



REFERENCES TO THE WORDS ABOUT “LAND”

Specifically:

**Land – Dispossession- Estate – Eviction- Farm– Farmer - Labour-Land Act-
Motherland – Property – Redistributive - Resource - Tenure**

**Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report
South Africa**

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June 2021

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Note on Word Frequency Query:

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

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

Note on software:

The word references analysis was done by NVivo software.

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Researcher Notes on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report Details:

- Pdf consists of Seven Volumes.
- Volume I, II, III, IV and V are published in 1998.
- Volume VI is published in 2003.
- Volume VII is published in 2002.
- Volume I is pages between 1 and 512.
- Volume II is pages between 513 and 1225.
- Volume III is pages between 1226 and 1973.
- Volume IV is pages between 1974 and 2294.
- Volume V is pages between 2295 and 2757.
- Volume VI is pages between 2758 and 3580.
- Volume VII is pages between 3581 and 4554.

South Africa Report Word Cloud



References to “Land” Word Cloud



References to Land in South Africa Report - Results Preview

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<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 195 references coded [0.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

who genuinely believed that it offered the best solution to the complexities of a multiracial land with citizens at very different levels of economic, social and educational development. I do not doubt that many who supported apartheid believed that it was the best policy in the circumstances to preserve their identity, language and culture and those of other peoples as well. I do believe such people were not driven by malicious motives. Many believed God had given them a calling to help civilise benighted natives. I do not for a single moment question the sincerity of those who believed that they were defending their country and what they understood to be its Western Christian values against the atheistic Communist onslaught. No, I do not call their motives into question. I do, however, condemn the policy they applied.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

65 This is not the same as saying that racism was introduced into South Africa by those who brought apartheid into being. Racism came to South Africa in 1652; it has been part of the warp and woof of South African society since then. It was not the supporters of apartheid who gave this country the 1913 Land Act which ensured that the indigenous people of South Africa would effectively become hewers of wood and drawers of water for those with superior gun power from overseas. 1948 merely saw the beginning of a refinement and intensifying of repression, injustice and exploitation. It was not the upholders of apartheid who introduced gross violations of human rights in this land. We would argue that what happened when 20 000 women and children died in the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War is a huge blot on our copy book. Indeed, if the key concepts of confession, forgiveness and reconciliation are central to the message of this report, it would be wonderful if one day some representative of the British/English community said to the Afrikaners, "We wronged you grievously. Forgive us." And it would be wonderful too if someone representing the Afrikaner community responded, "Yes, we forgive you - if you will perhaps let us just tell our story, the story of our forebears and the pain that has sat for so long in the pit of our stomachs unacknowledged by you." As we have discovered, the telling has been an important part of the process of healing.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

68 Some have been upset by the suggestion that the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission could have resulted in making people angrier and race relations more difficult, as indicated by a recent survey. It would be naïve in the extreme to imagine that people would not be appalled by the ghastly revelations that the Commission has brought about. It would have been bizarre had this not happened. What is amazing is that the vast majority of the people of this land, those who form the bulk of the victims of the policies of the past, have said they believe reconciliation is possible.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

72 Can we imagine the anger that has been caused by the disclosures that the previous government had a Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme with projects that allegedly targeted only black people, and allegedly sought to to poison President Nelson Mandela and reduce the fertility of black women? Should

our land not be overwhelmed by black fury leading to orgies of revenge, turning us into a Bosnia, a Northern Ireland or a Sri Lanka?

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

79 We have been fortunate that the media, both print and electronic, have helped to carry the Commission and its work into every corner of our own land and

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

93 My appeal is ultimately directed to us all, black and white together, to close the chapter on our past and to strive together for this beautiful and blessed land as the rainbow people of God.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

11 Indeed, one of most ambitious and far-reaching attempts at social engineering in twentieth century South African history was introduced by the first post-unification South African Party government in the form of the 1913 Land Act. No other piece of legislation in South African history more dramatically and drastically re-shaped the social map of this country. Not only did it lay the basis for the territorial separation of whites and Africans; it destroyed, at a stroke, a thriving African landowning and peasant agricultural sector. It did so by prohibiting African land ownership outside of the initial 7 per cent of land allocated to the so-called traditional reserves and ending sharecropping and non-tenancy arrangements on white-owned farms. The Land Act set in motion a massive forced removal of African people that led, amongst other things, to the deaths of many hundreds of people who found themselves suddenly landless.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

But Kgobadi got this message only when he and his family were on their way to the Transvaal. Kgobadi was going to ask his father-in-law for a home for the family. Kgobadi had also been forced off the land by the Land Act.

The 'Baas' said that Kgobadi, his wife and his oxen had to work for R38 (18 pounds) a year. Before the Land Act, Kgobadi had been making R200 (100 pounds) a year selling crops. He told the 'Baas' that he did not want to work for such low wages. The 'Baas' told Kgobadi to go.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Where could they bury the child? They had no rights to bury it on any land. Late that night, the poor young mother and father had to dig a grave when no-one could see them. They had to bury their child in a stolen grave.

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

15 TM Dambuzu described the Land Act in these words:

There is winter in the Natives' Land Act. In winter the trees are stripped and leafless.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

70 Beyond them, however, were more formidable opponents. Originally southwardmoving migrants themselves, these were now independent and, in some cases, powerful nations; state systems with hierarchic authority structures and deeprooted military traditions. Like the northward-moving migrants, they farmed land, exploited natural resources and raised stock. Conflict was inevitable and, contrary to the myth propagated by some schools of local historiography, it did not take the form a series of one-sided victories and defeats.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

72 Indigenous resistance did not, however, cease. It transformed itself into political and constitutional forms of struggle. But neither did the violence of the victors end. Subjugation by the gun gave way to legislative subjugation as one law after another sought to consolidate the gains of two centuries of overt violence. Stripped bare, the 1913 Land Act was an act of violence, a brutal separation of people from their essential means of sustenance. So too was much of the repressive legislation that followed down the years. Laws tore millions of workers from their families, forcing them to work in white areas and live in enclosed compounds to which their families had no access. Laws forced people to work for grossly insufficient remuneration and to endure the indignity of pay scales determined not by competence or experience, but by race. Laws forced people from their homes and communities and from their ancestral lands. Laws dictated with whom one might and might not have sex, marry or even drink. Laws allowed people to die rather than violate 'whites-only' hospital edicts, and then determined in which plot of ground they could be buried.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

2 The Commission was conceived as part of the bridge-building process designed to help lead the nation away from a deeply divided past to a future founded on the recognition of human rights and democracy. Its purpose needs to be understood in the context of a number of other instruments aimed at the promotion of democracy, such as the Land Claims Court, the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights, Gender and Youth Commissions, all institutional 'tools' in the transformation of South African society.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

46 Apartheid redrew the map of South Africa. The wealth, the cities, the mines, parks and the best beaches became part of white South Africa. A meagre thirteen per cent of largely barren land was parcelled out in a series of homelands in which African people were forced to live, while the able-bodied were driven to seek a living as migrant labourers in the cities. And, as legislation formalised the divide between African, Indian, coloured and white, so the apartheid government sought, too, to divide African people on the basis of ethnicity.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

111 In this process of bridge building, those who have benefited and are still benefiting from a range of unearned privileges under apartheid have a crucial role to play. Although this was not part of the Commission's mandate, it was recognised as a vital dimension of national reconciliation. This means that a great deal of attention must be given to an altered sense of responsibility; namely the duty or obligation of those who have benefited so much (through racially privileged education, unfair access to land, business opportunities and so on) to contribute to the present and future reconstruction of our society.³¹

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

1.3 All information, when compromised, that could harm the current Government's bona fides as an honest and open negotiating party/participating party to the political processes of the land.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

2 The office did extensive work on the widespread repression that had occurred in towns in the Boland, Southern Cape, Karoo and Northern Cape. However, many rural communities (particularly farm workers) expressed disappointment that the Commission's mandate did not extend, except in exceptional circumstances, to human rights violations relating to land and labour. This was of particular concern in Namaqualand and other areas of the Northern Cape.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

30 The Commission's narrow mandate was disappointing to some, especially in the rural areas, where many people had to be turned away from making statements on matters that fell outside the Commission's mandate. Issues such as the abuse of farm labourers, loss of land rights, police thuggery and racial beatings were raised, and it was difficult for statement takers to explain to the victims of these experiences that, in most cases, they could not take their statements.

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

b those interested in promoting human rights: including advice offices, the Human Rights Commission, religious organisations and institutions and the Land Commission;

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

5 The East London regional office was located at a central point in the region. It served an area stretching from the KwaZulu-Natal border to the Tsitsikama forest on the border of the Western Cape province. It incorporated the eastern part of the old Cape Province, the former 'independent homelands' of Transkei and Ciskei, and the so-called 'border corridor', a strip of land between the two homelands which previously formed part of white South Africa. East London and Port Elizabeth are the two main industrial centres in the region, and Grahamstown, Bisho and Umtata serve as judicial and administrative centres.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

h Klerksdorp (23-26 September 1996). In this North West Province town, the Human Rights Violations Committee was told of violations carried out by white right wing extremists, often in relation to land issues. A bus and consumer boycott in several small towns in the area resulted in repression and harassment by the security forces.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

q Piet Retief, Ermelo, Balfour (21-23 May 1997). In this part of southern Mpumalanga, the Commission heard about the Black Cat gang of IFP-aligned vigilantes. In Balfour, several victims spoke about their pain following the explosion of a bomb planted by the ANC. Violations associated with forced removals and land issues were also discussed at the hearing.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Land and property (L): Legislation referring to black rural areas and the homelands: Prior to 1913 in the three northern provinces and 1936 in the Cape, blacks were legally entitled to acquire land from whites in parts of the country outside the scheduled areas. After 1913 (for the Orange Free State, Natal and Transvaal, and after 1936 in the Cape) this was prohibited unless the purchases were in areas which had been recommended by various commissions for 'release' to blacks (Horrell 1978: 203).

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Urbanisation (U): Legislation concerning freedom of movement issues and land ownership in white urban areas. See also 'political representation' above.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

1913 Black Land Act No 27: L

Prohibited blacks from owning or renting land outside designated reserves (approximately 7 per cent of land in the country). Commenced: 19 June 1913

Repealed by s 1 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

1936 Development Trust and Land Act No 18: L

Expanded the reserves to a total of 13, 6 per cent of the land in South Africa and authorised the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to eliminate 'black spots' (black-owned land surrounded by white-owned land) (Horrell 1978: 203). The South African Development Trust (SADT) was established and could, in terms of the Act, acquire land in each of the provinces for black settlement (RRS 1991/92: 381). Commenced: 31 August 1936

Repealed by Proc R 28 of 1992, 31 March 1992 (phasing out and abolishing the SADT in terms of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991)

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Prohibited acquisition of land in urban areas by blacks from non-blacks except with the Governor-General's consent (Horrell 1978: 3). Commenced: 1 January 1938 Sections repealed by the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986 and the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991. The only section remaining in force is s 36, which amended s 7 of the Agricultural Holdings (Transvaal) Registration Act 22 of 1919 and has no discriminatory implications.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

1946 Asiatic Land Tenure (and Indian Representation) Act No 28: P

Granted Indians separate representation by three white members of Parliament and two senators in the Central Parliament. This chapter of the law was rejected by the Indian population and the Act was repealed by the Asiatic Laws Amendment Act No 47 of 1948. The chapter on land tenure was repealed by the Aliens Control Act No 96 of 1991. Commenced: 6 June 1946

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

Repealed the chapter on Indian representation of the 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure (and Indian Representation) Act. Commenced: 12 October 1948

Repealed by s 55 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Prohibited persons from entering land or a building without lawful reason, or remaining there without the owner's permission. Magistrates were granted powers to order squatters out of urban areas, demolish their dwellings and move them to a place as might be determined. Commenced: 6 July 1951

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

The 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act was amended to specify that all black persons, men and women, over the age of sixteen were to carry passes and that no black person was to be allowed to stay in the urban areas longer than seventy-two hours unless they had permission to do so. Section 10, which governed who could stay in the urban areas, stated that black people who had been born in the urban areas and had lived there continuously since then, and those who had been in continuous employment for ten years or continuous residence in the urban areas for fifteen years, were the only categories of black people legally entitled to stay in urban areas (Dugard 1978: 74; Horrell 1978: 173). Powers of authorities were widened to include the ordering of the removal of blacks deemed to be 'idle or undesirable' even though they were lawfully in an urban area (s 29 of the 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act). If found guilty, a person could be sent to her/his homeland, to a rehabilitation centre or to a farm colony for a period not exceeding two years. Section 29 of the 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act permitted the arrest, without a warrant, of any black person believed to be 'idle or undesirable'. In 1956, a new section was added to s 29, (i.e. s 29 bis) allowing for 'the removal of an African from an urban area ... where his presence was detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order in any such area' (Dugard 1978: 77). Because the purpose of this new s 29 was 'to confer upon local authorities arbitrary powers to rid themselves of "agitators",' this new provision (unlike s 29 of Act 25 of 1945) did not 'provide for an appeal against a banishment order' (Dugard 1978: 77). (The provisions under this Act are extremely complicated. For a full description see Horrell 1978: 171-95.) Commenced: 27 June 1952 Sections 1-17 repealed by s 33(1) of the Black Labour Act No 67 of 1964, s 18 repealed by s 1(g) of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991; ss 27-32 by s 17 of the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986; and ss 33-8 by s 69(1) of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Repealed by s 48 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Placed restrictions on the number of blacks who could be employed in the manufacturing industry in the larger industrial areas. Assent gained: 19 June 1967; commencement date not found IN FORCE: LAND

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

Exempted Indians from the need to obtain permits for travel between provinces. However, in terms of provincial legislation, Indians were not allowed to stay in the Orange Free State and parts of northern Natal for more than a brief period unless prior permission had been obtained (Dugard 1978: 73).
Repealed by s 60 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Repealed by s 17 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991 1979 Venda independence.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

Commenced: 1 April 1984, except s 55: to be proclaimed; ss 56 & 57: 1 November 1985 Repealed by s 72 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991, with the exception of chapters VI and VII

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Repealed by s 48 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

Provided for the partial or entire repeal of thirty-four laws (RRS 1986: 339) relating to influx control in respect of blacks, the removal of blacks from land they occupied and the control of squatting.
Commenced: 1 July 1986

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

Repealed by s 72 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991 Both the above Acts introduced freedom of movement for South African citizens (i.e. excluding the TBVC states) (RRS 1986: 343). However, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations, 'shifting the basis of discrimination from race to foreign nationality would fool nobody' (RRS 1986: 343). According to the Black Sash, about 7.5 million TBVC citizens who did not have urban residence rights in South Africa remained aliens in 'South Africa' (i.e. South Africa excluding the TBVC states) (RRS 1986: 344).

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

Amended the 1984 Black Communities Amendment Act and made further provisions for the development areas and townships. Also regulated the rights of holders of mineral rights and mining titles where townships were established on the surface of the land in which these rights were held. Commenced: 15 April 1988
Repealed by s 72 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991 1988 10 June: State of emergency re-proclaimed

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

Repealed by s 72 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

1991 Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108: L, U

Provided for the repeal of the 1913 Black Land Act, the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act, the 1966 Group Areas Act and the 1984 Black Communities Development Act. 'A total of 189 sections and acts that had supported racial discrimination in respect of land legislation regarding rural areas under the administration of the House of Representatives and the non-independent homelands were also repealed by the Act' (RRS 1991/1992: 385; see also 339-42). The promulgation of this Act 'did not affect the legal status of the non-independent homelands, their geographical definitions or their administrative structures' (RRS 1991/92: 385). Promulgated: 28 June 1991 Commenced: 30 June 1991, except s 72: 1 September 1991, s 23: 1 April 1992, ss 4(1), 14(1), 17(1), 18(1), 19(1), 27(1), 35(1), 41(1), 43(1), 46(1): to be proclaimed IN FORCE: LAND (as amended by the Housing Amendment Act No 6 of 1996: HOUSING)

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

1979 State Land Disposal Act No 23: Set out mechanisms for the disposal of state land. Commenced: 8 June 1979

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

1991 Black Areas Land Regulation Amendment Act No 5: Commenced: 16 August 1991

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

1992 Land Tenure Act No 11: Commenced: 21 January 1994

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

1992 Land Affairs Act No 11: Commenced: 30 November 1993

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

1989 Land Act No 15: Commenced: 6 August 1989

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

b) ways of transferring land to competent institutions, or any other measures in cases where township establishment does not proceed as desired;

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

c) ways to facilitate efficient use of land, for example by relaxing some of the restrictions on the subdivision or the placing of more than one housing unit on an erf or holding; and

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

86 By the mid-1970s, the PAC had begun military training amongst refugees in Swaziland. The refugees had fled a chieftaincy dispute amongst the Mngomezulu clan of northern KwaZulu and had been allocated land in the area. However, in 1977 the Swaziland government suddenly moved against the PAC by banning the organisation in Swaziland and rounding up all its known members and supporters. All were eventually deported via the United High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to countries other than South Africa, in some cases after lengthy periods in detention.

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

27 February 1978. CSOPS argued that, since the termination of Operation Savannah, SWAPO had been successful in building up its strength in Owambo and the Eastern Caprivi, whence it was able to conduct operations in the northern areas of South West Africa. In the opinion of CSOPS, it was now imperative to deploy the full strength of the SADF's air and land capability against SWAPO, instead of counting on a 'hearts and minds' programme. It was also important to counter the enemy's propaganda by demonstrating that South Africa had so far deployed in Angola only a small part of its military capability.

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

68 During Operation Hooper, SADF and Angolan Army forces clashed in a number of large land battles near the town of Cuito Cuanavale. The town was shelled by SADF 155mm artillery for several weeks, and largely destroyed. The SADF failed, however, to capture the town and the stalemate led eventually to negotiations and the signing of the New York Accords in December 1988. These agreements produced an SADF withdrawal from Angola (Operation Displace), the implementation of UN Resolution 435 and the independence of Namibia in March 1990.

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

378 Details have been given elsewhere in this chapter of the SADF's development of specialised units. The earliest was formed in 1961. Later in the 1960s, reconnaissance commandos were established specialising in air, sea and land operations that could not be undertaken by conventional forces. In the 1970s, these developed into reconnaissance (Recce) regiments of which there were eventually four, operating under the rubric of the general officer commanding (GOC) Special Forces, a post formally established in October 1974.

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

6 Banished people were sent to isolated farms on Native Trust land, where they were usually given work as labourers. Some went alone; others were sent to camps built for groups of six or more. Both they and those who visited them speak of their extreme poverty and near-starvation. Those who were not given work were entitled to an allowance of about R4 per month, though not all received this. A banishment order was indefinite and remained in force until the government gave permission for the banished person to return home.

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

485 Operations aimed at elimination were sometimes called off for logistical reasons. For example, Nel indicates that the Mozambican leg of the dual Swaziland and Mozambican operation planned for December 1986 was called off because the link-up between the seaward attacking group and Dave Tippet on land failed to materialise. This operation entailed hitting the ANC targets in Mozambique listed above and at the point at which it was called off, the seaward attack group was already in Maputo harbour.

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

13 For the purposes of this report, planned military operations include the sabotage campaigns mounted by the ANC/MK, including urban bombing campaigns and rural land mine campaigns. Attacks on individuals perceived as 'the enemy', as 'collaborators' with the state, as informers and agents of the security forces, as well as attacks on security forces personnel are also documented here. They are not, however, strictly classified as 'planned' military operations, even in cases where they conformed to the general practice, if not the general policy, of the ANC.

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

land access, education and housing in KwaZulu). On the other, the ANC had, from the time of the severing of ties between the two organisations, engaged in propaganda which encouraged its supporters to see Inkatha as 'the enemy'.

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

90 At times, pressure on chiefs and headmen came from the side of the government and the community simultaneously. For example, during the Pondoland revolt against the implementation of the Trust Land Act, Chief Mhlabuvukile Faku [EC1670/97ETK] of Isikelo village was accused by his community of "collaborating with whites" and, by the police, of "influencing people to resist the Act".

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

was also accused of carrying out acts of sabotage against army property, theft and sale of army property, breaking of Land Rovers and ambulances and other offences. The ANC Security Department's submission alleges that Mahamba became a fully-fledged member of the security police in 1976 and in that capacity passed on strategic information on ANC camps and residences to the security police, leading to the bombardment and destruction of Catengue Camp in 1979.

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

of St Marks district in Cofimvaba, Transkei was killed by Poqo members. In February 1963, headman Jonginamba Deliwe was killed in the same district. He is reported to have encountered local resistance to land rehabilitation measures and to have requested KD Matanzima's intervention.

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

needs to be understood in the context of the land wars of the time. People were being moved from their plots and their homes without compensation when the new Umtata to Queenstown road was being constructed. It was a purely defensive act.

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

199 Mr Morgan Nogaga Gxekwa [AM5686/97] applied for amnesty as a founder member of both Poqo and APLA. WHILE THE COMMISSION TAKES NOTE OF THE EXPLANATION TENDERED BY THE PAC THAT ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE EARLY 1960S NEED TO BE UNDERSTOOD IN THE CONTEXT OF THE "LAND WARS OF THE TIME", IT NEVERTHELESS FINDS THAT THE PAC AND POQO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH ITS (POQO'S) CAMPAIGN TO LIBERATE THE COUNTRY. THIS UNLEASHED A REIGN OF TERROR, PARTICULARLY IN THE WESTERN CAPE TOWNSHIPS. IN THE COURSE OF THIS CAMPAIGN, THE FOLLOWING GROUPS SUFFERED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS:

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

208 In the late 1980s, APLA members engaged in armed robberies. A 'robbery unit' was established as a source of funding for the external and internal wings of APLA. APLA members engaged in armed robberies in the 1980s and early 1990. At some point, guerrillas engaged in such acts were named 'repossession units' and their actions were justified politically by the PAC as part of a strategy to repossess land taken by 'settlers'. APLA units were instructed to obtain the necessary weapons and goods for subsistence, by robbery if necessary. An APLA commander also explained to the Commission the complex motivations for conducting such operations:

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

295 In March 1960, in Isikelo Location in Bizana, Mr Robert Nonqandela [EC1817/97ETK] was stabbed with swords and other sharp instruments all over his body and head by unknown people opposed to the establishment of the Trust Land Act. Nonqandela was believed to be siding with chiefs who were in favour of the Act. He was hospitalised for a week. On his return, his homestead (five houses) was destroyed by fire, seemingly by the same unknown perpetrators who assaulted him.

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

5 The homelands system lay at the heart of the National Party (NP) government's policy of territorial and political separation based on race. Long before the NP's election victory in 1948, legislation had been enacted to lay the groundwork for the development of the homelands. This included the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts. The Bantu Authorities Act was passed in the early 1950s, increasing the powers of traditional authorities in preparation for self-governance, and in 1959, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act provided the legislative basis for the future homelands. Based on the notion that South Africa's indigenous population was composed of eight (later, ten) African national groups, the architects of apartheid proposed that each group be given the opportunity to advance to higher forms of selfgovernment until independence for each could eventually be realised.

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

21 In this period of forced removals, land consolidation and homeland political development, the legislation prepared by Prime Minister Verwoerd's Native Affairs Department was widely implemented. In particular, elaborate and at times farcical steps were taken during the 1960s and 1970s to establish African-led administrations in the homelands. As was often the case, the Transkei proved the testing ground and eventually the model for the other homelands.

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

33 In the period 1976 to 1982, the homeland development project initiated by the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act reached its peak. Despite threats to the former state from other quarters (notably the national uprising of 1976-1977 and the growth of Black Consciousness), its ultimate objective with respect to the homelands was at least partially realised. In quick succession, political elites in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei opted for constitutional 'independence' from South Africa (in 1976, 1977, 1979 and 1981 respectively). Although the prospect of independence had initially been seen as contingent on homelands meeting a number of prerequisites (based on administrative capacity, political maturity and economic development), these requirements were dropped to speed up the process. By the time Ciskei celebrated its independence, some eight million Africans had been 'de-nationalised', in effect becoming foreigners in the land of their birth.

