a grant from HHS by the Texas Council on Domestic Violence.

SEX OFFENDER REGISTRY: In April 1996, the Department published implementation guidelines for the 1994 Jacob Wetterling Act. Under the Wetterling law (which passed as part of the 1994 Crime Bill) states are offered a financial incentive to establish sex offender registries that meet minimum national standards. They also must (1) register all convicted offenders with a designated local law enforcement agency, (2) ensure registries are kept

current by periodically verifying offenders' addresses, (3) notify local and state law enforcement when a registrant moves to another town or state, and (4) set more stringent registration requirements for a group of highly dangerous offenders known as, "sexually violent predators."

In May 1996, the President signed Megan's Law to amend the community notification provisions of Wetterling, requiring states to release information as necessary for the protection of the public. The change is often referred to "as making notification mandatory."

On October 3, 1996 the President signed the Pam Lychner Act, which requires the Attorney General to establish a national sex offender database at the FBI, makes the FBI responsible for offender registration in states with systems that do not meet "minimally sufficient" standards, and amends the Wetterling Act to prescribe more stringent registration requirements in some areas. The FBI has built an Interim National Sex Offender Registry. Revised guidelines for Megan's Law and Wetterling guidance for states are forthcoming.

FULL FAITH AND CREDIT: Under the Full Faith and Credit provision of VAWA, all states, territories, and Tribal jurisdictions must give full faith and credit to domestic violence protection orders issued in other states, territories, and Tribal jurisdictions.

The Department of Justice is providing technical assistance to states on setting up automated systems that can link with the FBI's NCIC to give quick access about protection orders to officers on patrol. Approximately 20 states have systems that can connect with the FBI's. The FBI has set up a file for protection orders that will be open the first week in May 1997.

The Justice Department is also funding a pilot project in Kentucky that can serve as a testing ground for implementation of the Full Faith and Credit provision. Kentucky was chosen because of its progressive work in battling violence against women and its geographic boundaries shared with seven states.

PROSECUTIONS UNDER VAWA: Close to 40 cases have been brought under VAWA new criminal laws, including United States v. Rita Glutzman, which ended in the first conviction of a woman under VAWA.

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE:

Section 922 (g) (9) of the U.S. Code 18 amends the 1968 Gun Control Act to prohibit anyone convicted of a misdemeanor domestic violence charge from possessing firearms. Section 922 (d) (9) adds domestic violence convictions to the "Brady checklist" and makes criminal

the knowing transfer of a firearm to a person convicted of a qualifying domestic violence misdemeanor.

The first case under the new statute is in the Northern District of Iowa. The defendant faces charges for possession of a firearm after a domestic violence misdemeanor conviction.

The Interstate Stalking and Punishment Act of 1996 makes it a federal crime to stalk or harass someone across state lines or within special maritime and territorial jurisdictions regardless of whether the stalker has committed an act of violence, has a protection order against him or her, or is the spouse or partner of the victim.

The Family Violence Provisions included in the August 22nd Welfare legislation gives states the option to screen welfare recipients for domestic abuse; refer them to counseling or supportive services; and temporarily waive--if the state chooses--any program requirements that would keep recipients from escaping violence or would unfairly penalize them. The Justice Department and HHS have a Presidential directive to prepare guidance for states. States have until July 1997 to submit their plans to HHS, including whether or not they will adopt the Family Violence Provision.

Immigration Legislation. On September 30, 1996 the President signed legislation to ensure that immigrant women and children who are victims of domestic violence are eligible for vital public health services and are not denied services due to changes in deeming rules. The Administration also succeeded in removing provisions from the bill that would subject battered immigrants to deportation for receiving these services. The bill also makes battered immigrants eligible for cash assistance and Medicaid if the states exercise their option under the welfare law.

IMMIGRANT SELF-PETITIONING RULES were published last spring to allow abused spouses and children of citizens or legal permanent residents to self-petition to become legal permanent residents.

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: The Council was chartered July 13, 1995 and is cochaired by the Attorney General and Secretary of HHS. The Council has 47 members representing all segments of society. There is strong support for renewing their charter. During its first term, the Council conducted tremendous community outreach including preparation of "A Checklist for Communities" and creation of the Workplace Resource Center.

Intramural Agency Projects:

VAWO has been working with the Criminal Division and the Civil Rights Division to evaluate the Organization of American States' Convention on Violence Against Women and to gain the Attorney General's approval for the U.S. to become a signatory to the treaty.

United Nations Interface:

The largest and most sustained international initiative of the VAWO relates to Departmental follow-up on issues raised at the U.N. Fourth World Conference held in Beijing, China in September of 1995.

Bonnie Campbell was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Conference. Conference participants decided to make the conference a "conference of commitments" by agreeing to return to their countries and working, both at the governmental and nongovernmental levels, to implement the conference platform.

To foster implementation of the Beijing platform by the federal government, the President established an Interagency Council on Women, which is chaired by Secretary Shalala. Bonnie Campbell is also the Department's representative to this Interagency Council.

Federal agencies have two mandates regarding implementation of the Beijing platform: 1) to assess the extent to which policies and programs already in place respond to and fulfill the platform mandates, and 2) as appropriate, to initiate additional policies and programs which implement the platform's mandates.