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

57 By 1980, Transkei and South African politicians had papered over the diplomatic break and re-established official contact. The rapprochement was ostensibly based on South Africa's willingness to re-negotiate land issues with the Transkei. However, at least as important was the financial crisis that had engulfed the homeland as a result of its break from Pretoria. South Africa's transfer of R118 million to the Transkei in April 1980 was not without its own costs, however. The payment ended a deal whereby the Transkeian government would have received a loan

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

61 Given Venda's strategically important location, near to both Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the South African authorities were especially concerned to limit the potential security risks posed by independence. As a result, a strip of land bordering

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

102 The use of chiefs was an essential part of control in the homelands. Chiefs were granted additional powers, including the key authority over land allocation; communities without chiefs (such as Group Four in Thornhill, Ciskei) were refused access to services. Chiefs were also sometimes used in recruiting vigilantes in rural areas. Conflict between chiefs and communities sometimes became so great that chiefs and headmen were armed (such as in Ciskei during 1983 and later under military government in the 1990s).

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

196 The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) was established in 1972, replacing the Zululand Territorial Authority, which had been established two years earlier. The territory designated as the KwaZulu homeland comprised over twenty fragmented pieces of land scattered throughout the province of Natal. KwaZulu was what was known as a self-governing homeland. It was never to opt for independence as did several other self-governing states. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi headed both these administrations. The KLA was composed wholly of Inkatha members, many of whom were traditional chiefs.

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

204 Inkatha had its origins in an organisation called the Native Congress, established in 1928 by the Zulu king of the time, Solomon kaDinizulu. It was later renamed Inkatha ka-Zulu (emblem of the unity of the Zulu nation). By 1933, the organisation was largely inactive due to lack of finance and it remained so until its revival by Chief Buthelezi in 1969. In 1970, the Zululand Territorial Authority (ZTA) was established and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was instated as the chief executive officer. In 1972, the ZTA was replaced with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, with Chief Buthelezi as the Chief Minister. Buthelezi promised his co-operation to the South African government but almost immediately began calling for more land, powers and recognition for the Zulu nation.

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

307 Moutse is home to one of the region's longest-established communities. Members of the Bantoane, the largest chieftaincy, have lived in the area since the latter half of the eighteenth century. Although their ancestors are Setswana speakers from what is today Botswana, the Bantoane have resided in the area long enough to claim, albeit without proof, that their present boundaries were personally laid down by Paul Kruger. Throughout this century, a number of other ethnic groups have settled in Moutse. According to the 1980 census, 58 per cent of the population was Sotho, 38 per cent was Ndebele and 3 per cent was Shangaan/ Tsonga. Because of the area's early settlement, 53 per cent of the land was held under individual or communal freehold tenure. The rest of the area was Trust land. By the mid-1980s, the 66 000-hectare region contained forty-three villages with approximately 120 000 residents. Under separate development, three tribal and three community authorities had been designated and jointly formed a regional authority. The Bantoane (later renamed the Moutse) Regional Authority was a constituent part of Lebowa when the territorial authority was established in 1962.

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

308 However, on the recommendations of the 1975 select committee for Bantu Affairs, the government considered incorporating Moutse into the soon to be established Ndebele homeland. Given Moutse's history and its ethnic composition, many analysts condemned the proposal as a violation of apartheid's ethnic ideal. Internal DCAD memoranda reveal that the department realised that their plans for Moutse represented a significant change of emphasis. Nevertheless, officials justified Moutse's incorporation based on a number of administrative, economic and developmental considerations. For its part, the 1975 select committee was motivated by a number of concerns. First, the incorporation of Moutse would have greatly expanded the area of the small KwaNdebele homeland. Second, the enlarged homeland would have remained a contiguous area, a goal frequently mentioned by apartheid planners but rarely achieved. Third, KwaNdebele's land area and population size would be boosted without the costs and negative publicity accompanying physical removals. Finally, given Moutse's combination of trust land and African freehold, the area's incorporation would boost KwaNdebele's size without the state having to purchase white farms or modify the amount of land occupied by Africans in terms of the limits set by the 1936 Land Act. In 1980, the central government excised Moutse from Lebowa, the first step towards acting on the select committee's recommendation.

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

23 Mozambique was informed about the incident only a full nine hours after it happened, after a massive land and sea search. The Commission heard evidence that the Mozambican Minister of Security contacted

the South African security forces as soon as the Mozambican authorities realised the plane was missing. They were not informed about the accident.

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

14 Much time has been spent attempting to determine the exact time the fire broke out. The conclusion reached by the Margo Commission was that the fire started just before the descent to land in Mauritius.

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

250 The raid was carried out after it became known in early 1994 that illegal weaponry was being used in the training of the SPUs. When an officially marked police helicopter attempted to land at the Mlaba camp to carry out the raid, trainees threw stones at it, making a landing impossible.

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

285 Many AWB amnesty applicants refer to a meeting in Ventersdorp in February 1994 where they were informed that a coalition would be formed with the AVF and CP to declare secession in order to obtain the land that was to be ruled by the Afrikaner Boerevolk. Terre'Blanche allegedly pronounced at this meeting that he was the mouthpiece of the Afrikaner Boerevolk and ordered the AWB generals to return to their commandos and prepare for war.

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

As far as I was concerned, the attacks was to get the land back from the whites who had taken it away from the African people through violent means. For us and for me in APLA, the only way to get our land back, and to liberate the black masses was through the use of force.

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

475 At the amnesty hearing in Cape Town on 9 July 1997, Mkhumbuzi testified that, although the target had been selected by his unit leader Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba, he agreed that "whites were using churches to oppress blacks" and justified the attack on the grounds that whites took our country using churches and bibles. We know and we have read from books that they are the ones who have taken the land from us.

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

477 The applicants were asked about how they perceived the political objective and whether they considered that selecting the church as a target would advance the struggle which the PAC was waging, even though they might not have actually selected the target themselves. In response to this question, the applicants emphasised the land issue and the imperative of wresting the land from whites, thus taking the struggle to the white areas.

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

494 Part of the strategy behind the PAC's 'Year of the Great Storm' of 1993 was to drive white farmers off the land so that it could be reclaimed by the African people. A number of attacks were carried out on

farms in this period, claiming the lives of many civilians died; weapons and vehicles were stolen. Attacks centred on the Orange Free State, the Eastern Cape and in areas bordering on the Transkei.

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

The Natives' Land Act prescribes that no African person be allowed to own land outside designated reserves (approximately 7% of the land is allocated for African people, subsequently increased in 1936 to 13%).

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

Asiatic Land Tenure Act is passed. The police crush a strike by African mineworkers. The Security Branch of the South African Police (SAP) is formed.

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

The ANC National Executive Committee writes an open letter as an ultimatum to the State President in April concerning the pattern of political violence and making a number of demands. The ANC subsequently suspends constitutional talks with the government in May. A group of about eight hundred alleged IFP supporters attack the squatter settlement of Swanieville on the East Rand on 12 May. Twenty-nine people are killed and over thirty injured. The Group Areas Act and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 are repealed in June. In the 'Battle of the Forest' in June, twenty-three people are killed in fighting between IFP and ANC supporters in the Richmond townships of Ndaleni and Magoda, Natal. The 'Inkathagate' scandal breaks in July and government funding of, inter alia, Inkatha and its union UWUSA for anti-ANC activities is revealed. De Klerk establishes the Kahn Committee to examine secret projects.

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

2 The current Eastern Cape is made up of the eastern part of the old Cape Province and includes two of the four 'independent homelands', namely Transkei and Ciskei. Transkei is the oldest such territory in the country and was granted selfgovernment status in 1963 followed by independence in 1976. Ciskei received self-government status in 1972 followed by independence in 1981. For a substantial part of the period within the Commission's mandate, they had separate parliaments and separate security forces, particularly after independence. The Transkei and Ciskei, which were geographically more united than most of the other homelands, were separated by a narrow strip of land commonly referred to as the Border region. For the purposes of the Commission's work, the Border region was often viewed as part of the Ciskei because of the cross-border nature of some of the violations.

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

73 The roots of the revolt were traced back to the 1950s and to the resistance by Pondoland communities to the imposition of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 (the forerunner to homeland rule) which provided for the establishment of tribal, regional and territorial authorities in the homelands. By the 1960s, the Pondoland communities were accusing the chiefs of being dictatorial and of abusing the powers granted to them, which included the running of tribal courts and the allocation of land. There was dissatisfaction with the rule of Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau, who years later was to become the first state president of the independent Transkei. Requests to the magistrate to meet with the community to discuss grievances were turned down. Mr Clement Khehlana 'Fly' Gxabu [EC0882/96ETK] told the Commission:

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

197 There had been no major political conflicts in Queenstown and the surrounding areas from the 1960s until the mid-1970s except for the forced removals and the incorporation of areas into the neighbouring Ciskei and Transkei homelands. In the 1980s, dissatisfaction revolved around the rejection of BLAs and land

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

4 In 1970, the Zululand Territorial Authority (ZTA) was set up with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as chief executive officer. In 1972, the ZTA was converted into the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA), with Buthelezi as the chief minister. The KwaZulu Constitution retained the colonial structures for regulating chieftainship, with chiefs appointed to their positions by the KwaZulu government. By now, the region's borders had changed substantially; KwaZulu consisted of disjointed fragments scattered throughout Natal. As with other homelands, the boundaries between Natal and KwaZulu were often marked informally by a river, a road or a mountain ridge. The land allocated to KwaZulu was largely barren and the soil degenerate compared to the generally fertile and productive farmland of Natal.

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

198 The conflict was often referred to as 'tribal clashes' or 'faction fighting' and was attributed to intense rivalry for land, water and jobs. The ethnic nature of the conflict supported the state's contention that political conflict in the province was 'black on black', and helped play down the failure of the security forces to intervene in a way that might have limited the scale of the suffering and loss.

199 According to researchers³⁹, Durban's squatter population grew from around half a million in 1979 to 1.3 million in 1985. This influx exacerbated the struggle for access to basic resources such as water, land and employment. Amongst those making their way to the city were thousands of Pondos streaming in from the Pondoland area of the Transkei in search of employment. Easily distinguishable from Zulus as a group, they were resented for encroaching on scarce resources. Land was allocated informally by powerful local figures and councillors controlled

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

204 The then curator of the settlement, Mr Richard Steele, told the Commission that the conflict was sparked off by the killing of Ms Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi and the rapid escalation of violent clashes between supporters of Inkatha and the UDF. He said that Indians and Africans had been living together harmoniously for fifty years. At the time that conflict broke out, Indian families and traders came under a series of sustained attacks which were, according to Steele, "led by modern-day Zulu warriors wielding sticks and spears, shouting slogans to the effect that Indians must leave because this is all Zulu land".

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

I think it will be my grandchildren who will see the Canaan land. I think I will die here, here in this wilderness.

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

Drive out to Edendale past Esigodini up the hills to KwaMnyandu, KwaShange and Gezibuso. There, in a band of land about four kilometres wide, you will still see the effects of destruction of that week of March 1990: houses and shops burnt to the ground, schools abandoned, weeds growing in fields and up through the insides of dwellings where a few years ago thousands and thousands of people lived.

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

3 During the period under review (1960–94), the Orange Free State was the second smallest of South Africa's four provinces, covering an area of just over 129 000 square kilometres. It was land-locked, with the Vaal River forming its northern border with the Transvaal and the upper Orange River forming its southern border with the Cape Province. To the east lay Natal and the independent Kingdom of

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

Numbers swelled in the territory as many people were forcibly removed to the homeland in the mid- to late seventies and many others were compelled to leave urban areas because of lack of employment. The resettlement township of Phuthaditjhaba at Witsieshoek was developed to accommodate families of migrants who commuted daily to work in Bethlehem or Harrismith. In October 1974, more than 2 000 families were relocated to Tseki at Witsieshoek. Most of them had been ordered out of Kromdraai, Bophuthatswana, by the homeland authorities there; others were evicted from farms. Tseki lacked any health and education facilities, even basic necessities like clean water. The people erected rough corrugated iron shelters and dug pit latrines. No local employment opportunities existed. Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli campaigned vigorously throughout the 1970s for more land to be allocated to the territory, but only a relatively small area of adjoining land was added.

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

You see on various occasions what would happen would be this, for instance. [There was] one case where the Premier Milling Company, their employees, were on their way to go and arrest the Three Million Gang and take them to the charge office. The police, who were already in Troubou there where the Three Million Gang members lived, intervened. The police were waiting in their Casspirs [armoured personnel carriers] on an open piece of land; they were waiting for the Premier Milling employees.

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

154 The PAC and its military component, APLA, launched the so-called 'One Settler One Bullet' campaign in 1990 and later targeted white farms in a bid to reclaim the land and return it to what the PAC perceived to be its real owners, the African people. The white farming community, the security forces and right-wing organisations rallied to counter this threat.

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

176 In 1989, the PAC and its military component, APLA, designated 1990 as the 'Year of the People's Offensive' and launched the so-called 'One Settler One Bullet' campaign. PAC leader and APLA Commander Sabelo Phama ordered the military exercise known as 'Operation Great Storm' to reclaim the land from white farmers and return it to the African people. Instructions were given to attack farmers and to appropriate items, such as firearms and clothes, which could be used to further the aims of the

movement or to assist disadvantaged people. The operation was said to be a joint venture of PAC and a special APLA task force.

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

8 The Northern Cape has a long history of land dispossession and forced removals. Africans were removed mainly to Bophuthatswana, often making way for South African Defence Force (SADF) military camps. Later in the 1980s, independent communal farming settlements such as Leliefontein, Steinkopf and Richtersveld in Namaqualand were privatised by the House of Representatives, leading to impoverishment and protest.

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

328 In the 1990s, political assassinations feature in the region for the first time, with victims including Ms Nomsa and Mr Michael Mapongwana, Mr Super Nkatazo, Mr Lucas Mbembe and Mr Mziwonke 'Pro' Jack. While the assassins had a variety of political affiliations, collectively they matched the pattern elsewhere in the land. In particular, the taxi wars exacted a heavy price upon political leadership.

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

upgrading schemes. Crossroads and parts of Khayelitsha experienced the most serious conflicts. It appears that some squatter leaders were granted the status of 'sub-contractors' in the 1990s and given large sums of money to disburse for labour-intensive projects. Control over land and the development projects rapidly became the new currency of power, generating violent power struggles and shifting political allegiances. The construction companies themselves and the manner in which they interacted with particular leaders in the informal settlements became a subject of suspicion and speculation.

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

205 The Commission received a number of statements from residents of Venda who were detained and tortured after helping insurgents to re-enter the country in 1980 and 1983. Local residents, particularly black subsistence farmers who owned orchards, played a crucial role in facilitating the work of insurgents by allowing them to hide arms caches on their land and providing essential resources such as food. By these means, political activists would also pass on essential intelligence information to insurgents, such as details affecting their movement into the country – for example, details about the movements of Venda and South African security forces and the levels of the Limpopo River.

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

438 By the early 1980s, nearly 1.3 million forced removals had taken place in the Transvaal. A further 600 000 people were scheduled for relocation in terms of the 1975 plan to consolidate the homelands. Urban relocation was implemented more thoroughly in the Transvaal than anywhere else in the country. Some townships were moved in their entirety to the nearest homeland, from where people would then commute. Strict labour recruitment measures and control on housing over the years restricted access to prescribed areas. Most 'black spots' (African-owned land in 'white areas' bought before 1913) were removed, but there was active resistance in the few that remained in the western and eastern Transvaal.

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

772 The Western Transvaal, home to the headquarters of the AWB, was a centre of right-wing activity during the 1990s. The Commission received a number of statements regarding attacks carried out by the right-wing in this area. These included random assaults motivated primarily by racism as well as more coordinated attacks around issues such as land ownership or consumer boycotts.

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

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Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

Soller and Manning South African Black Technical and Allied Careers Organisation South African Chamber of Business South African Communist Party South African Democratic Teachers' Union South African Federated Chamber of Industries Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa Terreblanche, S Textile and Clothing Industry Textile Federation The Centre for Conflict Resolution The Land and Agricultural Bank The Tongaat-Hulett Group Ltd Toyota S A Transnet

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

Community Law Centre; Development Action Group; Legal Resources Centre; Black Sash; NGO National Coalition; National Land Committee; National Literacy Co-operative: Peoples' Dialogue; Urban Sector Network Corbett, M M

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

Land and Agriculture Policy Centre Langa, P N

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

37 Information was also provided to the Commission on the role of economic institutions such as the South African Reserve Bank (SARB) and parastatal bodies such as the Land Bank, the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), and the Electricity Supply Commission (ESKOM). This sheds light on how these institutions shaped the environment within which private business decisions were made (ESKOM, the SARB) and functioned as a financial arm of apartheid (Land Bank and the DBSA).

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

39 The Land Bank pointed out that government policy: narrowed the bank's scope for granting loans and excluded the large segment of the South African population. Although not wilfully, the bank was indirectly supportive towards the prevailing inequality around land distribution and farming opportunities.

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

41 The Commission was gratified to learn of the transformation that had occurred in these organisations (most notably the Land Bank and the DBSA), paving the way for a constructive role in post-apartheid

development. As these institutions are not part of the private business sector, they are discussed no further in this report.³

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

43 Like mining, agriculture has both shaped and been shaped by the racist structures of the political economy as it evolved both before and after 1948. Although the Commission's mandate begins only in 1960, it is clear that a proper understanding of this period requires an awareness of its historical roots. This requires recognition, at the very least, of the Land Act of 1913, as modified by subsequent legislation, including that of 1936. None of this was fundamentally repealed until 1991 which means that, throughout virtually the entire period of the Commission's brief, black

3 Interested readers are referred to the individual submissions for details. 4 For some reflections on the Land Act of 1913, see chapter on The Mandate.

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

South Africans were prohibited from owning land in most areas of the country. Although it is certainly true that white farmers represented a spectrum of political views, it seems safe to conclude that this legislative prohibition retained the strong support of the majority of farmers throughout the apartheid years.

44 This means that, at the very least, representatives of commercial agriculture need to acknowledge (not least to themselves) the extent to which white farmers and their families have benefited (irrespective of their political views) from their privileged access to the land, which excluded virtually all other potential farmers.

45 Along with control of the land, white farmers also benefited from control over the movement of people by means of pass laws, which placed enormous power in the hands of farmers with respect to living and working conditions, wages and the lives of black workers and their families living on the farms.

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

60 According to the submission by the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry, there were also members of the black business community who "collaborated" with the apartheid regime, were involved in sanctions-busting and, "together with corrupt politicians in the Tricameral government were engaged in procuring business contracts land, houses etc. for their own benefit to the exclusion of those rightfully deserving of these assets".

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

Opposition by organised business to labour controls, although inspired by the desire for a more stable, settled and productive workforce was profoundly political in that it challenged one of the pillars of apartheid - i.e. the idea that black workers were merely temporary sojourners in white cities. Frustrated by the lack of government action, Harry Oppenheimer and Anton Rupert (representing English and Afrikaner capital respectively) established the Urban Foundation in 1976 to push for reform in the areas of influx control, housing, black land ownership etc. This initiative was supported by a wide range of corporations and business organisations. The achievements of the Urban Foundation are documented in various business submissions.¹⁷

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

a Africans were deprived of large parts of land on which they had conducted successful traditional farming for centuries.

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

163 The Land Bank and the Development Bank of South Africa, in particular, were directly involved in sustaining the existence of former homelands.

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

167 The white agricultural industry benefited from its privileged access to land. In most instances, it failed to provide adequate facilities and services for employees and their dependants.

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Religious communities also suffered under apartheid, their activities were disrupted, their leaders persecuted, their land taken away. Churches, mosques, synagogues and temples – often divided amongst themselves – spawned many of apartheid's strongest foes, motivated by values and norms coming from their particular faith traditions. They were driven by what has been called the 'dangerous memory' of resistance and the quest for freedom, often suppressed but never obliterated from their respective faiths.

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

71 Bantu Education forced the closure of mission stations and schools that had provided education for Africans for many years.²⁵ Several churches with a long tradition in mission education, such as the Methodist Church, the United Congregational Church and the Church of the Province lost large numbers of primary schools and many secondary schools as well. The Methodist Church spoke of losing Kilnerton and Healdtown, and the United Congregational Church of the loss of Adams College and Tiger Kloof. The Reformed Presbyterian Church spoke of the loss of Lovedale and Blyswooth to the governments of Ciskei and Transkei. Indeed many properties belonging to this latter church were in so-called 'white' areas and the church was forced by law (which prohibited ownership of such properties) to sell them.²⁶ Several submissions made reference to the closing of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice and the taking of its land.²⁷ Hospitals and other institutions were also affected by Group Areas legislation. One example of this is when the Seventh Day Adventist Church was forced to close its Nokuphila Hospital in Alexandra township.

23 The loss of a Mosque is, the MJC explained at the hearings, especially significant within the Muslim community. More than a building, it is a sacred site and must never be abandoned. Group Areas legislation was a direct attack on this principle, assuming that the sacrality of such spaces was transferable to wherever the state decided to resettle the community. 24 In addition to losing land and space, the churches were sometimes forced to relocate a distance away from where their members lived. 25 For a discussion on the impact of the Bantu Education Act, see Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid* (Cape Town and Mary-Knoll: David Philip & Orbis Books, 1988), page 95f. 26 The United Methodist Church claimed to have lost properties under the Holomisa regime in the late 1980s. 27 The Church of Scotland originally donated the land.

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

30 The impossibility of remaining politically neutral in apartheid South Africa was underlined for the Church of England in South Africa when its Kenilworth congregation was attacked by Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) cadres in July 1993. These cadres later told the Commission's amnesty committee that they were motivated by the fact that the churches were responsible for taking land away from the African people. 31 Martin Prozesky, 'The Challenge of Other Religions for Christianity in South Africa', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 74 (March 1991), page 39.

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

98 Another way that faith communities - and here in this ostensibly 'Christian' land we must speak of churches - expressed opposition to apartheid was by withdrawing from state structures in which they were complicit, particularly the military.

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

The Declaration is headed towards a just peace in our land, a Declaration to end conscription. We live in an unjust society where basic human rights are denied to the majority of the people. We live in an unequal society where the land and wealth are owned by the minority. We live in a society in a state of civil war, where brother is called on to fight brother. We call for an end to conscription. Young men are conscripted to maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia and to wage unjust war against foreign countries. Young men are conscripted to assist in the implementation and defence of apartheid policies. Young men who refuse to serve are faced with the choice of a life of exile or a possible six years in prison. We call for an end to conscription. We believe that the financial costs of the war increase the poverty of our country and that money should be used rather in the interests of peace. We believe that the

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

extension of conscription to Coloured and Indian youth will increase conflict and further divide our country. We believe that it is the moral right of South Africans to exercise freedom of conscience and to choose not to serve in the SADF. We call for an end to conscription. We call for a just peace in our land.

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

What most of us were getting both disillusioned with, tired of and what I think, in a very real sense, moulded our moral decision - making a choice for a new future and for transformation of society - was, I think, the feeling that these politicians and political generals directed and dictated politics and war from Tuynhuis and the Union Buildings. And that in many cases, especially the politicians, had no personal experience of war and its impact on humans, the land and nature. Not to mention the individual or collective human psyche.

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

97 Most activists anticipated the risks of incarceration, detention and torture and were thus better placed to deal with the emotional consequences of suffering than were those who had not been inducted into political resistance. Many who were activists in their youth have had to struggle with a sense that their active participation and sacrifice resulted in practical and material losses - especially through missed educational opportunities. For many, the new South Africa has not proved to be the land of

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

18 The CALS submission argued that the definition of 'severe ill treatment' should be interpreted to include apartheid abuses such as forced removals, pass law arrests, alienation of land and breaking up of families. This approach finds support in the declaration to the Commission by five top judges at the legal systems hearing that apartheid was in and of itself a gross violation of human rights.³

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

48 This definition limited the attention of the Commission to events which emanated from the conflicts of the past, rather than from the policies of apartheid. There had been an expectation that the Commission would investigate many of the human rights violations which were caused, for example, by the denial of freedom of movement through the pass laws, by forced removals of people from their land, by the denial of the franchise to citizens, by the treatment of farm workers and other labour disputes, and by discrimination in such areas as education and work opportunities. Many organisations lobbied the Commission to insist that these issues should form part of its investigations. Commission members, too, felt that these were important areas that could not be ignored. Nevertheless, they could not be interpreted as falling directly within the Commission's mandate.

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

135 Apartheid's racial and ethnic-based social engineering resulted in both the construction and destruction of communities. Legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and influx control laws were all attempts to define and regulate communities. Apartheid created communities that were racially, linguistically and ethnically determined. Resources for the development of these state-defined communities were differentially allocated resulting in the deprivation, particularly, of African communities. These racial categories were adopted by communities themselves, resulting in generally understood divisions between white, African, Indian and coloured groups.

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

I am now more convinced than ever that apartheid was a terrible mistake that blighted our land. South Africans did not listen to the laughing and the crying of each other. I am sorry that I had been so hard of hearing for so long.