In March of 1996, VAWO convened a working group which has accomplished the first of the two tasks. A report detailing the Department's accomplishments relating to the Beijing platform is being finalized and will be forwarded to the Interagency Council on Women for inclusion in their report on the federal government's progress in implementing the platform.

Additionally, the Department's working group has identified some initiatives which could be implemented in furtherance of the platform's mandates and will likely make some recommendations in the early spring.

Another outgrowth activity of the Beijing Conference that the VAWO is involved in is the International Leadership Forum for Women with Disabilities that is being planned for June of 1997 in Eugene, Oregon. This is an event sponsored by a partnership of governmental agencies (spearheaded by the U.S. Social Security Administration and Department of Education), NGOs and the IDEAS 2000 project. Its objective is to create an opportunity for disability policy makers and disabled women world-wide to exchange

information, receive training and participate in an international support network aimed at creating self-sufficiency.

VAWO staff are developing — in coordination with representatives from the Disability Rights Section of DOJ's Civil Rights Division and the Center for Disease Control — a workshop program on *Violence Against Women with Disabilities* as a part of a larger program covering "Health and Family Issues".

Finally, in terms of United Nations interaction, VAWO is working with the Criminal Division to evaluate U.N. resolutions that implicate gender issues or Domestic violence issues.

Other Participation in Conferences, Symposia, and International Forums:

Bonnie Campbell also participated in last summer's Canada-USA Women's Health Forum held in Ottawa, Canada.

Draft

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ROUNDTABLE ON CRIME AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA
MARCH 18, 1997**

I want to thank all of you for coming today to shed light on an issue that has long cast dark shadows in the lives of too many women and children. Crime and domestic violence continue to plague families and communities in both our countries and around the world. It is a situation that just should not be.

I hope that this afternoon we will be able to discuss what we can all do to end this problem. In America, we have called upon all citizens to recognize the important roles they can play in fighting crime in our communities. Citizens have come together to open domestic violence hotlines and shelters. We are helping both victims and offenders understand that domestic violence is a serious crime that can and will be punished. We are forming neighborhood watches and putting more community police officers on our streets. These police officers often patrol their beats on foot so that they get to know the people and neighborhoods they serve. While America is far from eradicating crime and domestic violence, all of these efforts have helped raise public awareness and even saved lives.

I am eager to hear your ideas and to understand what we can all do to empower more women to escape abusive situations, to protect our children from violence, and to make sure that the human rights of all women are respected both in the home and in society.

###

Embassy Meet
and Greet

South Africa: U.S. Community Event -- Johannesburg/Pretoria

Context

The U.S. Consulate General in Johannesburg and the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria, some 40 miles apart, serve two separate communities -- Johannesburg is the economic and commercial heart of the country and Pretoria the government center. Johannesburg is regarded by many as the heart of the "new" South Africa where black South Africans are in the best position to gain economic and political power. The USIS library in Soweto and the busiest consular section in sub-Saharan Africa also serve the region. The Embassy in Pretoria ensures that U.S. interests are represented to the national government.

Embassy and Consulate personnel and their families look forward to meeting you at a reception room at the Hyatt. Ambassador Joseph will escort you into the room and make a brief introduction. You would then make brief remarks noting your appreciation and that of the President for the work of the Foreign Service -- American and South African employees and their families -- in advancing the relationship of our two countries here as well as of the sacrifices they make. Probable attendance is difficult to estimate due to transportation difficulties, but attendance of 100 or more is likely, including spouses and children. After your remarks you would walk the rope line briefly shaking hands with those along the front before departing. We expect the event to last no more than thirty minutes.

Objective

- o To emphasize to the U.S. official community the White House's support for the community's efforts to advance U.S. interests and entrench democracy in South Africa.

Talking Points

- Many thanks to our old friend, Jim Joseph, for that kind introduction; and thanks also to Consul General Greg Engle for hosting this get together.
- The President and I want to thank you all for the work you have done so well in building and deepening American relations with South Africa, especially with those disadvantaged by apartheid.
- I want particularly to thank the family members here today. Your support, understanding and dedication to the work your spouses and parents are doing is so important to their

success. The President and I know that U.S. representation abroad could not be in better hands.

- I especially appreciate the spirit of teamwork, cooperation and service I feel here in South Africa. By working together this way, American and South African employees of the U.S. Mission not only do more and better than you would separately, but also demonstrate how people with different talents and backgrounds can work smoothly together to build a better world, one step at a time.

South Africa: Victoria Mxenge Housing Project Initiative

Context

The Victoria Mxenge (phonetic: Em-ingé rhymes with hinge) Housing Project Initiative is an outstanding example of U.S. involvement in providing housing to the poorest of the poor in South Africa. This project is one of more than 800 housing saving schemes (HSS) in informal settlements throughout South Africa operated by the South African Homeless People's Federation. A unique feature of the Federation is that its membership and leadership, which do not exclude men, are overwhelmingly female and are drawn from homeless communities. The housing savings schemes are based on a daily program of savings, which are banked locally by HSS members themselves.