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

WHILE THE COMMISSION TAKES NOTE OF THE EXPLANATION TENDERED BY THE PAC THAT ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE EARLY 1960S NEED TO BE UNDERSTOOD IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 'LAND WARS OF THE TIME', IT NEVERTHELESS FINDS THAT THE PAC AND POQO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH POQO'S CAMPAIGN TO LIBERATE THE COUNTRY. THIS UNLEASHED A REIGN OF TERROR, PARTICULARLY IN THE WESTERN CAPE TOWNSHIPS. IN THE COURSE OF THIS CAMPAIGN, THE FOLLOWING GROUPS SUFFERED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS:

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

156 Business was central to the economy that sustained the South African state during the apartheid years. Certain businesses, especially the mining industry, were involved in helping to design and implement apartheid policies; the white agriculture industry benefited from its privileged access to land. Other businesses benefited from co-operating with the security structures of the former state. Most businesses benefited from operating in a racially structured context. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT:

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

165 The primary task of the Commission was to address the moral, political and legal consequences of the apartheid years. The socio-economic implications are left to other structures – the Land Commission, the Gender Commission, the Youth Commission and a range of reform processes in education, social welfare, health care, housing and job creation. Ultimately, however, because the work of the Commission includes reconciliation, it needs to unleash a process that contributes to economic developments that redress past wrongs as a basis for promoting lasting reconciliation. This requires all those who benefited from apartheid, not only those whom the Act defines as perpetrators, to commit themselves to the reconciliation process.

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

A national liberation struggle against settler colonialism for the restoration of our land to its rightful owners – the African majority.

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES UNDERTAKE A 'LAND AUDIT', IDENTIFYING LAND IN THEIR POSSESSION (INCLUDING GLEBES) WHICH CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE LANDLESS POOR. WHERE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES HAVE ACQUIRED LAND AS A RESULT OF APARTHEID LEGISLATION, THIS LAND BE RETURNED TO ITS RIGHTFUL OWNERS.

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

- THE SUSPENSION OF ALL TAXES ON LAND AND OTHER MATERIAL DONATIONS TO FORMERLY DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES.

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

Land

40 The Commission recommends that: THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, TOGETHER WITH LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT, IN COOPERATION WITH THE LAND COMMISSION, UNDERTAKE AN AUDIT OF ALL UNUSED AND UNDERUTILISED LAND, WITH A VIEW TO MAKING THIS AVAILABLE TO LANDLESS PEOPLE. LAND APPROPRIATED OR EXPROPRIATED PRIOR TO 1994 SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED IN THE AUDITING PROCESS, WITH A VIEW TO COMPENSATING THOSE WHO LOST THEIR LAND.

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

THE LAND BANK PRIORITISE LAND DEVELOPMENT WHICH FAVOURS THE DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND TO LANDLESS PEOPLE.

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

59 At the business sector hearing in Johannesburg, the following was said: Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce) (AHI): What cannot be denied ... is that apartheid disadvantaged black business. Many whites owned land and they accumulated capital by realising profits on the selling of this land. Until fairly recently, blacks were denied that opportunity and, in this way, one of the most important ways of building capital was denied them.

Even though the Land Act in the period under review ... had the net result of increasing the total area of land held by blacks, the tribal system, which was maintained as part of the policy of separate development, sterilised land as a source of wealth for the individual who is the mainstay in market-driven economy.

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

First, they say they are shocked by the revelations of the [Commission]. Had they only known about the atrocities at the time, they would surely have objected. This is a self-serving myth. It is patently dishonest to claim today that any of us were unaware of apartheid; unaware of forced removals and pass laws; unaware of deaths in detention or unaware of the killing of children in our streets. The second response from the white community is that, well we knew what was happening, and we did everything in our power to object. This is also a myth. The truth of the matter is that a tiny minority of whites voiced any opposition and then mostly in conditions of relative safety and comfort. An even smaller minority of whites participated directly in the campaigns, in the daily struggle of the black community. The third position comes from whites who say, let bygones be bygones. Rehashing the past will only perpetuate divisions and inhibit reconciliation. Let us concentrate instead, they say, on building a new future. In my view, this position adds insult to injury. It's a monumental deceit. Whatever the individual talents and efforts of whites, our lives of privilege today are the product of a grand historical act of theft. We stole the land, the labour, the dignity and, in countless instances, the lives of the black people of our country. The majority of blacks still live with the consequences, and the majority of whites still enjoy the fruits of our acts of violence. The past is present. It is present in our suburbs and in our townships. It's present in our individual and national psyche. White domination may have been eliminated in the political arena but it still prevails at an economic level and in forums like universities and the media which have a powerful impact on the ideas and the debates of broader society.

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

108 In concluding this section, it is important to highlight, once again, the historical and moral basis for the above-mentioned demands for widespread reparations beyond the limited group of victims on which the Commission was required to focus. At the business sector hearing in Johannesburg on 11 November 1997, Professor of Economics, Sampie Terreblanche, listed the following seven reasons why "political supremacy and racial capitalism impoverished Africans and enriched whites undeservedly": Firstly, the Africans were deprived of a large part of land on which they conducted successful traditional farming for centuries. White farmers on the other hand had the privilege of property rights and access to very cheap and docile African labour, my father included.

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

Secondly, for decades, millions of Africans were paid exploitative wages, in all sectors of the economy but mainly in gold mining and agriculture. The fact that the Africans were politically powerless and

economically unorganised might make them easy prey for super-exploitation [in favour of] the white workers. Thirdly, a great variety of discriminative legislation not only deprived Africans of the opportunity to acquire skills, but also compelled and humiliated them to do really unskilled work at very low wages. While discriminatory measures were often to the disadvantage of business, they were very much to the advantage of white employees. Fourthly, perhaps the greatest disadvantage which the prevailing power structures had for Africans is that these structures deprived them of opportunities to accumulate human capital, the most important form of capital in the twentieth century. For the first three quarters of the century, social spending, on education, pensions etcetera, on Africans, was per capita more or less ten to eight times smaller than on whites. In 1970, the per capita spending on white education was twenty times higher than the per capita spending on Africans. Fifthly, the fact that a legal right to own property and to conduct a business was strongly restricted in the case of Africans also deprived them of the opportunity to accumulate property and to develop entrepreneurial and professional capabilities. The position of whites was again the complete opposite. They enjoyed property rights, they deprived Africans of their land, they had access to capital and the opportunity to develop business organisations, entrepreneurial capabilities, and etcetera. Sixthly, the liberation struggle and the resistance against it had a devastating effect on the poorer 60 per cent of the African population. Their income, already very low in 1975, decreased by more or less 35 per cent from 1975 until 1991. The fact that the poorer 40 to 50 per cent of the total population, more or less eighty million people, cannot satisfy their basic human needs on a regular basis, makes it so much more urgently necessary to do at least something meaningful to improve the quality of their poverty. Seventhly, it was not only individuals that have been impoverished and destroyed by the racist system, but also African societies, while it also prevented the South African people from becoming a society. We can put forward a strong argument, that the depravation, the repression and the injustices inherited in the racist system not only impoverished the African population but also brutalised large numbers of Africans. After decades of apartheid and the struggle against it, South African society is a very disrupted and divided society; not only along racial and ethnic lines but also because of seemingly irreconcilable values and attitudes.

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

111 One of the things the Commission was mandated to do was to make recommendations on ways to ensure that things of this kind never again happen in South Africa. We will be looking to see how we might be able to inculcate, instil in all of us in this land, a deep reverence for human life against the prevalent cheapness that we see, for instance, in the high level of criminal violence that is happening at the present time in our country. We hope that as we listen to those who are not statistics but human beings of flesh and blood, that you and I will be filled with a new commitment, a new resolve that our country will be a country where violations of this kind will not happen, that the context will be inhospitable for those who seek to treat others as if they were nothing.

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

113 These sentiments were echoed by Mr Joseph Seremane, chairperson of the Land Claims Commission, at the special hearing on prisons in Johannesburg on 22 July 1997.

Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

I can only say I chose not to know. I chose the safety of my own comfort over the pain of knowing... I raised my children with privilege, whilst those around me were deprived. I am so deeply sorry! And the opportunity to express this regret and offer apology does not unburden me. This privilege allows me to

reach even further into my soul to express the remorse that I feel. It impels me to seek in my own small way to repair the damage to our people and our land caused not only by 'perpetrators', but also by us, the bystanders, in the tragedy of our past. It impels me also to rejoice in the present freedom to build a new and great South Africa. It's not too late – yes, I could have done more in the past, could have been more courageous. I regret that I didn't. But now there is a new opportunity to commit to this country... to build respect for human rights, to help develop the country, to make the ideals enshrined in the constitution real.

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

Our children fled this oppression of this country. They went into exile, fighting for their rights, for the land of their birth, the land of their forefathers. They were tortured beyond reason and fled. The enemy followed them and brutally massacred them, 'm o r s d o o d', (stone-dead) – yes, 'm o r s d o o d' .

Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

3. The final position and finding of the Commission was that business generally benefited financially and materially from apartheid policies. Some examples illustrating this finding emanate from points made during submissions: a White-owned large-scale agricultural, farming and agri-business enterprises benefited from the colonial-era restrictions on black land ownership that w e r e maintained during apartheid, and the extremely low wages such enterprises were able to pay to the landless.
b Those enterprises involved in extracting and exploiting the mineral wealth of the country benefited from the provision of a relatively cheap migratory labour force, which was brought into being by land expropriation, forced removals, apartheid pass laws and influx contro l s .

Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

44. T h rough punitive taxes in rural reserves and through land dispossession (the Land Act of 1913 and 1936), the black male worker was dislodged from agricultural subsistence farming and forced to work at the underg round ro c k faces. This influx of a large black population instigated early stirrings of s w a r t g e v a r ('black danger') – and more broadly a fear of the threat posed not only to f rontier political control but also to the stability and profitability of diamond and gold mining.

Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

230. In the urban areas, several incidents were connected with crime, migrancy and labour disputes. Some incidents also intersected with other running disputes, such as access to land, or economic conflicts that acquired a political dimension, such as taxi conflicts. In some cases, however, victims disputed the political dimensions of the incidents, arguing that the conflict was simply a faction fight arising from local disputes such as demarcation problems.

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

When I am back, I spoke the misunderstood language. They said it is isigagaga, but I simply said ga-ga-ga. The answer was the G3. Who I am, I am the one who is fighting for my land. I am the one who was jailed for the truth. I am the one who was jailed for my friends. I am the one who was jailed for the death of my loving mother. I am the one who was tried to be killed every moment of my life. I am the physician of human life, I am the scientist of human training, I am the biologist of human thoughts. I am the fighter

fighting for my eternal life. Who I am. Now you know who I am, for I am here for you my friends. Yes, I am here for my life to surrender. In death, pain I surrender. If I die for my rights, who I am.

Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

115. At the hearing on 9 July 1997, Mr Mkhumbuzi testified that his unit leader, the late Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba, had selected the target because 'whites were using churches to oppress blacks' and whites 'took our country using churches and bibles. We know and we have read from books that they are the ones who have taken the land from us'. The applicants testified before the Amnesty Committee that killing white people would 'put pressure on the white government to return the land to the African people'.

Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

130. APLA member Nkopane Diaho-Monaheng [AM3828/96] applied for amnesty for the attack. He testified before the Amnesty Committee that, as a regional commander, he was under orders from the Deputy Director of Operations of APLA to 'drive white people from the land because it did not belong to them'.

Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

141. Gqomfa said he did not carry out the operation for personal gain. The aim of the attack was to take back from whites land that had been taken from the African people through violent means. This would be achieved because the government would sit up and take notice of African people's demands in the light of ongoing attacks on white people. He said he was aware that the PAC was involved in the negotiations process at the time; but was also aware that the PAC had resolved at its December 1993 Congress to intensify the armed struggle through APLA. He said that he did not see any contradiction in the PAC (as a political party) negotiating while its armed wing, APLA, was engaged in furthering the armed struggle. He testified under cross-examination:

Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

172. The applicants explained their behaviour in the following way. They testified that earlier that day they had attended a meeting at the Langa High School, where a PASO unit had been re-launched. Peni had been elected chairperson at the meeting. Manqina was vice-chairperson of the PASO unit at the Gugulethu Comprehensive School and Nofemela was a PASO organiser at the Joe Slovo High School. The meeting was addressed by Mr Simpiwe Mfengu, the Regional Secretary of PASO; Mr Wanda Madubula, the Regional Chairperson of PASO, and many other speakers. The applicants told the Committee that speakers dealt with various issues: the strike by teachers in the Western Cape who were demanding recognition for the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU); the struggles of APLA for the return of the land to the African people, and the fact that APLA had declared 1993 as the 'Year of the Great Storm'. Reference was also made to the launching of 'Operation Barcelona', aimed at stopping all deliveries into the townships.

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

204. The Committee heard testimony that, during 1991, the PAC and APLA launched their 'Operation Great Storm', in terms of which APLA operatives were instructed to attack and to instil fear in farmers. The

applicants testified that the purpose was to drive the white farming community from their farms in order 'to get the land back'. During November 1991, APLA Commander Jan Shoba (now

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

216. Oliphant confirmed the evidence and testified that it was the objective of the PAC to wage the struggle for the return of land to the African people, which was why he was involved in that operation. When it was pointed out to Oliphant that the attack took place while negotiations were underway at Codesa (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) in which the PAC was a participant, Oliphant stated that the PAC had not suspended the armed struggle and that, while the negotiations continued, operations were conducted in order to put pressure on the government to give in to the demands of the liberation movements.

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

217. The applicants called Mr Lerato Abel Kotle, the regional commander of APLA in Bloemfontein, to give evidence about 'Operation Great Storm'. Kotle explained that 'Operation Storm' was intended as a means of intensifying the armed struggle and was decided upon by APLA's military commission, which included the political leadership of the PAC and the military leadership of APLA. He described the attacks on farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PAC believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that farmers were beneficiaries of the land taken away from the Africans.

218. The Amnesty Committee accepted the contention that the applicants had committed the offences believing they were advancing the struggle being waged by their political organisation with the aim of returning the land to the African people. The offences committed were, therefore, acts associated with a political objective. The possession of the pistol and knives used for carrying out the operation was also associated with a political objective. Amnesty was granted to the applicants [AC/1998/0020].

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

300. The Amnesty Committee heard evidence that the PAC's armed struggle was essentially a guerrilla war directed against 'the then racist minority regime which was undemocratic and oppressive'. In order to conduct the armed struggle, APLA cadres were instructed to 'seek and attack the bastions and minions' of the regime with the ultimate objective of toppling it and returning the land to the majority of the African people. This was the general directive issued to commanders and units on the ground.

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

324. The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the Conservative Party took the lead in the struggle to achieve a volkstaat, defined as any land that could be set aside for Afrikaners to pursue their quest for self-determination. Some right-wing organisations, (such as the AWB, the Orde Boerevolk and the Boerestaat Party) were more interested in restoring the actual boundaries of the former Boer republics. While different groups differed on how to acquire this nation-state, all feared being 'swamped' in the new South Africa and, for a time, were prepared to unite against the 'common enemy'. Most applications from members of the AWB refer to the common enemy as being the then NP government which appeared to be blocking their objective of self-determination.

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

i the protection of the land against imperialism;

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

17. Those who must come under special scrutiny are those who held high office, those who occupied positions of executive authority and those cabinet ministers whose portfolios did not place them in a direct supervisory capacity over the security forces. While the Commission's findings are not judicial findings, the Commission finds them to be morally and politically responsible for the gross human rights violations committed under the apartheid system, given: a the specific responsibilities of cabinet ministers who oversaw aspects of the apartheid structure in areas that formed key aspects of apartheid's inhumane social fabric (education, land removals, job reservation, the creation of the Bantustans, for example);

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

90. What emerged from the amnesty process was that geographical location played a crucial role. Living in a particular area compelled you to take sides in the conflict. In addition, clan or group loyalty often dictated from whom people received their orders. This meant that ostensible political conflicts were fused with other motives, land disputes and issues of an economic nature. Revenge and reprisals played strongly in the ongoing conflict.

Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

5. The Commission stated in its Final Report that: While the Commission takes note of the explanation tendered by the PAC that its activities in the early 1990's need to be understood in the context of the 'land wars of the time', it nevertheless finds that the PAC and Poqo were responsible for the commission of gross violations of human rights through Poqo's campaign to liberate the country. This unleashed a reign of terror, particularly in the Western Cape Townships. In the course of this campaign, the following groups suffered gross violations of their human rights: • Members of the police, particularly those living in Black townships; • The so-called 'Kataganese', dissident members of the PAC who opposed

Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

10. The PAC told the Commission that the incident needed to be understood in the context of the land wars of the time. Families were being forcibly moved from

Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

65. The question these incidents raise is whether those who became part of the apartheid system became legitimate targets as identified by the PAC. The above situation relates to but one example of the iniquity of the apartheid system, which dispossessed people of their land, often violently, and frequently replaced hereditary leadership with chiefs of their own. Yet the targeting of traditional leaders and chiefs cannot be condoned and must constitute a gross human violation. Thus the motivation for the attacks can be understood but not condoned.

Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

80. APLA and PAC operatives testified that it was part of their strategy and policy in terms of 'Operation Great Storm' that farmers would be attacked in order to drive white farmers from their farms in order to get their land back.

Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

83. In another incident, the amnesty application involved the killing of Mr John B e r n a r d Smith, also a farmer. Mr Oliphant, one of the applicants, testified that it was the objective of the PAC to wage the struggle for the r e t u r n of land to the African people, which was why he had become involved in that operation. Another applicant testified that it was part of PAC policy to intensify the armed struggle in order to strengthen the hands of the PAC in the negotiating process. He described the attacks on the farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The P A C believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that they were beneficiaries of the land taken away fro m the Africans.

Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

BELLE, Mbulelo Heathcourt (44), was severe l y beaten by the sons of the local chief at Dulcie's Neck, Transkei, on 1 October 1964, when his family was f o r c e d off their land by the traditional leaders of the are a . BELLINGAN, Felicity Catherine (33), an employee at Nedbank in Caledon Street, Uitenhage, Cape, suff e r e d s e v e r e trauma when she was taken hostage and used as a human shield by APLA operatives during a foiled bank ro b b e r y on 4 January 1994. See APLA AT TA C K S. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty for the arm e d ro b b e r y and kidnapping (AC/2000/125). BELO, Solomon Pitso (15), an ANC support e r, was shot dead when police opened fire on a student p r o t e s t march in Vi l j o e n s k r o o n, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Four other ANC supporters were killed and seven i n j u r e d in the shooting. BEMBE, Bhukumuzi Erick (31), an ANC support e r, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP at a protest meeting against rent increases in Siyathuthuka, Belfast, Tvl, on 4 January 1986. BEME, Zukiswa Eunice (14), was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Sterkspruit, Transkei, on 1 January 1990 during a consumer boycott and campaign of opposition to the chiefs. BENCINI, Irma Elfreda (49), was killed when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre on 23 December 1985, in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho in which nine people had been killed. The explosion in Amanzimtoti killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged. BENEKE, Johan (Raban) David, was injured in a hand g renade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members w e r e wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241). BENGGE, Elphie Fanigo, a UDF support e r, was attacked with a pickaxe by vigilantes outside his home in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 31 December 1985. He s u f f e r e d severe head injuries. His wife and son were also beaten in the attack. BENGGE, Mpumelelo, a CAYCO member, was s e v e r e l y beaten by vigilantes near Nyanga, Cape To w n , on 31 December 1985. His mother and father were also beaten in the attack. BENGGE, Nomahlubi Sophia (52), a UWO member, was severely beaten by vigilantes at her home in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 31 December 1985. Her husband and son were also injured in the attack. BENGU, Deliweyo Emmanuel (46), an ANC branch c h a i r m a n, was stabbed to death, and his wife was seriously injured, by named IFP supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 20 July 1991. Mr Bengu was a member of a Peace Committee facilitating negotiations between the ANC and IFP at the time.

Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

CHANKIE, Mantjebele Martha (50), an ANC support e r, was forcibly removed from her home at Moro k o l o n g near Hammanskraal, Tvl, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 25 December 1992. She was detained and her house destroyed as the police wanted to remove people from this land. CHANZA, Jacob Matheka (18), a COSAS member, was kicked and beaten with rifle butts by named members of the SAP at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, in 1992 during a search of the house for guns hidden by his activist bro t h e r. Police also tried to intimidate him into becoming an inform e r. CHANZA, Johannes (21), a COSAS member, was a rrested, beaten and tort u red at Sebokeng police station, Ve reeniging, Tvl, on 27 September 1986. CHAPI, Orphan, a member of the SAP, was shot dead by MK operatives at his home in Rockville, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 25 June 1978. Two MK operatives w e re granted amnesty (AC/1999/0257). CHAPO, Elijah Monyane (19), was partially paralysed after being shot in the head with a rubber bullet by members of the SAP in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 17 June 1985 following a June 16 commemoration s e r v i c e . CHARLES, Edward Vu y o, an MK operative and form e r UDF chairperson for Welkom, was repeatedly detained, t h reatened and tort u red by the SAP in Welkom, OFS. He is re p o rted to have gone into exile in 1985. He was killed at a police roadblock in Brandfort, OFS, on 15 December 1987, while entering South Africa from Lesotho in pursuit of MK activities. His family only learnt of his death shortly before the ANC arranged for exhumation of the body in 1991, and its reburial in We l k o m . CHARLES, Elizabeth Notobile (50), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was detained for a month and her house was damaged by members of the SAP on 9 May 1985 in Port Elizabeth. Her husband, one of the P E B C O T H R E E had disappeared the previous day. CHARLES, Rodger Neil (21), was shot with bird s h o t by a named member of the SAP on 24 October 1985, as he approached a burning barricade in Belhar, Cape. Mr Charles was charged with public violence and imprisoned for a year. CHARLES, Thozamile (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Tarkastad, Cape, on 15 July 1985, while taking part in student protests against the killing of the CR A D O C K F O U R in June 1985. CHARLIE, Jersey (38), a UDF support e r, was arre s t e d in March 1985 in Pearston, Cape, on suspicion of being involved in burning down a beerhall and school in protest against the local council. He was tort u re d under interrogation, charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. CHARLIE, Monwabisi Stanley (15), was shot and i n j u red by members of the SAP, some of whom are named, during a mass funeral in Aliwal North, Cape, on 13 August 1986. CHARLIE, Nombulelo (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during unrest in Sterkstro o m , Cape, in August 1985.

Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214). D I N WA, Nomonde, was shot and injured by a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack left three people dead, t h ree wounded and 40 houses burn t . D I N WA, Nyamaayipheli, was executed in Pretoria, on 5 April 1962 for his participation in the PO N D O L A N D R E V O L T, an extended uprising by groups in Pondoland against imposed tribal authorities and self-govern m e n t for Tr a n s k e i . D I N WA, Qhekwane, an ANC support e r, was arre s t e d in Bizana, Transkei, during the PO N D O L A N D R E V O L T. D I N WA, Vuyo Patrick (12), was shot and severe l y i n j u red by a member of the SAP on 1 May 1990, while on his way to the shops in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape. DIOKA, Keodirileng (25), a UDF support e r, was repeatedly tort u red during interrogations by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1986. DIPHOKO, Samba Joy, survived when shots were f i red into the home of the Ntsime family at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during an attempted coup d'état o n 10 Febru a ry 1988. Two Bophuthatswana Defence F o rce members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044). DIPHOKO, Zayedwa (41), died after being shot, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 6 July 1993 while on

his way to work. DIPICO, Sephiri Ignatius (21), a member of the Ikageng Civic Association, was arrested and assaulted by named members of the SAP in Potchefstroom, Tvl, in May and June 1986. Mr Dipico had helped form a s t reet committee and participated in the occupation of empty land. DIPPENAAR, Francois, a member of the SAP, was shot at during an exchange of fire with an ANC member whom the police had come to arrest on 25 Marc h 1993, in nort h e rn KwaZulu/Natal. The perpetrator was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0341). DIRANE, Jacob, an ANC support e r, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u rg, on 5 November 1986 during the state of emerg e n c y. DIREKO, Lettie Maboleta (62), was shot with a ru b b e r bullet by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during a peaceful marc h by the community to deliver a memorandum to the magistrate on 7 March 1990. D I S C O, an unidentified a s k a r i, was stabbed to death by MK operatives who were attempting to escape f rom the covert Security Branch farm, V l a k p l a a s, Tvl, a round New Year in 1981. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/215). DISEKO, George (17), an ANC support e r, was stabbed to death with a p a n g a by named perpetrators in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in November 1993 during conflict between COSAS and a newly-elected ANC branch committee in the are a .

Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

F L ATELA, Nombi Ethel (42), an ANC support e r, was detained for at least a month in solitary confinement under emergency regulations in Kimberley, Cape, in June 1986. She later experienced ongoing harassment by the Security Police until 1990. Her son, an MK operative, died in exile in Angola while serving in combat against UNITA. FLEMMER, Charles (48), was shot and fatally stabbed in Tokoza, Tvl, on 12 October 1993 after he was abducted and taken to Madala hostel during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters FLEPU, Ntsikelelo Dugmore (17), was shot and i n j u red by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people w e re killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the 'B I S H O M A S S A C R E'. Tw o members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). FLETCHER, David, was injured in what became known as the M A G O O'S B A R B O M B I N G in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). FLOYD, Liz, a trade unionist, was subjected to a campaign of harassment and intimidation by the Witwatersrand Security Branch over a number of years from June 1982. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/005). FOBE, Sobantu Munich (25), a UDF support e r, burnt to death when he was 'necklaced' by a named perpetrator on 25 June 1986 in Port Elizabeth. Mr Fobe was accused of being an inform e r. FODO, Sthembele (38), an ANC member, was abducted and taken to Vusimuzi hostel by IFP s u p p o rters, and shot dead on 7 March 1993 in Tembisa, Tvl. His colleague also died in the attack. FOKHWEBE, Amos Mxolisi (18), a member of J o u b e rton Youth Congress, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 22 May 1989 during a rent boycott and the illegal occupation of council land. FOKOTI, Nombulelo Eunice (40), had her home d e s t royed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in East London in September 1985. She was allegedly t a rgeted because her bro t h e r-in-law was a policeman. F O L E Y, Phumelele Duncan (28), a UDF support e r, was stabbed and hacked to death by named AZAPO s u p p o rters in his house during political conflict in Port Elizabeth on 30 August 1986. FOLOSI, Annah, was injured when MK operatives f rom the 'Dolphin Unit' detonated a limpet mine at the Security Branch offices in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 17 August 1984. Five members of the Security Branch and several civilians were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0003). FOLOTSI, Elizabeth Maserame, was shot and burn t to death in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 October 1993 while visiting relatives at a hostel during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Her husband was shot and b u rnt to death in the same incident.

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GOMES, CM, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. GOMFA, Agha Ernest (36), was shot dead by a member of the SAP and another named perpetrator in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 10 June 1990, while he was passing a COUNCILLOR'S house. Mr Gomfa had reportedly refused to paint the councillor's house. GONGO, Sylvia Nocawe (27), lost her home as a result of conflict in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 3 December 1983, and in KTC in January 1988. The day before the second attack, her husband was stabbed to death by UDF supporters during conflict in KTC relating to issues of housing and political organisation. GONGQOBA, Fezile Alfred (22), was shot dead during political conflict in Port Elizabeth, on 2 July 1985. At the time police were patrolling the streets. GONGWANE, Ntombizanele Mavis (35), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in December 1993, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. GONGXEKA, Sydney Zwelakhe (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 27 December 1976, after conflict during the Christmas 1976 period between township residents and migrant workers in the hostels had spread to Langa. GONIWE, Danile Thomas (43), lost his home in an arson attack in Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1988. The attack was part of a series of actions by a named Crossroads leader to drive opponents out and obtain their land for upgrading purposes. GONIWE, Fumanekile (15), was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters, led by a named perpetrator, at Zwelitsha stadium in King William's Town, Cape. The perpetrators were allegedly assisting the Ciskei Police. GONIWE, Mabotsheliso Paul (62), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). GONIWE, Matthew, a UDF activist, was one of the CRADOCK FOURO abducted by the Eastern Cape Security Branch while travelling to Cradock, on 27 June 1985. He was stabbed near Port Elizabeth, after which his body was burnt. Six Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were refused amnesty for the killings. The commander of Vlakplaas was granted amnesty for his knowledge of the incident (AC/1999/0350). GONTSHI, Nkosinathi Alfred (34), was shot and injured when APLA members carried out an attack on

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during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Two others were killed and Ms Jiliza was reportedly paralysed as a result of her injuries. JIM, Richard (34), a taxi driver, was paralysed in a shooting at the Nyanga terminus, Cape Town, on 10 August 1991, during conflict between opposing taxi associations, which acquired a political dimension due to perceptions of political affiliation. See TAXI VIOLENCE. JIMLONGO, Myoyo Simon (37), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992 during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system. JINGANA, Lizo Livingstone (44), was stabbed and injured by UDF supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 30 September 1985, for refusing their request not to sell liquor to AZAPO and AMAAFRIKAS supporters. JINGELA, Bekabakubo Paulos (44), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by the AMAVARRA in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in 1992. JINIKWE, Hilton Vusumzi, an ANC supporter, disappeared in April 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape, together with his friend with whom he was planning to go into exile. He has not been seen since. JININEKA, Mzonke Ben (64), an ANC supporter, was sentenced in 1960 to five years in prison in Kokstad, Natal, where he was

beaten with rifle butts and sjamboks . He had participated in the NO N Q U L W A N A r e s i s t a n c e , which challenged apartheid legislation in Tr a n s k e i . JININEKA, Ndaleko, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) s o l d i e r, was injured during an AT T E M P T E D C O U P I N U M T A T A, TR A N S K E I, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF s o l d i e r s w e r e killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six V l a k p l a s operatives were granted amnesty for providing arm s for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in s u p p o rting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199). JININEKA, Nelson (23), an ANC member, was assaulted with sticks by SADF and SAP members while in detention in Kokstad and Bizana prisons in June 1960. In the PO N D O L A N D R E V O L T, Mr Jinineka had taken part in the protest against the allocation of land to whites in r e t u r n for money. JININEKA, Ziphate, an ANC member, was imprisoned for two years for his role in the PO N D O L A N D R E V O L T i n Transkei during 1960. JI YANE, Isaiah (47), was killed by IFP supporters when he was thrown off a moving train near Denver station, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 28 March 1994. Several people were killed on trains that day in reaction to the shootings that had taken place at the ANC headquarters at Shell H o u s e . J I YANE, Jemimah, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Kwa-Guga, Witbank, Tvl, on 16 July 1985 during conflict caused by a school boycott in the township. Her unborn baby was also killed in the incident. J I YANE, Mary Monyadiwe, was severely beaten by members of the IM B O K O D O vigilante group in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. IM B O K O D O v i g i l a n t e s

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KEKANA, Perry, was detained and tort u red by members of the Lebowa Police in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 4 April 1985 for allegedly taking part in an illegal gathering. KEKANA, Phatsa, a member of the SAP, was shot and i n j u red by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 29 January 1988. The perpetrators ambushed and fired at the police vehicle, injuring four persons. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One w i t h d rew his application and the other was granted amnesty (AC/2000/134). KEKANA, Tlhabane Maxwell Silas (24), was kidnapped by a group allegedly hired by Chief Mangope in Majaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, in January 1993. He managed to escape, but Chief Mangope then destro y e d his community and brickworks were built on their land. KEKANE, Theodisha Thenjiwe (4), was run over by a police H i p p o and killed in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 15 September 1986 during mounting student unrest in the area . KEKE, B, suff e red severe ill-treatment and damage to p r o p e rty on 17 June 1992 in the BO I PAT O N G M A S S A C R E i n Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators w e r e granted amnesty; a further three applications w e r e refused (AC/2000/209). KELE, George Molelle (17), was shot dead when members of the SAP clashed with protesters in Bothaville, OFS, in March 1990, during a pro t e s t m a rch against P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. Two others were killed and several injured in the shooting. KELEMI, Lesley Sindephi 'Basi' (13), lost an eye after being shot with rubber bullets by members of the SAP in De Aar, Cape, on 1 July 1985. Mr Kelemi was re p o rtedly arrested on charges of public violence and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. KELEWU, Buyile Robert (27), a member of the Ciskei Police, was shot dead on 14 August 1992 when his police vehicle was ambushed in Mdantsane, Ciskei. At the time, police were perceived as collaborators with the Gqozo regime in the Ciskei. KELI, Emily Mkajela (41), was assaulted and detained by a named member of the SAP during protests in P o r t Elizabeth, in 1985. KELLEME, Jongisiswe Witness (23), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Beaufort West, Cape, on 4 August 1992, during a three-day national strike called to break the deadlock in national political negotiations. K E M P, Johannes Corn e l i u s, a civilian, died fro m multiple stab wounds sustained in a random attack on whites by PAC supporters on the Durban beachfro n t on 9 October 1990. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144). K E M P, M, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air F o rce (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pre t o r i a , on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed

and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

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KETANI, Patricia Nontsikelelo (36), a SACCAP member, was beaten and kicked by members of the Ciskei Police in Ciskei during the MANDATSBOUTT in August 1983. KETLHAPILE, Elizabeth Serufo, was severely beaten and teargassed by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 19 May 1989 during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the Bafurutshe people's land into Bophuthatswana. KETLHAPILE, Lucas Poloko, was detained, handcuffed and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 19 May 1989. Mr Ketlapile resisted the INCORPORATION of Mokgola into Bophuthatswana. KETLHAPILE, Nkele (23), was severely beaten and teargassed by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 19 May 1989 during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the Bafurutshe people's land into Bophuthatswana. KETSE, Sylvia Vuyelwa (29), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGASHOOTING. KETSHABILE, Mogagabi George (12), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 13 September 1990 while watching demonstrators from a tree during political conflict in the township. KETSHENGANA, Sigaqa Mziwandile (27), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 15 June 1986, while participating in a march to commemorate the SOUTHERN AFRICAN. KETSISE, Moeketsi Moses (20), was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KETHIKHESWAGANG in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 May 1992 during the gang's reign of terror. A number of criminal gangs supported the IFP in their conflict with the ANC. KEWUTE, Kululekile Simon (42), member of a civic association, was shot and seriously injured in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 7 July 1991, by named and other supporters of the local town COUNCILLOWS under mayor Mali Hoza. KEWUTI, Yoliswa Shiyiwe (31), a SANCO member, was assaulted with sjamboks and rifle-butts by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). Ms Kewuti had been severely tortured in detention ten days prior to the Bisho shootings. KEYE, Madoda Jeffrey, an underground ANC member, was convicted of high treason and imprisoned for eight years on Robben Island from April 1965. In June 1981 he was detained in Mdantsane, Ciskei, and was severely tortured by named members of the SAP at West Bank prison. Mr Keye became mentally ill as a result. He was sentenced to a further three years in prison for his political affiliation and was finally released in 1987.

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blocked the road in an attempt to prevent ANC supporters from reaching the court. KOKA, Maphutha Frans (22), was beaten to death after he was abducted by two named members of the Lebowa Police in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 8 May 1986. KOKI, George, sustained facial burns when his home was petrol-bombed by IFP supporters at Ipelegeng, Schweizer Reneke, Tvl, on 16 July 1993. KOKI, Mamokgele Roslyn (42), lost five teeth and had her jaw broken when she was severely beaten with a rifle butt by a member of the SAP in Ipelegeng, Schweizer Reneke, Tvl, on 1 August 1990. Ms Koki was erecting shacks in a land occupation during a community rent and consumer boycott. KOKOANA, Mosiuoa Agustinus (33), a member of an ANCSelf-Defence Unit (SDU), was severely beaten by SAP members in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS, on 19 February 1991, allegedly because he was thought to be in possession of fire a

rms with which the SDU was protecting the community against attack by members of the TH R E E M I L L I O N G A N G. KOKOME, Betty Onini (15), was run over and killed by a police vehicle in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, on 11 February 1991 during school boycotts to protest against the area's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. KOLA, Elizabeth Mmanthadi (51), had her house and its contents destroyed by supporters of rival chief Sampson Mahlangu in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1980 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. KOLA, Khobotla Lazarus, was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). KOLA, Thomas, was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1980 and died several days later in hospital during conflict over the recognition of Chief Mahlangu. KOLE, Mputhi Philip Makirimane (60), a member of PPP, was detained and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 11 February 1988. KOLE, Ntafi David (37), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, on 31 December 1990 during community resistance to Mangope's rule. KOLISANG, Daniel Khopotso (23), was tortured and beaten several times by members of the SAP at Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, in October 1991 because he refused to kill ANC and SACP leaders in the Transvaal. At the time, police were allegedly bribing 'comrades' to work for them. KOLISANG, Petrus Lepekola (53), was detained in Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 11 June 1986, allegedly because he was holding illegal meetings with the youth during a rent boycott in the area. KOLISANG, Tsepiso Faith (16), a COSAS member, was detained for six months by members of the SAP

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opposition to the Trust Land Act. It is believed that he later died due to the injuries he sustained while in prison. MAKGAJE, Moshe Moses (31), was shot dead by a named member of the Lebowa Police in the street in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 7 March 1986. Police claimed that youths were stoning public transport when the policeman opened fire, killing Mr Makgae and wounding another. The perpetrator was found not guilty on charges of murder because of contradictory evidence by state witnesses. MAKGAJANE, Maria Dimakatso (36), was forced from her home by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 16 March 1992 after conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC supporters. MAKGALA, Philip Willie (23), a PAC member, was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Springs, Tvl, on 21 April 1963. He was charged under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. MAKGALAMELE, Potoka Franzar, a taxi driver, was fatally stabbed and shot by a member of the Order van die Dood on 29 August 1989. The Amnesty Committee held that the perpetrator carried out the killing in order to satisfy himself that he was capable of carrying out his duties as an assassin and to fulfil the requirements for initiation into the Order. The applicant was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0025). MAKGALE, Christopher Ntshimane (48), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in custody by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, in 1991. He was accused of killing a Mangope tribal appointee. MAKGALE, Robert Bashana (49), was detained for three weeks by the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, in October 1988 during conflict between President Mangope and another chief over control of platinum mines. MAKGALE, Thulani Malinga, was injured when a limpet mine, placed under a police van by members of the 'Basil February' MK unit, exploded at the Duduza stadium, Tvl, on 11 June 1989. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attempted murder (AC/2000/158). MAKGALEMELE, Agnes, (13) was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township. MAKGALEMELE, Anna, (33) was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township.

MAKGALEMELE, Isaac, was stabbed by IFP support er s in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township. MAKGALEMELE, Mmapheto Sinah (15), was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township.

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a s k a r i s for supposed military training. The house they w e re staying in was set alight and their bodies were b u r n t beyond recognition. See N I E T V E R D I E N D A M B U S H. MALOKA, Matlaka Julia , was severely injured and s u f f e r e d damage to pro p e r t y on 17 June 1992 in the B O I P A T O N G M A S S A C R E in Boipatong, near Va n d e r b i j l p a r k , Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously i n j u r e d. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a f u r t h e r three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MALOKA, Molefe Abel (45), an ANC support e r , was detained for 31 days during 1990 by the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, under emerg e n c y regulations, still in force in this area. In 1961 Mr Maloka was deprived of his chieftainship and had his land confiscated. In 1984 when his cattle strayed onto land f o r m e r l y owned by him, his hand was broken during s e v e r e beating by a named perpetrator. MALOKA, Motlhoki Paulus (41), was arrested and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Maboloko near Brits, Tvl, in September 1976 for suspected involvement in acts of violence in the community during conflict over the chieftancy. MALOKE, Charles T o k e l o , was shot dead by members of the M U N I C I P A L P O L I C E in Kliptown, Soweto, on 26 August 1986 while they were trying to evict r e s i d e n t s during a rent boycott. MALOMA, Sibonsile Phumzile (15) was shot by members of the SAP in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 13 Febru a r y 1986 during a student pro t e s t . M A L O N E Y, Christian C , was severely injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened f i r e on patrons at the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 Febru a r y 1994. One person was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. See APLA AT T A C K S. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016). MALOPE, Andr e w , a Brigadier in the Bophuthatswana Police was shot and killed by MK operatives at Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, during August 1986. Amnesty applicants testified that Mr Malope was allegedly targeted because he was implicated in n u m e r o u s cases of assault and tort u r e of political detainees. Four MK members were granted amnesty (A C / 1 9 9 8 / 0 0 4 8) . MALOPE, Beauty (21), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 2 9 4) . MALOPE, Edward (16), was re p o r t e d to the Commission as having disappeared from his home in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1976. The Commission established that Mr Malope joined MK and operated under the name of 'Joseph "Makero" Masimini'. In 1984, he was executed by firing squad in Angola in 1984 on the orders of an ANC military tribunal, following a mutiny in the Pango camp. See ANC C A M P S. MALOPE, Johannes Lekgoa , was shot dead by IFP s u p p o r t e r s in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 in the

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Tvl, on 30 November 1991 during political conflict in the are a . MASHABANE, Solomon Ngungunyane , a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped handg renade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See O P E R AT I O N Z E R O Z E R O. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058). M A S H A B ATAGA, Thomas , was detained by members of the Venda Police at Vleifontein, Tvl, on 16 May 1986 during conflict about the I N C O R P O R AT I O N of Vleifontein into Ve n d a . MASHABELA, Annah

Mokgadi (19), was beaten by named members of the Lebowa Police at Pietersburg, Tvl, on 2 January 1987 after she was accused with others of killing their i n d u n a s. MASHABELA, Hendrick Ramphelare (20), was t o r t u r e d in Driekop, OFS, in 1961, during a clampdown on opposition to State-imposed tribal authorities in Sekhukhuneland. Mr Mashabela was released when he promised to turn his father in to the police. He immediately fled the area, r e t u r n i n g only months later when he was informed that his father had been detained. His father was never seen again. MASHABELA, Lenga Alpheus, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured when his SAP tracking unit ambushed an MK unit of seven members, in Ellisras, Tvl, on 8 August 1988. One SAP member was killed and three others were injured in the confrontation. An MK operative was also killed. One MK operative was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/2000/081). MASHABELA, Marule Klaas (62), had her home damaged in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 25 January 1986 during a land dispute between two chiefs in the area. MASHABELA, Mogorosi (47), was severely beaten by a named perpetrator at Rustenburg, Tvl, on 10 December 1978. Mr Mashabela was called to a chief's house where he was assaulted by a security guard under orders of the chief. MASHABELA, Petros Patrick (22), a member of the Vaal Triangle Student Movement (VTSM), was harassed by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 1 August 1977. The VTSM visited schools to teach students about politics. Due to harassment Mr Mashabela was f o r c e d to flee his home. MASHABELA, Sethaba Johannes (38), was abducted f r o m his home in Moteti, KwaNdebele, by I M B O K O D O vigilantes on 1 January 1986. He was assaulted at Siyabuswa community hall with hundreds of others in attacks led by named KwaNdebele govern m e n t o f f i c i a l s , designed to suppress resistance to I N C O R P O R A T I O N into KwaNdebele. MASHAKANE, Piletji Wellington (44), had his house b u r n t down on 2 Febru a r y 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashakane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence f r o m South Africa.

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in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993. See ' R E D ' A N D ' G R E E N ' F A C T I O N S. MBALI, Thembeke Eunice (20), a member of an A N C - s u p p o r t i n g youth organisation, was beaten and i n j u r e d by members of the Ciskei Police in Berlin, Cape, on 21 September 1985, when police used sjamboks to disperse a crowd holding a meeting in the area. MBALIGONTSI, V u l i n d l e l a , an ANC support e r , was attacked and killed by supporters of Chief Mdutshane in F l a g s t a f f , Transkei, on 1 March 1994. Prior to his death he had attended a meeting called by Chief Samuel Mdutshane, where ANC supporters were either killed or stabbed. He escaped unharmed and there a f t e r refused to attend any meetings convened by the chief. L a t e r , while attending to his business, he was shot dead by supporters of the chief. MBALI-POTO, Thamsanqa (22), a COSAS member, was killed in the Battle of Motale in Noordvaal, Tvl, in 1989. He had fled the country after harassment by members of the SAP. MBALISO, Banoyi, a iKongo member, was severe l y beaten while in police custody in 1960. See P O N D O L A N D R E V O L T. MBALO, Michael Mfundisi (20), a COSAS member, was detained in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1985. MBALO, Mini Agnes (73), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, in 1986, because her grandsons were political activists. One of them, Sammy Zandisile Mjobo, was shot dead in the G U G U L E T U S E V E N i n c i d e n t . MBALULA, Nobekile (39), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 4 July 1993 during a p r o t e s t in Venterstad, Cape. M B A L W A , Coster, a local chief, lost his house in arson attack by ANC supporters in May 1960 at Nikiwe, near Bizana, Transkei. Chiefs in the area were allegedly t a r g e t e d as they were accused of favouring Trust land. MBAMBANI, Thobeka Sylvia (32), an ANC support e r , was shot by members of the SAP during a stayaway in Elliot, Cape, in March 1990. MBAMBAZA, Nomvulazana Ellen (38), was severe l y beaten by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth in 1986, while she was attending a mass funeral for 12 people killed in political unre s t . MBAMBO, Andrias Mduduzi, a UDF support e r , was shot and burnt to death in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 October 1988, in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the

are a . MBAMBO, Anna Nomusa (30), an ANC support e r, was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 6 May 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC support e r s in the are a . MBAMBO, Bangeni Lingani (38), lost her house in an arson attack in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N AT TA C K S. MBAMBO, Bantwanyana John (58), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, had his house in Imbali, Pieterm a r i t z b u r g , b u r n t down by Inkatha supporters on 31 January 1990 during intensifying political conflict in the are a .

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shot dead by named members of the SAP in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 October 1993, after he had been arrested on suspicion of involvement in MK activities. Mr Mbili was taken, h a n d c u f f e d, to a forest for a pointing-out, and was fatally wounded in a hand grenade explosion and the shooting by the police. MBINDA, Mpumelelo Ashwelli (43), had his house b u r n t down and was severely beaten by IFP support e r s in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1991. Soweto and many other Transvaal townships were embroiled in political conflict between IFP and ANC support e r s . MBINDA, Philton Mntuyedwa (37), an ANC support e r, was detained by members of the SAP for attending a meeting to protest against the Trust Land Act in 1960 at Endlovu, Bizana, Transkei. While in detention, he was severely tort u r e d .

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MBINGO, Christopher , a member of the SAP, was stabbed and stoned to death by a group of ANC s u p p o r t e r s at Elukwatini, KaNgwane, on 14 September 1990. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 1 / 1 3 7) . MBINQO, Mpumelelo , was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 Febru a r y 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Mr Mbingo and t h r e e others were burnt to death while one surv i v e d with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049). MBITYO, Vuyiswa Gladys (35), was shot and severe ly i n j u r e d in a random shooting by members of the SAP during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 March 1985. M B I W A, Mankwekwe Ben (57), was hacked to death by IFP supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, on 22 August 1990 during conflict between IFP and ANC support e r s . MBIXANE, Mzwandile (3), was shot by members of the 'Amatshaka' MU N I C I P A L P O L I C E in Febru a r y 1987 at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. MBIXANE, Nceba Mpimpi (14), was 'necklaced' to death by named police collaborators in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, in August 1986 during a state of emerg e n c y. MBIZA, Witnes Gezani (29), an ANC support e r, was tear gassed and shot in the left eye when members of the Bophuthatswana Police fired on a crowd gathere d to protest against police brutality at City Rocks stadium, Wi n t e r v e l d, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. See CI T Y R O C K S S H O O T I N G. MBIZANA, Justice Mfulathelwa (aka 'Mandla') , an MK operative, was abducted by members of the N o r t h e r n Transvaal Security Branch in September 1986 and taken to a farm in the Hammanskraal area, Tvl. He was severely tort u r e d and, after several days, taken to a spot near Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, where he was killed. His body was blown up using a landmine, to make it appear that he had blown himself up while laying the mine. Ten Nort h e r n Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Seven applications were granted and three refused (AC/2001/248). MBIZANA, Sibongiseni Simon (19), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was shot dead at KwaMnyandu railway station, Umlazi, Durban, on 14 April 1993. Mr Mbizana was allegedly re t u r n i n g from a prayer meeting after the assassination of Chris Hani when he was shot, allegedly by IFP supporters who opposed the memorial serv i c e . MBIZANE, Bhanoyi (54), an ANC support e r, had his home in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by IFP s u p p o r t e r s in November 1991. Mr Mbizane was allegedly thought to be harbouring ANC support e r s . MBIZO, Modi (30), a PAC member, was executed in P r e t o r i a

Central prison, on 9 May 1963. He was sentenced to death for killing a headman in the Cofimvaba district, Transkei during protests against forced removals and the Trust Land Act.

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September 1990. The attackers moved through three marriages, killing about 26 people. See TRAIN V I O L E N C E. MDINISO, Mafika David (17), an ANCYL supporter, was detained in Bethal, Tvl, on 14 January 1991 and tortured by named members of the SAP at Bethal, Ermelo and Davel police stations and at a shooting range. He was reportedly one of a group of young people detained and assaulted after police raided the homes of political activists looking for AK47s. MDISHWA, Zimisele, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP supporters retaliating against the expulsion of IFP supporters from the area by ANC supporters. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were destroyed. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence. MDITSHWA, Florence Nomabala (34), the wife of a local chief, was assaulted by members of IKONGO in Bizana, Transkei, on 2 December 1960. Persons associated with chiefs were targeted in the belief that they were collaborating with the government. See PONDOLAND REVOLT. MDITSHWA, Stanford, was killed by members of IKONGO on 2 December 1960 in Bizana, Transkei. Chief Mditshwa was allegedly accused of being an informer and a sell-out to the apartheid government. Chiefs who supported the self-governance of Transkei were targeted by activists because they were believed to be involved in the redistribution of land. See PONDOLAND REVOLT. MDIYA, Lungisani, was severely beaten by members of the Security Branch in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana,

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MDLALOSE, Bheki (32), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. MDLALOSE, Butana Wilmoth (54), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, while waiting for a bus to take him to work in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 20 September 1992. MDLALOSE, Caro (23), an ANC member, was shot dead in a revenge attack by a former councillor and member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Daveyton, Tvl, on 11 June 1991. MDLALOSE, Elliot Bhudiza (28), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in April 1991. The perpetrators allegedly accused Mr Mdlalose of being an ANC supporter. MDLALOSE, Ephrem Maswelindoda (21), was severely beaten and stabbed by IFP supporters in Mandini, Natal, on 27 April 1994, the first day of the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Mdlalose was wearing an ANC cap when he was assaulted. MDLALOSE, Fangithini Petros, was killed in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 9 October 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MDLALOSE, Fikile Irene (57), an IFP supporter, was severely beaten and had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 22 March 1994 after she had joined an IFP march. ANC supporters, trying to disrupt the march, shot dead a marcher from Ms Mdlalose's house. Believing her to be an ANC supporter, IFP marchers then burnt her home down and attacked her. Police standing nearby allegedly did nothing to assist her. MDLALOSE, Frans, a member of the SAP, was killed when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003). MDLALOSE, Jabulani (47), the son of a former chief, had his home in Vryheid, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters and the KWAZULU POLICE on 28 November 1990. Mr Mdlalose was involved in a land dispute with the new, government-appointed chief, who was supported by the IFP. MDLALOSE, Jabulisile Julia (38), had her home in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down

by ANC supporters on 7 September 1987, allegedly because the family was perceived to be associated with an Inkatha support e r. Ms Mdlalose's husband was killed in the attack. MDLALOSE, Knowledge , disappeared from Durban in 1992. He had been a member of the SRC at the University of Natal. He has not been seen since. MDLALOSE, Madoda Simon (29), an ANC support e r, was shot dead by members of the SAP at his home in Vryheid, Natal, on 19 April 1990. Police were allegedly looking for his nephew when they shot Mr Mdlalose, allegedly in self-defence.

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She was then detained for three days at Houtkop c h a rge off i c e . MONYE, Lenah , was severely assaulted on 9 October 1988 at Taung, Bophuthatswana, by Bophuthatswana Police who dispersed a tribal meeting called to discuss the chieftaincy. MONYE, Loosboy , was assaulted on 9 October 1988 at Taung, Bophuthatswana, by Bophuthatswana Police who dispersed a tribal meeting called to discuss the c h i e f t a i n c y. MONYE, Nananyane Susan (22), was severe l y beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 9 October 1988 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, during conflict between the Bophuthatswana govern m e n t and an opposing chief. MONYEBODI, Kwena Johannes (35), had his home b u r n t down on 2 Febru a r y 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Monyebodi resisted Lebowa's proposed independence f r o m South Africa. MONYEKI, Caiphas , an ANC member, was shot dead at Maropong, Moutse, KwaNdebele, by named perpetrators. Mr Monyeke was killed in a dispute over land allocation by the local chief. M O N Y E M O R A T H O, Moditsha Andries (30), was beaten, suffocated and tear-gassed in January 1986 in P i e t e r s b u r g, Tvl, by alleged CCB members who re p o r t e d l y wanted him to confess to receiving ord e r s f r o m Oliver Tambo to make the country 'ungovern a b l e'. A f t e r w a r d s CCB members harassed him constantly in the presence of pupils at the school where he was a t e a c h e r. M O N Y E P A O, Daniel Lucas (32), was severely beaten with rifle butts by members of the SADF 32 Battalion in his shack in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 April 1992. Mr Monyepao was one of more than 100 Phola Park residents, including women and teenagers, who were assaulted by members of the Battalion after a member of the SADF was shot and injured in the area. Tw o women were also shot dead and at least four raped during the raid. An investigation by Justice Goldstone

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M O T A U N G, Joseph Makhwakhwa (24), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, V e r e n i g i n g, Tvl, on 3 September 1984. A police o f f i c e r 's house had been burnt down by youth in the township that day. M O T A U N G, Josphina Mamokete (53), lost her thre e houses in an arson attack in 1976 at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana during conflict over the chieftaincy of the are a . M O T A U N G, Judith Fikile (28), an ANC member, was detained in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, by members of the SAP from 16 June 1976 because of her participation in the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. M O T A U N G, Kgomotso Alfred (16), was shot and paralysed in 1990 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, when members of the SAP opened fire on demonstrators protesting against the selling of land by the Bophuthatswana govern m e n t . M O T A U N G, Khotso Joshua (48), lost his house in an arson attack in 1976 at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the chieftaincy of the are a . M O T A U N G, Lekgotla Ezekiel (17), a COSAS member, was detained and tort u r e d under the partial state of e m e r g e n c y in 1985 and again under the nationwide state of emergency in 1986 by named members of the SAP at the Houtkop police station in Sebokeng, Tvl. M O T A U N G, Malefetsane Johannes (20), a COSAS m e m b e r, was severely beaten with sjamboks and tort u r e d by named SAP members in Petrus Steyn, OFS, on 12 August 1987, allegedly because he had been part i c i p a t i n g in a protest during a S C H O O L B O Y C O T T. He has experienced a partial loss of sight and severe back p r o b l e m s, due to a spinal cord injury, since the beating. M O T A U N G, Maria , suff e r e d severe ill-treatment and damage to pro p e r t y during the B O I P A T O N G M A S S A C R E b y IFP

supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). M O TAUNG, Mikia (50), had his home in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, burnt down during conflict over the chieftaincy in the area on 8 May 1977. M O TAUNG, Modiemi Elizabeth (14), was shot dead by alleged IFP supporters in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE on 17 June 1992. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police. M O TAUNG, Morena Samuel, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 June 1993 during the 'Vaal monster' reign of terror in the area. See KHETISIKHESWAGANG. M O TAUNG, Ntamakhala Dyke (33), was severely beaten on 24 July 1987 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. M O TAUNG, Paseka George, was assaulted and abducted, together with one other person, by a group of COSAS students in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 October 1988. The two were allegedly state witnesses in trials against 'comrades'. They escaped serious injury when

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member from Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead in an ANC safe house on 16 December 1984 in Manzini, Swaziland. The incident occurred soon after the ANC had been banned in Swaziland and at a time when there were several shooting incidents involving Swazi and South African Security Branch operatives. NGCOBO, Anna (70), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMONDFARM ARSON AT TACKS. NGCOBO, Bahle Florence (39), was severely beaten with rifle-butts by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, in March 1990. Ms Ngcobo had purchased land on the edge of an ANC area in Umlazi, and had been harassed by Inkatha supporters who branded her an ANC supporter. This attack occurred when members of the KWAZULU POLICE responded to a call for help. Ms Ngcobo was unable to occupy her property due to the intimidation. NGCOBO, Bajabulile Doris (45), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT TACKS.

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NQUMAKO, Dora Hlobozani, was shot dead in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 July 1992. The return of busloads of IFP supporters from a mass funeral in Durban had sparked intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. NQUMAKO, Thethani, lost her house and her belongings at Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in an arson attack by unidentified IFP supporters on 15 March 1994, during a period of political conflict. NQUMSE, Afrika Lorence, was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters in George, Cape, on 12 March 1986. He was accused of being a collaborator since he was working for the council that was forcibly removing people from Lawaai kamp to Tembletu. NQUMSE, Zibonele Edward (38), a self-defence unit (SDU) member, was shot and injured by members of the Security Forces while participating in an SDU patrol in Phola Park informal settlement in Tokoza, Tvl, on 6 April 1992. Two days later two women were shot dead, four were raped and more than 100 Phola Park residents were assaulted by members of the SADF 32 Battalion which was deployed in the area as a peacekeeping force. NQWALA, Zamide Terrence (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). NQWAZI, Khululekile, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UM TATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990.

Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six V l a k p l a a s operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199). NQWELE, Mncedisi Rooi (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in D U N C A N V I L L A G E, East London, on 13 August 1985. NQWENANI, Maphangwana, was brutally assaulted and his home and livestock were destroyed by members of the Transkei Police and other named perpetrators in Lady Fre re, Transkei, in February 1980, allegedly because he refused to adhere to an eviction order issued by the Transkei Government. This happened during the implementation of the Trust Land Act in the area. NQWENANI, Marikeni (28), was brutally assaulted at his home by members of the Transkei Police and other named perpetrators in Lady Fre re, Transkei, in February 1980, allegedly because he refused to adhere to an eviction order issued by the Transkei government. This happened during the implementation of the Trust Land Act in the area.

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P H A T O, Makulana, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted in 1960 in the Bizana police station, T r a n s k e i, after participating in meetings held to discuss the introduction of the Trust Land Act. P H A W E, Lephoi Nape, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ipelegeng, Schweizer Reneke, Tvl, during clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in 1993. PHEFO, Solomon Chippa, was stabbed to death on 29 October 1985 in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, during clashes between AZAPO and UDF supporters. PHEHLANE, Edward T s h u d i, was severely injured when he was assaulted and stabbed during an attack on his family by S E L F - D E F E N C E U N I T (SDU) members in B r a n d f o r t, OFS, on 14 July 1991. His mother was killed in the attack and his younger brother Patrick was injured. The family store was set alight. Mr Phehlane's father, Morgan, previously an ANC supporter, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Patrick Phehlane (AC/1997/0043). PHEHLANE, Morgan Sebata (67), was the target of an attempt on his life when S E L F - D E F E N C E U N I T (SDU) members attacked his home and family in Brandfort, OFS, on 14 July 1991. His wife was killed, his two sons severely injured, and his home and store were burnt down in the attack. Mr Phehlane, previously an ANC supporter, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of his son, Patrick Phehlane (AC/1997/0043). PHEHLANE, Patrick (14), was severely injured when he was repeatedly stabbed during an attack on his family by S E L F - D E F E N C E U N I T (SDU) members in B r a n d f o r t, OFS, on 14 July 1991. His mother was killed in the attack and his older brother Edward was injured. The family store was set alight. Mr Phehlane's father, Morgan, previously an ANC supporter, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Patrick (AC/1997/0043). PHEHLANE, Susan Mosela, was brutally murdered and her body burnt, when the family store was set alight by S E L F - D E F E N C E U N I T (SDU) members in Brandfort, OFS, on 14 July 1991. Her two sons were also severely injured in the attack. It was alleged that Ms Phehlane, her husband, Morgan, a once respected ANC leader, and their family, were suspected of collaborating with the NP government, as they were members of the local council, and were therefore regarded as traitors and opposed to the UDF/ANC alliance. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Ms Phehlane's son, Patrick (AC/1997/0043).

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seriously injured with rifle butts by members of the SAP in March 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, because he refused to be taken to the police station in a hearse. Mr Rabotapi and others were accused of trespassing when clearing a piece of land for occupation. He could not afford to pay the fine and was denied medical attention during his detention. After his release, he was hospitalised and is now disabled as a result of the injuries he sustained in the beating. RABOTAPI, Thokoane John (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING on 25 May 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl.

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SUPPOTER, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter at KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 September 1988. SALAGAE, Isaac Mothoosela (30), was severely assaulted by Bophuthatswana Police in Tugela, Bophuthatswana, during September 1988. He was attending a community meeting that demanded the return of Chief Mankuroane when it was violently dispersed by Bophuthatswana security forces. SALI, George Mncedisi (17), an ANC supporter, was left a paraplegic after being shot by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 2 January 1994. SALI, John Delekile (56), was left a paraplegic after being assaulted by members of the SAP during conflict between the community residents and the police in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in June 1986. SALIE, Shamiel (29), an employee at Nedbank in Caledon Street, Uitenhage, Cape, suffered severe trauma when he was taken hostage and used as a human shield by APLA operatives during a foiled bank robbery on 4 January 1994. See APLA ATTACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty for the armed robbery and kidnapping (AC/2000/125). SALIWA, Mveleli Thanduxolo (22), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention by members of the Security Branch in East London in 1981. SALIWA, Mzolisi Wellington (23), was detained and tortured on 17 November 1987 in Zeerust Police station, Tvl, after being arrested at the Bophuthatswana border on his way to Botswana. SALIWA, Ndawoyakhe Mnywabe (55) lost his house when it was burnt down by named persons in Keilands, Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1977. He and others were forcefully removed from their land by the authority of Kaizer Matanzima. SALIWA, Zihlalele Ntane, a traditional headman, was stabbed to death by a named person during political conflict in Boomplaas, Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1983. His supporters had been forcibly removed from their land in Keilands by the Transkei authorities, and moved to Boomplaas. SALMAN, Welile (30), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on

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1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE. SEDIBE, Glorius 'Glory' Lefoshie (aka 'September' or 'Lucas Seme'), a senior MK commander, was abducted by Vlakplaas and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives whilst in custody at the Mankanyane Police Station, Swaziland, on 13 August 1986. Following his abduction, Mr Sedibe was recruited to work for Vlakplaas and later for SADF Military Intelligence. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commanders of the Eastern Transvaal and of Vlakplaas, were granted amnesty for the abduction (AC/2001/094). SEDIBE, Sareta Sarah (50), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted and thrown out of her home, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, by IFP supporters on 1 March 1991. Alexandra was tense after numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents. SEDIBANYANE, Nthabiseng (41), lost her home in an arson attack by alleged followers of Chief Tshajwa on 11 December 1976 in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana. There was conflict in the area between Chief Tshajwa and Chief Lion at the time. SEDUMEDI, Olga (14), was shot by members of the SAP on 19 June 1976 in Molapo, Soweto, Johannesburg, during the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING. SEDUMEDI-ZINGENI,

Boshalala Martha, fell and broke her ribs trying to escape an attack by IFP supporters in 1990 at the Merafe hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, following the announcement by the IFP that it was to become a political party. This decision resulted in an extensive recruitment campaign in hostels. Hosteldwellers who refused to join the IFP were targeted. SEDUTLA, Lambert Mangopo (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in 1990 in Winterville, Bophuthatswana. At the time residents were handing a memorandum to the Chief Magistrate on issues including unfair treatment by police, unfair education practices, discrimination at schools and the findings of the Smith Commission into the Winterville massacre. SEEISO, John Gaopalelwa (38), was shot in the leg and arm by members of the South African Police on 12 September 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl. Mr. Seeiso is paralysed as a result of the shooting which occurred during growing tension between IFP and ANC supporters. Police were accused of being partial and failing to protect the community against indiscriminate attacks. SEEMA, Charlie Charles Steven (30), a member of the Dobsonville Civic Association, was beaten, tortured and detained for 14 days by a named and other members of the Municipal Police in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in July 1990 for erecting a shack on a councillor's land without permission. SEEMA, Edward, had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seema resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

Reference 193 - 0.01% Coverage

was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP while in custody at Calitzdorp, Cape. He was charged with furthering the aims of a banned organisation and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. SIWALI, Thembisa, was shot by ANC supporters during conflict between ADM and ANC supporters at NU 3, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 28 January 1993. SIWAYI, Meyile Malcomeso (76), lost his home in an arson attack by ANC youths on 6 October 1991 in Peelton, Ciskei. The attack occurred during the mass occupation of land that took place in the 1991 and 1992 land campaign in the area. The victim was targeted because he supported the local headmen and chiefs' position regarding the size of sites allocated. SIWISA, Nkohl, an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP in Kirkwood, Cape, in October 1985. He and others were later sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for murder. Mr Siwisa was released in November 1989. SIXHASO, Shadrack, (17), was severely beaten with pangas by WITDOEKE vigilantes in Nyanga, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDFs supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Mr Sixhaso later became mentally disturbed. SIXIBA, Siphon Boy Edward, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Hankey, Cape, on 23 May 1986, at a time of conflict between UDF supporters and CONCILLORS over the Black Local Authority Act and the Tricameral Parliament. SIXISHE, Lungile Selywen (27), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth on 13 April 1985 during political conflict following the LANGASHOOTINGS in Uitenhage on 21 March. SIXISHI, Siphon Joseph 'Bra Skeshi'

Reference 194 - 0.01% Coverage

week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). TAKALO, Baby Elizabeth (46), an ANC supporter, was injured in an attack on Tladi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1990 by IFP supporters, allegedly in collusion with members of the SAP. Soweto was tense following clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. TAKAYI, Nkundla Elliot, suffered damage to property when his house was burnt by COSAS members and UDF supporters during political conflict in Jansenville, Cape, in 1985. He was suspected of being a collaborator. One COSAS member and UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0240). TALANE, Montgomery Lekgetho, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bothaville, OFS, on 12 March 1990. People had gathered for a mass meeting called by a local civic association. The shooting occurred

as they were dispersing on orders of the police. TALANE, Piet Nkgere , lost his house in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in February 1986 during a land dispute between two chiefs in the area. TALIWE, April Makhwenkwe , a UDF supporter, was shot and killed by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD at KwaDlangezwa, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 April 1992. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). TALJAARD, Louis Johannes Albertus (64), was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGH T-WING AT TACKS. TAMA KO, Banyana Ellen (26), was shot in the knees in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 10 March 1994 during resistance to President Mangope's rule. TAMBODALA, Mandlenkosi Zanemfundo Junior (26), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and injured by members of the Transkei Police at the Lusikisiki police station, Transkei, on 21 December 1989. Mr Tambodala and others had been arrested for organising a consumer boycott. TAMBULENG, Jacob (58), was severely beaten in detention by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1994. Mr Tambuleng was accused of being involved in planning a protest march. TAME, Nkululo Isaac (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the SOWETO UPRISING in Langa, Cape Town. Mr Tame subsequently developed a mental disorder. TAMLE, Frans Lehlohonolo (15), an ANC supporter, was arrested and given six lashes with a sjambok by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 17 October 1990. Frans was arrested on suspicion of arson during a period of violent conflict between the youth and police in the area.

Reference 195 - 0.01% Coverage

held in camera. By the time the trial opened, four of those detained in connection with the trial had died in detention. It is alleged that all the accused had been severely tortured while awaiting trial. Bisho massacre : On 7 September 1992, the ANC, SACP and COSATU organised a march from King William's Town to the Ciskei capital of Bisho to demand free political activity in the homeland and the removal of then military ruler of the Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Protesters had been prohibited by court order from entering Bisho. When part of the crowd tried to gain access to Bisho, Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) troops opened fire, killing 30 people, including one member of the CDF. Approximately 200 people were wounded in the shooting. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty. Black Cats : a gang of IFP-aligned vigilantes that conducted attacks on ANC members, principally in Wesselsburg and Ermelo, Eastern Transvaal, from 1990 to 1992. The gang, which received military training from Inkatha at the Mkuze camp in KwaZulu Natal in the early 1990s, was supported by certain community councillors, CAPRIVATEES and members of the SAP. black spot : black-owned land surrounded by white-owned land Boipatong massacre : Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured on 17 June 1992 when several hundred IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel launched attacks on the Boipatong community, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during a period of escalating violence between the ANC and IFP in the area. Victims included at least nine children, two babies and 17 women, one of whom was pregnant. Residents were raped, hacked, stabbed, shot, beaten and disembowelled. This attack was allegedly planned

Name: References to Dispossession in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 15 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

1834 (when slavery was abolished).

b The many wars of dispossession and colonial conquest dating from the first war against the Khoisan in 1659, through several so-called frontier conflicts as white settlers penetrated northwards, to the Bambatha uprising of 1906, the last attempt at armed defence by an indigenous grouping.

c The systematic hunting and

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

trees are stripped and leafless.

16 But if this was an act of wholesale dispossession and discrimination, so too was the 1909 South Africa Act which was passed, not by a South African legislature, but by the British Parliament. In terms of the South Africa Act, Britain's four South African colonies were merged into one nation and granted juridical independence under a constitutional arrangement that transferred power in perpetuity to a minority of white voters. No firm provisions were made for the protection or improvement of the civil and political rights of the indigenous black majority.

17 Admittedly, the British government

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Armed clash at Ntlonze Hill

An armed clash took place at Ntlonze Hill on 12 December 1962 when armed Poqo members were intercepted by police while on their way to assassinate Chief Kaiser Matanzima. Seven Poqo members were killed in the encounter and three policemen seriously injured in what could have led to more police fatalities, but for the inability of the Poqo members to use the guns they had obtained from the police. The PAC described the incident as being "aimed at those headmen and chiefs assisting the dispossession of African people through the rural rehabilitation scheme" as well as being "provoked by reports of the brutal torture in Cofimvaba prison of Comrades Makwetu and Kisana".

In its submission to the

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

population of the Northern Cape.

8 The Northern Cape has a long history of land dispossession and forced removals. Africans were removed mainly to Bophuthatswana, often making way for South African Defence Force (SADF) military camps. Later in the 1980s, independent communal farming settlements such as Leliefontein, Steinkopf and Richtersveld in Namaqualand were privatised by the House of Representatives, leading to impoverishment and protest.

Socio-political features

9 Five

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

as the central political motive:

At the root of South Africa's conflict was the system of colonial subjugation. Like other colonial countries, South Africa was victim to the rapacious licence of an era that defined might as right, an epoch of international morality that justified dispossession and turned owner into thief, victim into aggressor, and humble host into ungodly infidel.

72 Further on, the ANC

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

on, the ANC submission states:

Thus ranged against one another, in intensifying conflict, were the oppressor and the oppressed, the owners of wealth of the country and the dispossessed, the rightless and the privileged. The ANC was a product of this history and this conflict, not their creator.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 7 Causes

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

DEFINITION, WOULD BE LABOUR INTENSIVE.

IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CREATE A MEANINGFUL HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE WITHOUT HIGH PRIORITY BEING GIVEN TO ECONOMIC JUSTICE BY THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS. RECOGNISING THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE PUBLIC SECTOR ALONE TO FIND THE RESOURCES REQUIRED TO EXPEDITE THE GOAL OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE, THE COMMISSION URGES THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN PARTICULAR TO CONSIDER A SPECIAL INITIATIVE IN TERMS OF A FUND FOR TRAINING, EMPOWERMENT AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED AND DISPOSSESSED IN SOUTH AFRICA.

FURTHER, THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

u d i c e .

44. Through punitive taxes in rural reserves and through land dispossession (the Land Act of 1913 and 1936), the black male worker was dislodged from agricultural subsistence farming and forced to work at the underground rock faces. This influx of a large black population instigated early stirrings of *swaart gevaar* ('black danger') – and more broadly a fear of the threat posed not only to frontier political control but also to the stability and profitability of diamond and gold mining.

45. Migration control regulations were

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 4 2 1

217. The applicants called Mr Lerato Abel Kotle, the regional commander of APLA in Bloemfontein, to give evidence about 'Operation Great Storm'. Kotle explained that 'Operation Storm' was intended as a means

of intensifying the armed struggle and was decided upon by APLA's military commission, which included the political leadership of the PAC and the military leadership of APLA. He described the attacks on farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PAC believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that farmers were beneficiaries of the land taken away from the Africans.

218. The Amnesty Committee accepted

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

identical to the contemplated findings.

The TRC made a number of findings relating to black-on-black conflict. In this regard the figures of casualties suggested by the TRC are unsubstantiated and have been extrapolated through statistics based on an undisclosed and obviously erroneous methodology. Contrary to what is stated in the TRC's report, almost 400 Inkatha leaders were killed in a systematic plan of targeted mass assassination. More than 10,000 Inkatha members and supporters were killed and hundreds of thousands of them were dispossessed or suffered untold misery and gross human rights violations because of the armed struggle waged against Inkatha.