The Federation believes that development should be people-controlled and not just people-centered. It focuses on identifying and developing the capacities already present in poor communities. Women, who now head about 35 percent of all urban households in South Africa, are making this people-project work through the labor of their own hands.

On your way to the project, you will see a number of squatter settlements that will provide a sense of the challenges facing South Africa regarding its housing needs. As you enter the project, you will be greeted by a group of women singing in honor of your visit. Approximately 200-300 community residents will be at the site. You will see homes built by the women as well as women making materials, including bricks, for use in constructing their own homes, which they build at the rate of one-and-a-half per day.

You will also learn about the training programs conducted at the Building Information and Technology Center located on the site. You will visit one of the homes with community representatives and participate in a bricklaying and ribbon-cutting ceremony for a newly-constructed house and community center.

Housing is ranked by disadvantaged South Africans as one of their three top priorities. U.S. assistance goals are to strengthen black South African organizations to plan, build, and manage equitable housing and to undertake other urban development programs. USAID has provided training, technical assistance, and community facilitation for this site. USAID is now providing a \$300,000 grant to the Homeless People's Federation to permit it to accelerate its expansion into other low-income communities. The grant will permit the construction of additional Building and Information Technology Centers in which participating families will receive support for their

projects. USAID has also provided a \$3 million grant to the National Ministry of Housing for similar initiatives.

Objectives

- o Visit a USAID-funded Community and Urban Services Support Program to see how United States assistance money is being used to help solve typical urban housing problems for homeless South Africans.
- o Applaud government partnership with ordinary people in providing adequate support mechanisms leading to the building of quality housing and growing communities.
- o Emphasize the importance the United States attaches to ongoing cooperative community projects which are supported by our assistance programs, and the contribution such projects are making in helping to build the new South Africa.
- o Compliment the women working on the Housing Project as an example of South African women's potential to create a stronger future for all in South Africa.

Talking Points

- I take great pleasure in visiting cooperative project sites such as this where people are making a difference for themselves and for the communities of which they are a part. Your work here at the Victoria Mxenge Project demonstrates how much people-controlled projects can accomplish.
- Many of us in the United States believe that support for people-centered development projects should be as flexible as possible, to allow those who will benefit most from the projects to "get on with the job."
- I can see from all the work going on around me that you have certainly gotten on with the job!
- I understand that the women here have not only helped design the houses they will live in, but have contributed to their construction from their own savings. You have made a remarkable contribution not only in improving your own lives but in setting an example for other South Africans on how to establish new and improved communities.
- I am proud that our aid program concentrates on projects that directly affect people's daily lives, such as the Victoria Mxenge Project. We have focused these projects and on self-help programs because we believe that community

participation ensures the effectiveness of projects, and their direct benefit to people's daily lives.

- When Americans see projects such as the one you are working on here, we know that our assistance programs are on the right track in helping South Africans to help themselves.
- The hard work and vision, as exemplified by the splendid people I have met here today, bodes well for the future of South Africa. Well done, and keep up the good work!

Visit to the Victoria Mxenge Project

Tentative List of Participants

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Miss Chelsea Clinton

Patricia Matolengwe, Western Cape Housing Person of the Year and South African Homeless People's Federation Leader

Theresa Solomon, First Black Woman Mayor of Cape Town and Former Political Prisoner

Sankie-Nkondo, National Minister of Housing

Women for Housing Committee (TBD -- Two will be members from the Advisory Group to Minister Sankie-Nkondo on Women and Housing Issues)

Women (six) from the Victoria Mxenge Housing Site and Homeless People's Federation (TBD)

Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph (She, Mary)

DRAFT**VISIT TO VICTORIA MXENGE HOUSING PROJECT**

Date: Wednesday, March 19
10:30 am

Location: Landsdown Road

Participants: Patricia Matolengwe, South African Homeless People's Federation
[Ma-toe 'ling-way]
Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele, Minister of Housing
[Sang-key Mm-tem-be Ma-han-yeah-lay]
Mayor Theresa Solomon
Joel Bolnick, Executive Director, People's Dialogue
Aaron Williams, AID Director for South Africa

Press: Open

Scenario Upon arrival, HRC is met by participants listed above. She will proceed with Matolengwe, Mthembu and Solomon into the housing project. [Note: Other staff will be tour the project in a second group after HRC's tour is underway]. HRC will walk past some houses under construction. Approximately 200 women will be singing on her left as she walks. The press will be prepositioned on her right. She will proceed to the house of Mrs. Mbeki [Mm-bay-key] for a quick visit, and then to the business office. From there, HRC will proceed to the community center building site for an informal round-table discussion. Patricia Matolengwe will introduce the Mayor who will in turn introduce the Minister. Patricia will then introduce HRC and the discussion with the residents will begin. At the conclusion of the discussion, HRC will proceed to a house immediately behind her, remove the door, and paint the door. [At this point, staff is escorted to another house to help with construction]. When HRC is finished painting, she will walk along a ropeline toward other houses under construction, where she will join rest of staff. From there she proceeds to the motorcade and departs.

Attire: Casual / work clothes