The TRC made certain findings

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

headmen in the St Marks

district of Cofimvaba in the Transkei. The attacks were described by the PAC as 'aimed at those headmen and chiefs assisting the dispossession of African people through the rural rehabilitation scheme'. On 12 December 1962, armed Poqo members were intercepted by police while on their way to assassinate Chief Kaiser Matanzima. An armed clash took place at Ntlonze Hill in the Transkei. Seven Poqo members were killed in this encounter and three policemen were seriously injured. The Commission considered this incident to be in the nature of a military encounter in which both sides were armed. It concluded, therefore, that the injuries to the policemen and the deaths of the Poqo members did not constitute gross human rights violations.

13. In the early 1960s

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

legitimate targets.

63. In 1962, members of Poqo attacked representatives of traditional authority in the homelands, killing two headmen in the St Marks district of Cofimvaba, Transkei. These attacks were described by the PAC as being 'aimed at those headmen and chiefs assisting the dispossession of African people through the rural dispossession scheme'.

64. On 12 December 1962

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

to be a combat situation.

65. The question these incidents raise is whether those who became part of the apartheid system became legitimate targets as identified by the PAC. The above situation relates to but one example of the iniquity of the apartheid system, which dispossessed people of their land, often violently, and frequently replaced hereditary leadership with chiefs of their own. Yet the targeting of traditional leaders and chiefs cannot be condoned and must constitute a gross human violation. Thus the motivation for the attacks can be understood but not condoned.

Civilians and farmers as 'legitimate'

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

well as a soccer club.

83. In another incident, the amnesty application involved the killing of Mr John Bernard Smith, also a farmer. Mr Oliphant, one of the applicants, testified that it was the objective of the PAC to wage the struggle for the return of land to the African people, which was why he had become involved in that operation. Another applicant testified that it was part of PAC policy to intensify the armed struggle in order to strengthen the hands of the PAC in the negotiating process. He described the attacks on the farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PAC believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that they were beneficiaries of the land taken away from the Africans.

84. None of the reasons

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

GE227

LEBOPO, Puleng Martha (66), was petrol-bombed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in her home in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 4 April 1986. LEBURU, Naledi Esrael, was tear gassed and assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 15 September 1988 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, because he resisted the homeland government in Taung. LEBURU, Tsietsi Ismael (21), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and severely assaulted by a member of the SAP in Kroonstad police station, OFS, on 11 August 1990, allegedly for failing to report daily to the police station while out on bail on a public violence charge. LEBUSO, Sindiswa Winifred (23), was dispossessed of her home and possessions and deported to Mount Fletcher, Transkei, in March 1964 during the banning of the ANC and PAC. LECHKO, Mamotbang Emily (19), an ANC supporter, was beaten and kicked by members of the Transkei Police at her home in Matatiele, Natal, on 7 February 1990 during an organised boycott. LEDGERWOOD, Timothy John (20), was reportedly tortured by members of the Security Branch in Zeerust, Tvl, in October 1981. LEDULA, Shadrack (18), an ANCYL supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 10 December 1993. LEDWABA, Alina Qeta (36), was injured when AWB members detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the corner of Third and Park Streets in Randfontein, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Six people were injured in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING TACTICS. LEDWABA, Elizabeth Ramatsubane (64), was severely injured when an explosive device was thrown into her home in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, by members of a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch on 18 September 1986. One family member was injured and her son killed, while another son, who was the target of the attack, escaped unharmed. The divisional commander of Northern Transvaal Security Branch and three of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/136). LEDWABA, Jacob, was shot dead by an alleged member of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING. LED

WABA, Johanna Rakgadi (12), was shot by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SO W
E T O U P R I S I N G. L E D WABA, Johannes, an ANC support e r, was shot dead by members of the
Bophuthatswana Police in Wi n t e r veld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986 while attending a rally to
discuss mass detention and P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y in the area. His body disappeared immediately after
the incident. L E D WABA, Lawrence Mphodisa (20), a COSAS s u p p o r t e r, was shot dead by members of
the J A C K R O L L E R S G A N G in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg , on 17 August 1990. L E D WABA,
Lesiba Elias (31), an ANC support e r, was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 April 1994 when
V O L U M

Name: References to Estate in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 5 references coded [0.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

MANIPULATION

Apartheid and official secrecy

24 Perhaps all governments are, to a greater or lesser extent, uncomfortable with the notion of transparency, preferring to operate beyond the glare of public scrutiny. In apartheid South Africa, government secrecy was a way of life. The fundamental guideline governing public access to state records was provided in section 9(6) of the 1962 Archives Act. This established that access was a privilege to be granted by bureaucrats, except where specific legislation recognised the right of access to specific categories of records. The number of record categories covered by such legislation was limited to, for instance, records older than thirty years in the custody of SAS and deceased estate files in the custody of Masters of the Supreme Court.

25 The discretionary power enjoyed

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 1 1 3

d Non-monetary reparations consist of: i. the creation of new legal category of 'forcibly disappeared', which holds the legal equivalent of death for purposes of the law (allowing the processing of wills and closing of estates) while preserving the possibility of a person's reappearance (Law No. 24 321, Argentina, 11 May 1994);

ii. a waiver of military

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

c t i o n .

32. In the Philippines, the victims of human rights abuses brought a class action suit against the estate of former President Ferdinand Marcos.⁵¹

The US Federal
Courts awarded

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

A G E 6 5

Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. COETZEE, Natalie, was injured when a car bomb planted by MK operatives exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055). COETZEE, Otto, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured by APLA members during attacks on white civilians and police members at Ficksburg, OFS, on 10 December

1992. See APLA AT TA C K S. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0182). COETZEE, Philippa Maria, was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured. Ms Coetzee became sterile as a result. COETZER, AT, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. COETZER, Martin Jacobus (18), lost his leg when he drove over a landmine in Boshoeck, Volksrust, Natal, on 10 June 1986. The landmine had been planted by MK operatives. See ANCLANDMINECAMPAIGN. COGWANE, Godfrey, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in detention in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 29 March 1990. There was a stayaway and boycott in the area at the time. COGWANE, Mapitso Agnes (19), was arrested and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police looking for her brother in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 14 September 1988. Many people were tear-gassed that day because of resistance by supporters of Chief Mankwona. COLA, Victor Khumbulele (26), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, the day the POLLSMORMARCH was held to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. COLE, Bennie, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Clarke Estate, Cape Town, on 16 September 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING. COLIDIZA, Poto Wilfred (21), a COSAS member, was severely tortured and assaulted on several occasions by named members of the Security Police while under interrogation in Worcester, Cape, in June 1985. COLLENS, Clarissa, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg,

VOLUME

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

AT TA C K S. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018). PAGE, Pedro Amandrio, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Parkwood Estate, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989. He had allegedly joined a crowd of onlookers who were watching as a robbery was set up. PAGE, Stephen John, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. PAHLA, Ben (48), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes at Siyabuswa community hall, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. He and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. PAILANE, Phillip Kedibone, a local council employee, lost his house when it was burnt down by SANCO and ANC supporters in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in 1991. Members of the community opposed local councils and saw councillors and council employees as legitimate targets in the political struggle of the time. PAILE, Franscina Busi, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257). PAIS, Jose Dos Santos, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two

spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 1 / 1 6 1) . PAKA, Johnson , a PAC member, was detained by the SAP in the Transkei, Cape, in 1960. He was imprisoned for five years on Robben Island for his PA C activities. After his release he was placed under house a rrest for two years. PAKA, Tonny Khabuqheya (19), was incarcerated and t o r t u red by the SAP in Engcobo, Transkei, Cape, in November 1963, because of his PAC activities. He was charged with sabotage and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, after which he was banished for two years. PAKADE, George Sidney , a UDF support e r, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a

P A G E 7

Name: References to Eviction in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 46 references coded [0.26% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

lives and their very identity.

45 Under apartheid, millions of people were deprived of the most basic rights. Through a huge body of laws, black people were shunted out of areas reserved for whites; evicted from their homes; forced out of the cities into shanties, homelands and what Father Cosmas Desmond has called, 'dumping grounds', where there was neither water, nor shelter nor a living to be made.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 4 The

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Vigilantes, Kitskonstabels⁹ and Municipal Police

258 Campaigns against the police in the mid-1980s aimed either at forcing black police to resign or evicting them from the townships. With the rise of vigilantism

9 Direct translation – Instant constables

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 to 1990 PAGE 433

127 In the mid-1980s, the Kuni community was evicted from Ciskei en masse and dumped at the roadside in South Africa, where they later found a home at Needs Camp outside East London.

128 In 1987, a large

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

across the border into Ciskei.

129 In August 1988, the Ciskei borders were redrawn to incorporate the Nkqonqkwani village at Peelson near King William's Town. In drawing the Ciskei boundaries in 1981, the village had inadvertently been split in two. The redrawing of the border was to enable the South African government to banish UDF activist Steve Tshwete to his home village of Nqonqkwani in Ciskei rather than Nqonqkwani in South Africa. In the following year, Nqonqkwani residents complained of repeated assaults by Ciskei forces. This eventually resulted in a mass exodus of residents to King William's Town. Ciskei declared a state of emergency in the Peelson area and violence and bulldozing of rebels' houses followed. In a court case arising out of the conflict, the Ciskei Supreme Court found against Mr James Fikile Phindani, a resident of Peelson village, who had been evicted from his home and dumped across the South African border by the Ciskei security police in 1989, and approved the passing of a retrospective law which allowed the Ciskei authorities to do this. Eventually the incorporation issue was quietly dropped and residents returned home.

130 The Peelson conflict was

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

show clemency towards Charles Sebe.

136 In January 1985, the SADF was evicted from Ciskei following the deaths of recruits at a Ciskei base, and South Africa lost its foothold in that homeland.

137 By 1986, Van der

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

fight" between Xhosa and Zulus.

88 In Sebokeng, twenty-three people were killed in an initial attack and a further fifteen people in a subsequent attack by the SADF which opened fire on a crowd on 3 September 1990. (Sebokeng had also been the scene of a massacre in March 1990.) The first attack on the Sebokeng hostel was carried out by Inkatha supporters, armed with guns, hand grenades, home-made bombs, spears and axes and was an attempt by those who had been evicted from the hostel in July to regain their former residence. In the conflict that ensued, residents of Sebokeng trapped the attackers in a block in the hostel. The police managed to keep the opposing forces apart, thus preventing further casualties.

89 The second attack occurred

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

colour bar.

1951 1952 1953

The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act grants magistrates the power to evict squatters from urban areas and to demolish their dwellings.

The ANC launches the Defiance

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

eyes was described as follows:

Restricted, isolated hard actions have been launched by Memese and his followers on comrades resulting in no actions from Cradock [and] Somerset East over the past month. Memese is outspoken against the ANC and UDF and is responsible for evictions of those who do not pay rent. Intimidation by the UDF is now less effective in Somerset East.

253 It seems that these

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 331

Numbers swelled in the territory as many people were forcibly removed to the homeland in the mid- to late seventies and many others were compelled to leave urban areas because of lack of employment. The resettlement township of Phuthaditjhaba at Witsieshoek was developed to accommodate families of migrants who commuted daily to work in Bethlehem or Harrismith. In October 1974, more than 2 000 families were relocated to Tseki at Witsieshoek. Most of them had been ordered out of Kromdraai, Bophuthatswana, by the homeland authorities there; others were evicted from farms. Tseki lacked any health

and education facilities, even basic necessities like clean water. The people erected rough corrugated iron shelters and dug pit latrines. No local employment opportunities existed. Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli campaigned vigorously throughout the 1970s for more land to be allocated to the territory, but only a relatively small area of adjoining land was added.

14 In the 1970s and

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

from attending schools in Bophuthatswana.

17 A report of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) noted that Botshabelo amounted to no more than a rural slum from which three stakeholders stood to benefit. QwaQwa stood to gain additional territory – although separated by three hundred kilometres from the homeland centred at Witsieshoek; the Bophuthatswana authorities were able to evict the thousands of non-Tswana squatters who had refused to accept Bophuthatswana citizenship, and the central government was able to consolidate its policy of ethnically based homelands.

18 Although Botshabelo had been

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

AND UDF ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

172 The Commission heard that the activities of various vigilante groups, particularly the Three Million Gang, continued into the 1990s. In the Troubou area of Kroonstad, gang members allegedly forcibly evicted from their homes people who did not support the gang.

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Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

in 1987 to 1988.

Background

245 Crossroads squatter camp was first settled in 1975 and grew rapidly after 1977 as homes in other areas were bulldozed by the state. In Crossroads, too, residents faced eviction orders and repeated police raids in the state's ongoing efforts to remove the camp. After a major local and international 'Save Crossroads' campaign, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Piet Koornhof, granted a temporary reprieve in 1979. In addition, an agreement was reached to build a new township for many Crossroads residents, to be known as New Crossroads.

246 Most squatter camps developed

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

dead by men in balaclavas.

361 Hostility towards WECUSA also stemmed from its continued use of the 'headman' system in a period when residents of informal settlements no longer faced the perils of migrant labour and the pass system, and no longer depended upon the protection of powerful squatter leaders. In Philippi, residents revolted against WECUSA member Christopher Toise, the traditional leader of the area, rejecting his exploitative

practices including financial demands and aggressive informal courts. He was forced to flee the area in early 1993 and take refuge with other evicted squatter leaders holed up in Section 4, Crossroads, with Mr Jeffrey Nongwe. This largely signalled the demise of the 'traditional' squatter leadership style epitomised by WECUSA.

52 Submission by Network of

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

having implicated others.

Southern Cape

459 Street protests and confrontations with police took place in Mossel Bay in July 1993. Two people were shot dead during the conflict, including Mr Garth Kuinders [CT00355]. Mr Simon Karelse [CT00356] was shot and wounded. These incidents of violence were investigated by the Goldstone Commission which found that the violence developed out of local socio-economic issues such as the housing shortage, the disconnection of electricity, the eviction of tenants and the rent boycott. In many respects, the conflicts reflected the same struggle for recognition

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Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

to the streets in protest.

288 By September 1987, at least 166 families had been evicted from their homes for not paying rent between August 1986 and September 1987, by which time the debt of the municipal council had risen to R122 million. In 1987, the Soweto Civic Association was restricted and many of its leaders detained.

289 The Commission received statements from people who were shot by the police during conflicts around the rent boycott. On 14 November 1986, Ms Lillian Sibongile Mnguni [JB01859/01GTSOW], an executive member of the civic association in Meadowlands, was shot in the back by police evicting people from their homes. At the time of the shooting, the deponent and other activists were barricading the streets to prevent the police from entering the township.

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Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

hostels, thus further reinforcing divisions.

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

629 Ms Dudu Howard and

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

such as arson, destruction, property

vandalism, theft, forced removal, eviction. Financial
impropriety Framing
FINANCIAL Subjection to

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

the issues of forced incorporation.

174 This conflict was linked with tribal conflicts as non-Tswanas were evicted and persecuted in Bophuthatswana soon after independence.

175 In rural areas, the

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

e rmaritzburg, 3 February 1999.)

232. Most ANC perpetrators were themselves victims of the conflict. Several had lost members of their families in the violence. They were often refugees, having been violently evicted from areas, their homes and property destroyed. Some had narrowly escaped death themselves. These applicants repeatedly described the failure of the security forces and the judicial system to take steps against the IFP or other perpetrators. As a consequence of the failure and betrayal by state structures, applicants took up arms in the belief that they were compelled to do so to secure and protect their own lives and pro p e r t y. This 'right to self defence' did not re q u i re ANC policy appro v a l .

233. Applicants also interpreted many

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Nemakhavani [AM2725/96] testified that:

Well we actually wanted to evict these people from our village because ... those who were ruling were in the old order and as such the central govern m e n t would then be able to realise that we were not pleased with the way the old order was behaving.

265. Fifty-four individuals submitted

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

black citizens of the country.

In certain cases, there is some detail of physical effects such as the loss of sight, the loss of a limb or other forms of permanent disablement. However, readers are asked to consult the other volumes of the Commission's report to determine the far- re a c h i n g consequences of violations. We have not, for example, had the space to speak here of the years of depression and anxiety that could follow periods in detention without trial, or of how injuries, hospitalisation, or political stigmatisation may have resulted in the loss of a job and thus family income, leading to evictions and the break-up of families.

Take the case of Pringle

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

by members of the SAP.

ANTONI, Thembisile, an AZAPO member, was 'necklaced' to death by COSAS and UDF supporters in Port Alfred, Cape, in June 1985, during political conflict between the UDF and AZAPO in the area. Several other AZAPO members were assaulted and injured in the attack. ANVARI, Alex, a member of the Baha'i faith community, died when he and two others were shot and killed by APLA operatives at the Baha'i Faith Centre, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 13 March 1994. The victims, though of Iranian extraction, were allegedly regarded by the perpetrators as 'whites'. A vehicle was also stolen during the attack. See APLA AT TACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2001/271). ANZILOTTI, G, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. APHANE, Doly Elizabeth (41), an ANC member, had her house and tuck shop in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, demolished on 8 February 1993 by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government. APHANE, Karl Maisela (21), a COSAS supporter, was tortured in detention in September 1986 in Middelburg prison, Tvl, during student unrest in the area. APHANE, Matsosale William, an ANC supporter, died when an IFP member assaulted him and threw him from a moving train in the Johannesburg area on 29 November 1991. See TRAIL NVOLENCE. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0256). APHANE, Tiny, was arrested in September 1986 by the SAP and imprisoned in Motetema, Lebowa. The police were apparently seeking her brother because of his affiliation to COSAS. APLENI, Mzikayise (18), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Zwede, Port Elizabeth, on 7 October 1986 during the state of emergency. A 1987 inquest concluded that no one was responsible for her death. See POLICE BRUTALITY. APLENI, Wellington Sicelo (31), a UDF supporter, was shot in the hand during conflict between AZAPO and UDF supporters in Zwede, Port Elizabeth, on 12 May 1985. APOLOSI, Khobone Vernon (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people killed and 25 vehicles burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from the area. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

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Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

DHLAMINI, Michael Tshepo, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while returning from a night vigil for a slain activist in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 6 November 1990. DHLAMINI, Mphikeleli Elias (50), was beaten with sjamboks and doused with petrol in Diepdale, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 5 March 1993 by a pro-ANC vigilante group. DHLAMINI, Ntahi Kayser (60), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 30 November 1992 after trying to give refuge to a neighbour who was being pursued by two armed IFP supporters from Kwesine hostel. The neighbour was also shot dead. DHLAMINI, Sibusiso (17), Inkatha supporter, was shot by other Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 October 1985, in an attack on his father who was suspected of being an ANC sympathiser. DHLAMINI, Solomon Hluwulani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 16 December 1987, when a named SAP member allegedly opened fire in a shop. DHLAMINI, Themba Edwin, was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Duduza, Springs, Tvl, on 2 November 1984 while on his way home from the funeral of a trade unionist. DHLAMINI, Themba Resign Francis (58), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by other Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 October 1985,

allegedly because he was thought to be an ANC sympathiser. DHLAMINI, Walter, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by AZAPO supporters in Phiri, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 November 1986 during ongoing political conflict in the area. Earlier that year, Mr Dhlamini was severely beaten and tortured by police. DHLAMUKA, Getrude Zintombi (35), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBORSONATATACKS. DHLODHLO, Vusimuzi Godfrey (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1986 after he mobilised the community to resist evictions for non-payment of rent and services. DHLUDHLU, Vusumuzi Ephraim (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by an APLA member during ongoing political conflict between ANC and PAC supporters at eMzinoni, Bethel, Tvl, on 17 October 1992. See APLA AT TACKS. An APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0052). D H L U N G WANE, Thamsanqa Reginald (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 March 1990, allegedly when police searched his house for firearms. DIAHO, Gideon (7), was beaten with a sjambok and a rifle-butt by members of the Transkei Defence Force in Pontseng, Matatiele, Natal, in February 1990, allegedly because he participated in toyi-toyi celebrations for the release of Nelson Mandela. DIAHO, Masekake Emelia (22), was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police in Matatiele, Natal, on 7 February 1990 during celebrations over the

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Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

FENI, Mbophele Petrus (34), an ANC supporter, lost her house in Hammanskraal, Tvl, when it was demolished on 12 January 1993 following an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government. FENI, Patrick, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP at Grahamstown, Cape, on 16 November 1984. On 21 May 1985, he was detained by the same perpetrator. FERREIRA, Henry Shaun, suffered severe trauma when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 23 March 1993 and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA AT TACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225). FERREIRA, Petrus Johannes, was injured when MK operatives detonated a limpet mine in a dustbin at the Vanderbijl Square bus terminus, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. Nineteen people were injured and a number of vehicles and buildings were damaged. Two MK Special Operations operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/056). A late application by a third operative was dismissed. FERGUSON, Andrew Henry Douglas (30), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Hanover Park, Cape Town, on 2 September 1976, a day which saw a peak of unrest and casualties of police shootings across Cape Town during the SOWETO UPRISING. FERGUSON, James, was injured in what became known as the MARGO O'SBAROMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). FERHELST, Muhammad Farid (18), a UDF supporter and member of the BMW, was detained and severely beaten and suffocated while under interrogation, by named members of the special police UNREST IN VESTIGATION IONUNIT, at the Bishop Lavis police station, Cape Town, on 19 June 1987. He was later detained a second time and again severely beaten at the Brackenfell police station. He was not convicted of any of the charges against him. FERREIRA (NEE VENTER), Matilda Eleonore, suffered injuries when a limpet mine, placed in a pot plant, was detonated near the Juicy Lucy restaurant on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen Streets, Pretoria, on 26 May 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199). FERREIRA, Gezine, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the

rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161). FERREIRA, Jappie, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving

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GRANT, DJ (34), an ECC activist, was detained by named members of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth during June 1986. He was held in solitary confinement and interrogated at the Algoa Park and Louis le Grange Square police stations. GRANT, Esther Esi (60), was forced out of her home in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 March 1992, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Evictions of residents from their homes was a tactic used by both parties during the political violence which engulfed the Transvaal in the early 1990s. GRANT, John Walter (47), lost his house in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986 when groups of unidentified men attacked UDF supporters and their property. When the police arrived on the scene, they started shooting and failed to catch the perpetrators. GRAY, Beverley (29), was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294). GRAY, RJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, RETORIA. GREAVE, Khanyile Catherine (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on 4 December 1991 when IFP supporters attacking hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Buntville, near Mooi River, Natal. See BUNTVILLE ATTACKS. GREIF, Stefanie, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018). GREEN, Erica, died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at the Victoria Embankment, Durban, on 3 April 1984. The explosion killed three people and injured 20 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175). GREGORY, Chaucer Mphiwa (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured at his home in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in April 1991 by a group of IFP supporters, allegedly accompanied by SADF members, who were systematically searching out ANC-supporting residents and trying to drive them out of the area. GREY, Fudisile Ntlekevana (31), was shot dead by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCANVILLE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

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Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

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HLEZA, Sthuli Godwin, an ANCYL leader, was shot dead, by an IFP supporter and a member of the SAP, in Piet Retief, Tvl, on 3 June 1992. At the time there were a number of clashes between the IFP and ANC in

the area. HLOBE, Shadrack (20), was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators outside a local primary school in Vo s l o o rus, Tvl, on 16 April 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994. HLOHLOMI, Mokone Simon (18), a student leader, was detained in Bloemfontein under emergency regulations on 16 June 1986. He was held for two months, during which he was tortured. H L O K O FA, Benard (40), was abducted, beaten and shot near Cro s s roads, Cape Town, on 26 January 1984, by persons associated with a named Cro s s roads leader. Mr Hlokofa belonged to another group that was being violently evicted from Cro s s roads at the time. The attack left him mentally disabled and he died in 1987. HLOKWE, Valley Mogale, was shot and injured by alleged members of the SAP in Tzaneen, Tvl, in April 1986 while he was helping organise a night vigil for a 'comrade'. In May 1986, police allegedly beat Mr Hlokwe with sjamboks during a political meeting in Tzaneen. HLOMENDLINI, Alfred, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 21 September 1985, after a crowd had attempted to petrol-bomb the policeman's house. HLOMENDLINI, Edgar (43), an MK operative, was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police at Rooigrond police station in Motsweneng, outside Zeerust, Tvl, on 26 October 1990. Two other MK operatives were shot dead in the incident. HLOMUKA, Vusi (43), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP members in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in September 1993. HLONGO, Mduzana (52), lost her cattle and her house in an arson attack in March 1993 in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her son was killed in the attack. H L O N G WA, Alfred, was killed in Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993, when the wall of his house fell on him. The house had previously been attacked and damaged by alleged IFP supporters. H L O N G WA, Andries M, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC head quarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142). H L O N G WA, Balungile (72), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See R I C H M O N D FA R M A R S O N A T A C K S. H L O N G WA, Bekumuzi Prince (62), an Inkatha supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Hammarsdale, Natal, in August 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

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Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

J WAMBI, Sisipho (six months), was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993 when members of a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P shot at the family home and set it alight. Sisipho died with her mother and five-year-old brother, and three other family members, who were shot or trapped in the burning house. J WAMBI, Thanduxolo (6), was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993 when members of a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P shot at the family home and set it alight. Thanduxolo died with his mother, six-month-old sister, and three other family members, who were all trapped in the burning house. J WARA, Modise Matabane, a community councillor, sustained damage to his home in an armed attack by members of an MK unit in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, during 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0317). J WAXA, Victoria Nombulelo (52), lost her home in an arson attack by named ANC members in September 1992 in Alice, Ciskei. Ms Jwaxa had attended the funeral of an ADM member during the feud between the ANC and the ADM. J WAYI, Thembaletu (22), a member of the Ciskei Police, was shot and burnt to death by a named perpetrator while he was driving a police vehicle to Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 August 1982. JWILI, Nobantu, an ANCWL member, was shot and killed when an IFP funeral procession passed her house in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 27 February 1993. The IFP allegedly refused to allow her to be buried in the township because of

her ANC affiliation. KABAI, Seabata Salman (19), an ANC supporter, was shot in the chest and knee by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 28 March 1991 during a stayaway in the area. Both bullets are still lodged in his body. K A B A N YANE, (first name not given), a member of the S A P, was severely beaten by KZP members on 9 July 1990 in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, during political conflict. KABELE (GABELE), Sydney Mbongeni (29), an ANC supporter, had his house near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 3 December 1992. KABI, Sekoala Elliot (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP during the SH A R P E V I L L E M A S S A C R E in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960. KABINI, Dzube Lina (31), lost her home when it was burnt down by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, Tvl, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu stood to benefit from the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa, and his supporters launched widespread attacks on residents who resisted I N C O R P O R A T I O N. KABINI, Jacob, was arrested by members of the KwaNdebele Police at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 4 September 1987 and detained without trial for eight months under emergency regulations. When he was finally charged together with three other detainees, the charges were dropped. KABINI, Sam Benzane (51), was evicted by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, Tvl, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu stood to benefit from

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Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

from a night vigil of a 'comrade' allegedly shot and killed by the police. KGAPHOLA, Petrus Kgarakgara (28), was severely assaulted with pick handles and sjamboks by members of the police and IM B O K O D O vigilante group in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on January 1 1986. Mr Kgaphola was attending a meeting at the Royal Kraal about resistance to I N C O R P O R A T I O N into KwaNdebele when the perpetrators attacked him and killed and injured several others. KGASI, Lesiba Jim (23), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured by members of the Security Police in N a b o o m s p ruit, Tvl, on 22 September 1990. He was taken to hospital in Potgietersrus and then to N a b o o m s p ruit. During the transfer, members of the Security Police tortured him throughout the night. Mr Kgasi was suspected of throwing a petrol bomb at the mayor's house. K G A T L H A N E, Aubrey Matsamai (35), was severely beaten by alleged members of the IFP in Griekwastad, Cape, on 30 June 1991. It is believed that the assailants were bussed in from Johannesburg by the local mayor. K G A T L H A N E, Tommy Kgosimang (32), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Griekwastad, Cape, on 2 July 1991, during conflict between the ANC and a vigilante group known as the I N K A T H A G A N G. KGAU, Karabo Jonas (54), an ANC supporter, died when he was hacked with a pang and thrown out of a moving train by IFP supporters in Johannesburg, on 29 October 1993. See T R A I N V I O L E N C E. KGIBA, Samuel Lethola (22), was abducted by members of the SAP in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, on 4 March 1986. KGOADI, Dimakatso Martha (21), had her home in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government on 8 February 1993. KGOADI, Phuti Manoko (35), had his home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 because Mr Kgoadi resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. KGOARE, Matsiliso Yvonne (35), suffered a period of considerable police harassment in Bloemfontein, after her brother was killed in an SADF raid on Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 14 Basotho citizens were killed in this raid. Ms Kgore suffered a nervous breakdown as a result of this harassment. K G O A T H E, Nicodimas Kakadi, PAC supporter, was arrested in 1968 under the Terrorism Act and detained for 180 days without trial at Silverton police station, Pretoria. On 4 February 1969 he died as a result of torture by named members of the Security Police who claimed that Mr Kgoathe had slipped on a bar of soap. KGOBADI,

Andries Bangkgane (18), a Huhudi Yo u t h O rganisation member, was tort u red by members of the SAP when he was arrested in Vry b u rg, Cape, on

P A G E 1

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

KHAMBULE, Mbuso (Kubheka), a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), was assaulted and killed by fellow SDU members in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 October 1993. Mr Khambule had allegedly killed another SDU member, for which the penalty was death. Three SDU members w e re granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0243). KHAMBULE, Nhlanhleni Pius (25), was abducted and shot dead by named members of the SAP at Highflats, Ixopo, Natal, during political conflict in the are a . KHAMBULE, Nonhlanhla (17), an Inkatha support e r, was stabbed and injured by UDF supporters at Inchanga, Natal, on 28 October 1989, during political conflict in the are a . KHAMBULE, Ntombikayise Precious (15), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was stabbed and severely injured and her home was burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pieterm a r i t z b u rg, on 1 June 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. Tw o other family members were injured in the attack. The family was forced to flee the are a . KHAMBULE, Regina, an ANC support e r, was stabbed and injured when her family home was attacked and b u rnt down by a named Inkatha supporter on 1 June 1989 in Pieterm a r i t z b u rg . KHAMBULE, Reginald Nkosana (27), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was severely assaulted by IFP supporters in Tsakane, Transvaal, on 5 May 1985, allegedly in an attack targeted at Xhosa-speaking males. KHAMBULE, Sibongiseni Bethuel (18), was forc e d to flee his home in Pieterm a r i t z b u rg on 1 January 1987 due to severe intimidation and harassment by named Inkatha support e r s . KHAMBULE, Thembi Gladys Siso (42), an IFP s u p p o r t e r, had her home burnt down by other IFP s u p p o r t e r s at Mdlazi, Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1992, because her children were ANC support e r s . KHAMBULE, Tshelinkosi Amos, was stabbed and s e v e rely injured while sick in bed, and had his house b u rnt down in an attack on his home in Umzumbe, near P o r t Shepstone, Natal, in 1990 during intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the are a . KHAMBULE, Vayo Wi l b e r t (47), a UDF support e r, was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 14 May 1989. His wife was also injured in the attack. KHAMBULE, Vusumuzi Khethokwakhe, a UDF s u p p o r t e r, was harassed, intimidated and beaten at various times between 1974 and 1984 by members of the Special Branch and Inkatha. In 1978 he was detained in Pieterm a r i t z b u rg for six months, and t o r t u red and beaten by Security Police members. KHAMBULE, We l k o m, an ANC support e r, was detained and tort u red at Fisher Street police station in Durban in January 1977. KHAMPEPE, Mampho Rosinah (33), lost her home and possessions in an arson attack at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1975 during political conflict in the Bataung community over the chieftancy. KHAN, Dennis Stanley (40), was beaten by security o fficers of the We s t e rn Cape Regional Services Council, during a protest against evictions in Elsies River, Cape

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Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 2 6 3

MADONDO, Maqhuphuza, an ANC support e r, and her husband were abducted by three members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pieterm a r i t z b u rg on 5 April 1989. The police allegedly believed them to be in possession of arms. She was killed, and her burnt body was found sometime later in Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal. Mr Madondo has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MADONDO, Nontombi (59), an IFP supporter, had her house and belongings destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, in May 1992. MADONDO, Oupa Ronald (aka 'Scorpio'), was abducted and killed by members of the Security Branch on the farm 'Leeuspoor', near Josini Dam, north-eastern Natal during 1980. His body was destroyed by means of explosives. Five perpetrators were granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 1 5 1). MADONDO, Phumelele Linet (28), was pulled from a taxi and stabbed by IFP supporters at Wasbank, near Glencoe, Natal, on 9 July 1993, allegedly because she had failed to give them information about ANC supporters reporting 'comrades'. MADONDO, Sibusiso, a MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC) member, died after being shot, stoned and stabbed with a sharp object in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, in February 1989. Mr Madondo died when he was sent to kill five youths who had allegedly refused to join the MUFC. MADONDO, Sihle Johan (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters at KwaPata, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990. IFP supporters were allegedly trying to evict ANC supporters from the area at the time. MADONDO, Siyabonga Wilson (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 28 December 1990. Police came to his home looking for him, and fired shots into the ceiling where he was hiding. MADONDO, Thamsanqa Wellington (17), a COSAS member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP under emergency regulations in Protea, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 February 1987. Mr Madondo was detained because of his political activities. MADONDO, Thandi G (34), had her house in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in September 1989 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. MADONDO, Thandi Zakhona (12), was severely injured in a grenade blast during conflict between rival trade unions in Tongaat, Natal, in 1985. Thandi lost her left arm as a result of the explosion. MADONSELA, Anthony (22), was shot in the stomach and leg by members of the SAP in Naas, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 18 May 1986 when singing freedom songs with friends in the street. MADONSELA, Jabulani Samson (19), an Impumelo Youth Congress member, was severely beaten and stabbed with a sharp object by members of the SAP and PI R A T E S FOOTBALL CLUB vigilantes in Leandra, Tvl, during 1985. Police, in collusion with the vigilantes, constantly harassed Impumelelo Youth Congress

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Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

askaris for supposed military training. The house they were staying in was set alight and their bodies were burnt beyond recognition. See NINETEEN D A M B U S H. MALOKA, Matlaka Julia, was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MALOKA, Molefe Abel (45), an ANC supporter, was detained for 31 days during 1990 by the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, under emergency regulations, still in force in this area. In 1961 Mr Maloka was deprived of his chieftainship and had his land confiscated. In 1984 when his cattle strayed onto land formerly owned by him, his hand was broken during severe beating by a named perpetrator. MALOKA, Motlhoki Paulus (41), was arrested and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Maboloko near Brits, Tvl, in September 1976 for suspected involvement in acts of violence in the community during conflict over the chieftancy. MALOKE, Charles Tokelo, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Kliptown, Soweto, on 26 August 1986 while they were trying to evict residents during a rent boycott. MALOMA, Sibonsile Phumzile (15) was shot by members of the SAP in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 13 February 1986 during a student protest. MALONEY, Christian C, was severely injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on patrons at the

Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. One person was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. See APLA AT TA C K S. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016). MALOPE, Andrew, a Brigadier in the Bophuthatswana Police was shot and killed by MK operatives at Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, during August 1986. Amnesty applicants testified that Mr Malope was allegedly targeted because he was implicated in numerous cases of assault and torture of political detainees. Four MK members were granted amnesty (A C / 1 9 9 8 / 0 0 4 8) . MALOPE, Beauty (21), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 2 9 4) . MALOPE, Edward (16), was reported to the Commission as having disappeared from his home in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1976. The Commission established that Mr Malope joined MK and operated under the name of 'Joseph "Maker" Masimini'. In 1984, he was executed by firing squad in Angola in 1984 on the orders of an ANC military tribunal, following a mutiny in the Pango camp. See ANC C A M P S. MALOPE, Johannes Lekgoa, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 in the

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MASALA, Nicholas (46), a CAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP during protests in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 8 August 1987. MASALESA, Raisibe Albertina (32), had her home demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 8 February 1993. MASAMANZI, Mlungisi Samuel (24), a BCM member, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976. His left arm was amputated as a result of the shooting. MASANABO, Folobi Jacob (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on a crowd of people marching to the town council offices in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 21 November 1985. The marchers were protesting against rent increases. MASANABO, Petrus Paulus (30), was severely beaten and shot in the head by members of the SAP in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, in April 1984 because he refused to join the IM B O K O D O vigilante group during conflict over I N C O R P O R A T I O N. MASANABO, Simon Babili, was abducted and burnt to death by 'comrades' in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 June 1986 during conflict over proposed independence which engulfed KwaNdebele between May and September 1986. MASANG, Ntombifikile Nesta (41), had her home at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in June 1993 during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MASANGANE, Mozi Benjamin (48), had his house burnt down by 'comrades' in Klau-Klau, White River, Tvl, on 19 May 1986 because he was a friend of the local chief believed to be a puppet of the apartheid government. MASANGO, Aaron, a UDF supporter, was abducted by IM B O K O D O vigilantes in 1986, and taken to Almansdrift Hall in KwaNdebele where he was beaten with sjamboks, in an attempt to force him to join IM B O K O D O. MASANGO, Andile Geoffrey (23), was detained for four months at Oudtshoorn, Cape, in 1985, after being implicated in the killing of a local C O U N C I L L O R. MASANGO, Aubrey Benjamin Mzukisi

(25), was

arrested during

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Simon Mbusomoni

(34), died under

mysterious circumstances in Tokoza, Tvl, in January 1990 after being taken into custody by members of the SAP who alleged that he was a self-defence unit member in possession of illegal weapons. MBUNDU, Nceba Mxolisi, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 6 November 1986 during evictions following a rent boycott in the area. MBUNGE, Thami Stanford, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 June 1977 during a student march in the wake of the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. MBUNGE, Zola Joseph (17), was injured in the eye and on his body when members of the SAP opened fire with birdshot in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1977 during the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. MBUNGELA, Thomas, was shot and killed by a member of the SAP in Komatipoort, Tvl, during the state of emergency in May 1986. MBUNGA, Manthiywa Jeanet, was beaten by members of the SAP at Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960 during the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L U T I O N. MBUQUE, Xolile Humphrey (17), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP during political conflict at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 5 October 1987. MBUQUE, Zwelitsha (41), was shot dead in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in March 1991 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. MBUSI, Nomakhaya Patricia (39), lost her home in an arson attack in Nyanga Bush, near Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOK E vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks. MBUSO, Malobola, was shot and burnt to death by IMBOKODO vigilantes near Pretoria, during July 1986. Mr Mbuso and four 'comrades' fled from KwaNdebele to avoid being arrested. Two weeks later his parents were notified of his death. Prior to his killing, members

V O L U M

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

Andile Siduduzo Sikhumbuzo

(8), was

hacked to death when IFP supporters attacked his parents' home at Thafamasi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 March 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area. MKHIZE, Angelina Khuluza, an ANC branch secretary, was raped, severely beaten and stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at her home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1991. MKHIZE, Angeline Ntombeliza, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during 1991. MKHIZE, Badelise Pretty Theodora (35), had her home burnt down, allegedly by members of the security forces, in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 March 1990, during political conflict in the area. MKHIZE, Bafikile Alter (26), an ANC supporter, had his house at Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in April 1990 during intense political conflict in the area. MKHIZE, Bafunani (32), an IFP supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 August 1991. The perpetrators allegedly chased Ms Mkhize and her family from their home before setting fire to it. MKHIZE, Bavumile (33), an Inkatha supporter, was forced by ANC supporters to leave her home in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 18 March 1990. They then removed the roof of her house. MKHIZE, Beauty Ntombizodwa (45), was abducted, hacked and then burnt to death by ANC supporters in Mooi River, Natal, on 4 October 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. MKHIZE, Bernard Ben (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 15 August 1992. He and his family had fled from their home in Emagadini, Umbumbulu, a few months before his death, allegedly because of harassment by IFP supporters. MKHIZE, Bhokamakhize Linos (20), an IFP supporter, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at the Duduza hostel in Tvl, on 19 March 1994. At least ten people were killed in the attack, which took place after IFP hostel-dwellers had attacked and evicted ANC

hostel-dwellers. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for this killing (AC/2000/054). MKHIZE, Bheki (18), had his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 18 August 1988 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. MKHIZE, Bheki Petros (29), an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten by KWAZULU POLICE members in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in October 1993. He was later informed that his detention had been a case of mistaken identity as police were looking for someone else with the same surname who was allegedly involved in political activity.

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burnt on 23 October 1993 during ongoing political conflict in Katlehong, Tvl. MOGOMOTSI, Bettie Mapula (42), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP at her home in Bolele, Swartkops, Tvl, on 14 December 1991. Police fired teargas at people gathered at her home for a birthday celebration, accusing her of hosting a party for the ANC. MOGOPOLI, Abram Motshikiri, from Soweto, Johannesburg, left for exile in 1976. On 19 April 1990 his family was informed by the ANC that he had died in Angola. His name appears on an ANC list of those who died in an ambush in Angola on 26 December 1983. MOGOROSI, Denson Malebogo (28), a UDF supporter, was arrested the day after a UDF meeting in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, during August 1985. He was seriously injured after being thrown in the air, banged on the floor and severely assaulted by named members of the SAP. MOGOROSI, Malokia, a councillor and UDF supporter, was shot dead at his shop in Katlehong, Tvl, during a rent boycott in 1985. MOGOROSI, Mohlomi Daddy (13), an ANCYL member, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, in 1991. Police allegedly colluded with the IFP and Mohlomi was arrested and beaten on two occasions following conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. MOGOROSI, Otumiseng Victor (39), was beaten with rifle butts by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, during a mass meeting on 9 October 1988 called to inform the community that Chief Mankuroane was going into exile. MOGOROSI, Phuthang Arthur (16), was shot and injured on 13 August 1985 in Diepkloof, Soweto, by members of the SAP during a period of student unrest in the township. MOGOROSI, Sanyboy Alpheus (44), had his home burnt down and was shot at by IFP supporters on 12 May 1991 in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, because he was suspected of harbouring ANC supporters. IFPs supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters. Approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence. MOGOROSI, Tennyson Tebogoo, was detained without trial and assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, in 1988. He was suspected of taking part in the failed 1988 coup attempt in Bophuthatswana organised by the Peoples' Progressive Party. MOGOSSETSI, Siphosiphos (34), was detained in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 25 December 1992 after resisting eviction from Marakolong village during forced removals in the area. MOGOSHE, Peter, when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25

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Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

7 Victim findings: Summaries

MOTHA, Mthokozisi , was killed when a petrol bomb was thrown into his home by ANC supporters on 21 August 1990 in KwaThema, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters . MOTHA, Sindisiwe Veronica , was shot dead by members of the SADF on 2 May 1991 in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters . MOTHA, Veli Joseph (34), was tortured in detention in June 1986 by members of the SAP and SADF in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele. MOTHABE, Molatlhegi Floers (21), an ANC supporter , was shot and injured when members of the SAP opened fire on demonstrators participating in a SCHOOLBOYCOTT in Bloemfontein in 1990. MOTHABI, Emma , had her home demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 8 February 1993. MOTHAGO, Esrom, was one of five people seriously injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Administration Board offices in Tembisa, Tvl, on 6 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132). MOTHANDOBULO, Nomadule (51), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIOUS. MOTHAPO, P , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. MOTHAPO, Piet Makgobathe an ANC supporter , was assaulted and stoned by named members of the Big Five vigilante group near Pietersburg, Tvl, on 11 October 1992. MOTHAPO, Rebecca Fahlaza (34) was shot in the jaw and stabbed with an assegai on 8 September 1991 in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, by IFP supporters returning to Nancefield hostel from a rally at Jabulani stadium. MOTHAPO, Refiloe Madipoane (26), a chieftainess, lost her house in Ga-Mothapo, Pietersburg, Tvl, when it was burnt down by supporters of rival chief TJ Mothapo on 16 June 1990. A week earlier, the perpetrators had insulted and threatened Ms Mothapo in her home. MOTHAPO, Selepe Amos , was assaulted at the home of Chieftainess Mothapo at Ga-Mothapo, Pietersburg , Tvl, by Chief TJ Mothapo and his supporters on 16 June 1990. MOTHIBA, Frans Maboko (30), was arrested, assaulted in detention and kept in solitary confinement for three weeks at Temba, Bophuthatswana, in 1991. Mr Mothiba was part of a group who resisted the appointment of chiefs by President Mangope.

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MOTHIBI, TM, a constable in the SAP, was injured when MK operatives attacked the Soekmekaar police station, Lebowa, on 4 January 1980. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0276). MOTHIBI, Bothobile Dorah (66), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taug, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and sjamboks . MOTHIOA, Samuel Tsediso (23), a UDF supporter , was detained several times between 1981 and 1986 in Koonstad, OFS. He was repeatedly assaulted and tortured in detention, allegedly because he had been identified as a leader in the political conflict in Kroonstad . MOTHOA, Frans Monawa , was killed in a bomb blast in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 3 June 1988. In a submission to the TRC, the ANC claimed responsibility for the blast explaining that the original target was a nearby police station and not civilians. Five people were killed in the blast . MOTHOA, Kleinboy Masenten Yang (60), was abducted from his home in Kgobokwane, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 by IMBOKODO vigilantes. At Siyabuswa community hall he and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were

abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. MOTHOA, Paulos Papa (26), was severely beaten with sjamboks and batons by members of the SAP on 8 March 1986 on the Dennilton road towards Kgobokwane, KwaNdebele, after attending a funeral during conflict around INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Mr Mothoa had become an active UDF supporter after resigning from the police. KwaNdebele independence was cancelled in August 1986 because of Moutse re s i s t a n c e . MOTHOA, Rachel Mamothusi (15), was shot with pellets by members of the SAP while standing in her yard in Phahameng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993. Police reportedly opened fire on a gathering of people on the eve of the funeral for assassinated SACP leader CH R I S H A N I. MOTHOB, Keletu Emma (32), had her home demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 8 February 1993. MOTHOB, Molatelo Mary (54), was detained, kept in solitary confinement and interrogated by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in November 1988 in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, because of the involvement of her son-in-law in a coup against the Mangope government. MOTHOGANE, Michael Ramohlalane (24), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in

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Lerumo Ishmael

(55), an ANC

supporter, was beaten, subjected to electric shock torture and suffocated by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 4 March 1986. MOTHOWAGAE, Ramootshoatswana Bob (36), was arrested and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein near Zeerust, Tvl, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Mokgola village into Bophuthatswana. Nine soldiers were killed and several residents were assaulted during this attack. MOTHSWENE, Patricia, an alleged IFP supporter, was assaulted and shot dead by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Voersig, Tvl, on 16 April 1994. Her friend was shot and wounded in the same attack. The SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0079). MOTHUNSI, Nkhushi Moses (50), was forcibly evicted and his property was destroyed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, in December 1993 during forced removals in the area. MOTHUPI, Abel Makhampa (18), was detained by members of the SAP on 8 April 1989 at Welverden Police Station, Carletonville, Tvl, during a consumer boycott. Several youths were shot while others were detained and tortured by police during this campaign. MOTHUPI, Abraham Magiseng (21), was shot in the face by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl.

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MROXISA, Neliswa (49), an ANC supporter and women's activist, was detained in Worcester, Cape, on 12 June 1986, and held for three months under emergency regulations. MRUBATA, Petrus (34), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and SAP members on his arrest, with over 100 other residents in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986. His right eye was permanently damaged in the assault. He was held in custody for five months while charged with public

violence, but was acquitted. M R U B ATA, Pringle Oscar Ntando (17), was shot and severely injured by a named AM A S O L O M Z I vigilante in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986, while he was on his way home from the funeral of an activist. Mr M rubata was paralysed by his injury and was confined to a wheelchair until his death from related causes in F e b r u a r y 1999. MRULEKANA, Julius (25), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape To w n, on 16 December 1985, after removing burning tyre s f r o m the middle of a road in the area. He lost his sight as a result of the shooting. M RWEBI, Nkosinathi (19), a UDF support e r, was t o r t u r e d by members of the SAP on 30 July 1986 in H o f m e y r, Cape. MSABALA, Allen Darius , an ANC support e r, was shot dead near Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 15 November 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the are a . MSABALA, Sibusisiwe Lucia (50), an ANC support e r, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in July 1992. MSAHILE, Treyer Freda Nidda (46), had her home demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana g o v e r n m e n t in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 8 Febru a r y 1993. MSANE Babazile (64), an ANC support e r, lost her house on 16 March 1994 in an arson attack by IFP s u p p o r t e r s on residents of Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N AT TA C K S. MSANE, Esau Bhekuyise (40), had his home burn t d o w n at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 Febru a r y 1992, when IFP supporters re t u r n i n g f r o m a chief's gathering attacked ANC hostels and homes in the area. See ES I K H A W I N I AT TA C K S. MSANE, Nkosi Christopher (21), was found dead after he had been abducted by IFP supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, in October 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Msane was perc e i v e d by the perpetrators to be an ANC support e r. MSANE, Nkosinathi MSANE, Phiwayinkosi , was shot dead

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 5 6 3

operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/112). MTSHALI, Elphas Ntamfela (40), had his home at Mtshivo, Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in June 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC s u p p o r t e r s in the are a . MTSHALI, Eugene Zakhele (16), was shot dead by members of the MU N I C I P A L P O L I C E in Diepkloof, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 10 May 1986. The youth were discussing a strategy for defending the community against the vigilante KA B A S A G A N G, allegedly linked to the SAP, when the perpetrators disrupted the meeting and killed three people. MTSHALI, Isaac Fundayake , was severely injure d when members of the O r d e B o e r e v o l k opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PU T C O B U S AT TA C K. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053). MTSHALI, Jim France , an IFP support e r, was evicted f r o m his home and lost his possessions during a subsequent arson attack in Tokoza, Tvl, in November 1993, allegedly carried out by ANC supporters. MTSHALI, Johannes Brian , was burnt to death in an arson attack on 12 September 1990 in Vo s l o o r u s, Tvl, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters. The attack o c c u r r e d a day after his father and brother were killed during intense political conflict in the are a . MTSHALI, Khanyile Emma (65), had her house burn t d o w n by IFP supporters at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 8 November 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the are a . MTSHALI, Khululiwe Nosipho (19), had her home b u r n t d o w n by IFP supporters in Nsingweni, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, in January 1993. Her bro t h e r, who was killed soon after this attack, was an IFP s u p p o r t e r, and his family was targeted because he did not attend IFP meetings. MTSHALI, Linda (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 2 October 1990. The police had found a fire a r m in Mr Mtshali's friend's car. His friends w e r e r e p o r t e d l y killed in the attack. MTSHALI, Lucky , an ANC support e r, was detained by a member of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E in Umlazi, Durban, in August 1990 and accused

of being in possession of a fire arm. Later, on 26 August 1990, he was found dead with bullet wounds in his chest. MTSHALI, Makhosazana Muriel

(49), an IFP

supporter

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

a UDF supporter,

was severely beaten by members of the KWAZULU PEOPLE, who attacked his home at Newtown, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1987. NGEMA, Samson (49), was severely beaten and stabbed by IFP supporters in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His son was also severely injured in the attack. NGEMA, Sibani (9), was shot in the head by IFP supporters in an attack on his family in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993. Three other members of his family were injured and one person was killed in the attack. His family was believed to support the ANC. NGEMA, Sinda Mzikau Khulewa, an IFP supporter, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at the Duduza hostel in Tvl on 19 March 1994. At least ten people were killed in the attack, which took place after IFP hostel-dwellers had attacked and evicted ANC hostel-dwellers. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for this killing (AC/2000/054). NGEMA, Siphongani (21), was detained by named members of the Security Branch at CR Swart Square, Durban, in September 1988, and tortured and blackmailed into spying on the ANC in exile. After arriving in Tanzania in 1989 he confessed to being a spy, and was interrogated at Greenhouse ANC base before being taken to Ti Ronova security base in Angola, then to Nonkal, Uganda and Kenya before returning with other exiles in 1991. NGEMA, Siphongani, an ANC member, was shot dead in a restaurant in Manzini, Swaziland, on 6 January 1988 by MK operatives who suspected him of being an informant. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/230). NGEMA, Sisi Joanah, 54, had her house burnt down during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, in 1994. NGEMA, Thandazile (50), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters during intensifying political conflict at Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in July 1988. NGEMA, Thembekile (64), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters during intensifying political conflict at Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in July 1988. Her son was shot and injured in the same incident. NGEMA, Thembekile Doris (53), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed by IFP supporters in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1993, allegedly because her family had defected from the IFP to join the ANC.

VOLUME

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

1993, during ongoing conflict following the launch of an IFP branch in the settlement earlier that month. NKOSI, Thembonkosi Patrick (23), was shot dead by a named IFP councillor in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 14 December 1991 during political conflict between community members and local councillors. NKOSI, Thomas (42), was stabbed to death between Jeppe and Stroud stations, Johannesburg, on his way home from work and his body was found in a train compartment at Braamfontein station, Johannesburg, on 23 February 1990. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAILVOLENCIE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition. NKOSI, Thomas, an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 19 November 1985 when the community was protesting against the eviction of shack-dwellers. NKOSI, Tilly, a prominent member ANCWL member, was

shot and injured by IFP members during political conflict near Wesselton, Tvl, in 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). NKOSI, Tititi Betina (62), had her home in Katlehong, Tvl, damaged in a petrol bomb attack, allegedly by IFP supporters and members of the ISU, on 12 August 1993. NKOSI, Tito (14), was shot and wounded when Inkatha-aligned BLA CK CAT S attacked his family's home in Ermelo, Tvl, in 1987, during a clash between members of the gang and UDF supporters in the area. His father was also wounded. NKOSI, Virginia Cabangani (25), was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Dumbé, P a u l p i e t e r s b u r g, Natal, on 18 November 1993. At the time of the shooting, Ms Nkosi was standing outside a t a v e r n that was considered to be ANC stro n g h o l d . NKOSI, Vukani Gilbert (37), an ANC support e r, was stabbed and thrown from a moving train in Katlehong, Tvl, on 27 July 1993, allegedly by IFP support e r s . Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in T R A I N V I O L E N C E . The East Rand was a key site of train violence with the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station becoming the line with the highest risk in South Africa. NKOSI, Wi n n i f r e d Notini (48), a UDF supporter and political activist, was one of three women abducted in J a n u a r y 1986 in New Cro s s roads, Cape Town, by WI T D O E K E vigilantes. She was held captive in a container in Cro s s roads for nearly a week without food, and her life was thre a t e n e d . NKOSI, Zephania (36), was stabbed and hacked to death by Inkatha Youth Brigade supporters during political conflict at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in July 1985. The perpetrators had allegedly searched anyone suspected of being an ANC s u p p o r t e r, and mistook Mr Nkosi for a man who had refused to be searc h e d . N K O S I YANA, Nomanesi (18), an ANC support e r, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CH I M O R A S E T T L E M E N T AT TA C K S .

P A G E 6

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 6 7 8

NQUMAKO, Dora Hlobozani , was shot dead in M u rchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 July 1992. The re t u r n of busloads of IFP supporters from a mass funeral in Durban had sparked intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area . NQUMAKO, Thethani , lost her house and her belongings at Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in an arson attack by unidentified IFP supporters on 15 March 1994, during a period of political conflict. NQUMSE, Afrika Lor e n c e, was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters in George, Cape, on 12 Marc h 1986. He was accused of being a collaborator since he was working for the council that was forcibly re m o v i n g people from Lawaai kamp to Te m b a l e t h u . NQUMSE, Zibonele Edward (38), a self-defence unit (SDU) member, was shot and injured by members of the Security Forces while participating in an SDU p a t r o l in Phola Park informal settlement in Tokoza, Tvl, on 6 April 1992. Two days later two women were shot dead, four were raped and more than 100 Phola Park residents were assaulted by members of the SADF 32 Batallion which was deployed in the area as a peacekeeping force. N Q W A L A, Zamile T e r r e n c e (24), an ANC support e r, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC pro t e s t m a r c h to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirt y people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BI S H O M A S S A C R E . Tw o members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). N Q W A Z I, Khululekile , a Transkei Defence Forc e (TDF) soldier, was injured during an AT T E M P T E D C O U P I N U M TATA, TR A N S K E I, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six V l a k p l a s operatives were granted amnesty for providing arm s for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in s u p p o r t i n g the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199). NQWELE, Mncedisi Rooi (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DU N C A N V I L L A G E, East London, on 13 August 1985. NQWENANI,

Maphangwana , was brutally assaulted and his home and livestock were destroyed by members of the Transkei Police and other named perpetrators in Lady Fre re, Transkei, in February 1980, allegedly because he refused to adhere to an eviction order issued by the Transkei Government. This happened during the implementation of the Trust Land Act in the area . NQWENANI, Marikeni (28), was brutally assaulted at his home by members of the Transkei Police and other named perpetrators in Lady Fre re, Transkei, in February 1980, allegedly because he refused to adhere to an eviction order issued by the Transkei government. This happened during the implementation of the Trust Land Act in the area .

V O L U M

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

NTOERENG, Stefane Meshack (51), a member of the Sebokeng Administration, had his home damaged in an arson attack in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 6 September 1984 during the V A A L U P R I S I N G. A number of councillors' houses were burnt during a rent boycott in the area . NTOMBANA, David Phathisiwe (26), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by named supporters of a local Cro s s roads leader in Cro s s roads, Cape Town, in September 1986, because of his opposition to the rent system imposed on Cro s s roads residents . N T O M B E L A , (first name not given), an IFP supporter, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at the Duduza hostel in Tvl, on 19 March 1994. At least ten people were killed in the attack, which took place after IFP hostel-dwellers had attacked and evicted ANC hostel-dwellers. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/054). NTOMBELA, Abednigo Bongani

(28), was shot and

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Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G, P R E T O R I A. SKOULARIKIS, Dimitrios (33) was sentenced to ten years in prison in 1986, in Benoni, Tvl, after having been framed for murder. Before he was imprisoned, he was subjected to electric shock torture, suffocated and had his body held out of a moving car with his head touching the road to force him to confess to the murder. It later emerged that the murder was carried out by members of the CCB and Mr Skoularikis was framed because he was involved in covert support for the ANC. SKRITSHI, Loyiso (25), an ANC supporter, was evicted from his house by ADM supporters, some of whom are named, during political conflict in Ncera, near East London, in 1989. Mr Skritshi had allegedly refused to join the ADM. SKRITSHI, Ngqondo , lost his home in an arson attack on 26 May 1993 at Ncera, near East London. Mr Skritshi, a headman who had been relocated to the Ncera area by a chief, allegedly became unpopular with the leader of SANCO shortly before the attack. SKRITSHI, Siphosiphiso Joseph (20), was hacked with pickaxes and hatchets by AM AAF R I K A s u p p o r t e r s during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 31 January 1986. Mr Skritshi's hand was badly injured and his throat was slit open. He was hospitalised for three months as a result of the injuries sustained in the attack. SKUKUKAZI, Lebohang Godfrey 'Lebo' (15), was shot and injured in Guguletu, Cape Town, in April 1987, by SAP members during a demonstration at ID Mkhize High School. S K WATSHA, Million Zwelinjani (44), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Holomisa, near Katshele, Tvl, on 7 October 1991

during political conflict between IFP-aligned hostel residents and ANC-aligned township residents. S K W E Y I YA, Mangaliso Wesley (31), an ANC supporter, was detained in Bloemfontein for 108 days from 6 April 1963, and was tortured in detention. S K W E Y I YA, Sizinzo Wilberforce (44), an ANC member from Middledrift, Ciskei, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed. S L A B B E R T, Petrus Arnold Gerhardus, was injured when MK operatives detonated a limpet mine in a dustbin at the Vanderbijl Square bus terminus, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. Nineteen people were injured and a number of vehicles and buildings were damaged. Two MK Special Operations operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/056). A late application by a third operative was dismissed.

P A G E 8

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

7 Victim findings: Summaries

TSOTETSI, Nelson (63), was severely beaten, allegedly by members of the SADF unit 32 Battalion, in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 5 June 1990. After about 100 people were assaulted, four women were raped and two others were shot dead by the unit in Phola Park on 8 April 1992, the Goldstone Commission recommended the unit be removed from peacekeeping duties in all townships. TSOTETSI, Oupa Ishmael (39), was detained, tortured and beaten in Evaton, Tvl, on 8 November 1984 during rent boycotts in the area during the V A L U P R I S I N G. TSOTETSI, Peter, a UDF supporter, was tortured by a named member of the Security Police on 23 July 1986. He had allegedly been implicated in the murder of a policeman. TSOTETSI, Piet Monkey, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 1 April 1990, while on a march by released detainees. The Goldstone Commission found that the police acted illegally when they allegedly fired into the crowd with live ammunition. TSOTETSI, Saul Andrew, an ANC member, was killed when a hand grenade allegedly in his possession detonated in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 22 March 1992. Another person was killed in the incident. TSOTETSI, Tumelo Johannes, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 July 1990 when police enforced a court eviction on Mandela squatter camp residents. TSOTETSI, Vusi Steven, an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nelspruit, Tvl, in 1986. TSOTSI, Ernest, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, who believed him to be an ANC supporter. Mr Tsotsi's detention followed an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076). TSOTSO, Nkosemntu Louis (63), was shot and killed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 15 August 1990 during violent political conflict which erupted on the East Rand from August 1990. TSOTSOTSO, Abel (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when police opened fire on a student protest march in Rammolotsi, Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Four other ANC supporters were killed and seven injured in the shooting. TSOTSOTSO, Fako Elias, a local councillor, lost his home in Viljoenskroon, OFS, in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 20 April 1990. Mr Tsotsotso was then forced to resign as councillor. TSOTSOTSO, Moorosi Samuel

(19), was shot and

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Name: References to Farm in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 306 references coded [1.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Foreword by Chairperson PAGE 11

forgotten the raison d'être for amnesty. Amnesty is not meant for nice people. It is intended for perpetrators. There are strict criteria to be met and we believe that the Committee has used those criteria to determine whether or not amnesty should be granted. Amnesty is a heavy price to pay. It is, however, the price the negotiators believed our country would have to pay to avoid an "alternative too ghastly to contemplate". Sadly, in almost all cases, there was an outcry only when the victim was white and the perpetrator black. I wonder whether people have considered how the Trust Feed Farm community must have felt when Brian Mitchell got amnesty since it was his misinterpreted orders that led to the death of eleven persons in that community?

50 As a matter of

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Historical Context PAGE 26

11 Indeed, one of most ambitious and far-reaching attempts at social engineering in twentieth century South African history was introduced by the first post-unification South African Party government in the form of the 1913 Land Act. No other piece of legislation in South African history more dramatically and drastically re-shaped the social map of this country. Not only did it lay the basis for the territorial separation of whites and Africans; it destroyed, at a stroke, a thriving African landowning and peasant agricultural sector. It did so by prohibiting African land ownership outside of the initial 7 per cent of land allocated to the so-called traditional reserves and ending sharecropping and non-tenancy arrangements on white-owned farms. The Land Act set in motion a massive forced removal of African people that led, amongst other things, to the deaths of many hundreds of people who found themselves suddenly landless.

12 An observer of the

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Historical Context PAGE 40

70 Beyond them, however, were more formidable opponents. Originally southwardmoving migrants themselves, these were now independent and, in some cases, powerful nations; state systems with hierarchic authority structures and deeprooted military traditions. Like the northward-moving migrants, they farmed land, exploited natural resources and raised stock. Conflict was inevitable and, contrary to the myth propagated by some schools of local historiography, it did not take the form a series of one-sided victories and defeats.

71 The reality is that

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

and those of their communities...

The pass laws and influx control regulations were, for me, the focal point of the comprehensive network of laws and regulations which dominated my early working life ... I was merely one of tens of thousands who peopled those seemingly interminable queues at the end of which, in general, bad tempered clerks and officials might reward one with some endorsement or other in the 'dompas'. The whole process of the influx control offices was painful and degrading and particular aspects of it inflicted deep humiliation on the tens of thousands who were on the receiving end of these regulations. As a 17 year-old, I remember having to avert my eyes from the nakedness of grown men in a futile attempt to salvage some dignity for them in those queues where we had to expose ourselves to facilitate the degrading examination. To anyone who failed to find work during the currency of their permits, loomed the very real threat of being declared "an idle and undesirable Bantu" by the Commissioner's court and being subject to be sent to a farm colony. Scores of people were processed through those courts and sentenced on charges such as failing to produce a reference book on demand. ...

It was one thing, however

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

possible to differentiate further between:

a those which fell outside the Commission's mandate because, on closer examination, there was no clear political context. Typical of this type were cases relating to the abuse of farm workers;

b those that fell inside

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

and national demands were met.

2 The office did extensive work on the widespread repression that had occurred in towns in the Boland, Southern Cape, Karoo and Northern Cape. However, many rural communities (particularly farm workers) expressed disappointment that the Commission's mandate did not extend, except in exceptional circumstances, to human rights violations relating to land and labour. This was of particular concern in Namaqualand and other areas of the Northern Cape.

3 An issue of particular

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

or are self- or unemployed.

11 The West Coast is dominated by agriculture, which focuses mainly on the production of wheat, wine and citrus fruit. While white farmers have flourished, African and coloured seasonal farm workers are locked into impoverished dependence, earning an average of forty-seven rand a week. Coastal towns like Saldanha Bay and Lamberts Bay are dominated by the fishing industry and provide 80 per cent of South Africa's fishing catch. Large national companies have decimated independent fishing communities through the quota system, resulting in wide-scale poverty in the area. The unionisation of the fishing industry in turn led to an intensification of industrial and political conflict.

12 The Karoo is predominantly a sheep farming area. There has, however, been substantial migration of coloured families out of the area and into urban areas, leading to a population decline in Karoo towns.

13 The major city in

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

in English, Xhosa and Afrikaans.

30 The Commission's narrow mandate was disappointing to some, especially in the rural areas, where many people had to be turned away from making statements on matters that fell outside the Commission's mandate. Issues such as the abuse of farm labourers, loss of land rights, police thuggery and racial beatings were raised, and it was difficult for statement takers to explain to the victims of these experiences that, in most cases, they could not take their statements.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 12 Cape

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Durban Office Report PAGE 412

10 The Free State has an average annual per capita income of R4 416 and an unemployment rate of approximately 30 per cent. Many of the inhabitants of this province work as farm labourers under very poor conditions of employment or as contract labourers or migrant workers on the mines in other provinces.

■ METHOD OF WORK Commissioners allocated

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

London Office Report PAGE 432

40 Individual examples of the committee's work included assistance to the family of murdered activist Phumezo Nxiweni, whose bones were exhumed from a farm in KwaZulu-Natal and reburied; and the accessing from private donors of a wheelchair and physiotherapy for activist Ernest Malgas.

41 The Committee held workshops

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

and Gazankulu.

Income/poverty profile

5 Poverty and deprivation take various forms in the region. In urban and peri-urban areas, nearly two million people came to live in approximately one hundred informal settlements in the central Witwatersrand region, with an estimated 2 500 homeless people in central Johannesburg alone. In rural areas, between 1.5 million and 2.5 million farm labourers and their families live in great poverty in the former Transvaal Province, vulnerable to stark hunger as a result of drought. The Northern Transvaal had the highest dependency ratio in the country (the number of people supported by one economically active person) at 4.8:1 in 1990.

Languages 6 All of South

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Amendment Act No 54: U

The 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act was amended to specify that all black persons, men and women, over the age of sixteen were to carry passes and that no black person was to be allowed to stay in the urban

areas longer than seventy-two hours unless they had permission to do so. Section 10, which governed who could stay in the urban areas, stated that black people who had been born in the urban areas and had lived there continuously since then, and those who had been in continuous employment for ten years or continuous residence in the urban areas for fifteen years, were the only categories of black people legally entitled to stay in urban areas (Dugard 1978: 74; Horrell 1978: 173). Powers of authorities were widened to include the ordering of the removal of blacks deemed to be 'idle or undesirable' even though they were lawfully in an urban area (s 29 of the 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act). If found guilty, a person could be sent to her/his homeland, to a rehabilitation centre or to a farm colony for a period not exceeding two years. Section 29 of the 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act permitted the arrest, without a warrant, of any black person believed to be 'idle or undesirable'. In 1956, a new section was added to s 29, (i.e. s 29 bis) allowing for 'the removal of an African from an urban area ... where his presence was detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order in any such area' (Dugard 1978: 77). Because the purpose of this new s 29 was 'to confer upon local authorities arbitrary powers to rid themselves of "agitators";' this new provision (unlike s 29 of Act 25 of 1945) did not 'provide for an appeal against a banishment order' (Dugard 1978: 77). (The provisions under this Act are extremely complicated. For a full description see Horrell 1978: 171-95.) Commenced: 27 June 1952 Sections 1-17 repealed by s 33(1) of the Black Labour Act No 67 of 1964, s 18 repealed by s 1(g) of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991; ss 27-32 by s 17 of the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986; and ss 33-8 by s 69(1) of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 13 Apartheid

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Amendment Act No 59: W

Amended the 1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation Act. Provided for separate industrial conciliation machinery which applied to black workers other than those employed in farming operations, in domestic service, governmental or educational services or coal and gold mining industries (Horrell 1978: 288). Repealed by s 63 of the Labour Relations Amendment Act No 57 of 1981

1955 Criminal Procedure Act No

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

J. Ref: RP 80/1985

1988 Commission of Inquiry into alleged misappropriation of funds of the Lebowa Government Service Mandate: To inquire into, report on and make recommendations on a) the possible misappropriation of funds of the Lebowa Government Service by - i) the financing of the erection of a house on the farm Majebaskraal and ii) the granting of a loan to Kgosi L.C. Mothiba;

b) the methods employed and

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

1 National Overview

PAGE 29

124 In 1979, the Vlakplaas unit was established under section C of the Security Branch. It was originally a rehabilitation farm where former ANC and PAC activists were 'turned' into police informers, known as

askaris. Other branches of the security police could call on the askaris to infiltrate ANC activists and glean information. In August 1981, several white policemen were transferred to the unit and the askaris were divided into four groups, each headed by a white policeman. By the end of 1982, Vlakplaas operatives were increasingly becoming the 'special forces' of the Security Branch. Vlakplaas, and more broadly the C Section, also worked closely with the SADF – indeed, for significant periods, an SADF liaison officer was assigned to work full-time with Vlakplaas. To a large extent, Vlakplaas owed its existence to the SAP's experience first with the Selous Scouts in Rhodesia and then with setting up Koevoet in South West Africa.

125 In 1978, MK began

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

infiltration resulted in civilian deaths.

145 The second type of military operation was the 'landmine campaign' of 1985–86 in the northern and eastern Transvaal. The thinking behind this campaign was that these areas were defined by the South African security forces as being part of a 'military zone', and the white farmers were conscripted into a commando. The ANC halted this campaign when it became clear that most victims of such explosions were civilians, including black farm labourers and the wives and children of farmers.

146 The third type of

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission, began in March 1980.

177 The deployment of RENAMO was part of a much larger exercise involving the transfer to South Africa of various parts of Rhodesia's pre-independence security apparatus. This included several hundred black members of Bishop Muzorewa's Security Force Auxiliaries who were deployed to a farm near Pretoria. Simultaneously, the SADF launched Operation Winter to recruit mainly white members of Rhodesia's various counter-insurgency units. The operation was directed by Major General FW Loots, then general officer commanding of Special Forces, who personally travelled to Rhodesia in the last days of the Smith regime to screen potential recruits.

178 In all, it is estimated that about 5 000 Rhodesian military personnel were recruited into the SADF in this period. Apart from skilled counter-insurgency specialists, other security personnel who joined this southern exodus at independence or soon afterwards included some Special Branch police officers and intelligence personnel from the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO). Amongst these was Mr Gray Branfield, who was assigned to Daisy farm adjacent to Vlakplaas, to run a Zimbabwe Special Operations Unit. Branfield ran a string of agents inside Zimbabwe, the most important of whom were Mr Christopher 'Kit' Bawden, his cousin Mr Barry Bawden, and Mr Michael Smith.

179 Other security and intelligence

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

of RENAMO in the Transvaal.

192 South Africa took over responsibility for RENAMO in March 1980 and the redeployment of RENAMO forces occurred in March and April of that year. They were dispersed over three main bases in the Northern Transvaal, with operational headquarters at Sawong near Phalaborwa. The leader of RENAMO, Mr Alphonso Dlakama, and six senior officers and their families were placed on Vofal, a farm north of Pretoria. The then

secretary general of RENAMO, Mr Orlando Christina, who also lived near Pretoria, worked in the DST secretariat in Pretoria and, like Dlakama, was on the SADF payroll.

193 Training took place at

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

inside Lesotho in August 1979.

203 The Basotho government responded with a major crackdown on the BCP, and by January 1980 over 700 BCP supporters had fled to the Orange Free State. By this time, Mokhehle was in touch with the South African government. By mid-1980, the LLA was receiving weapons and training from the SADF. The LLA was now able to move the bulk of its fighters from the Transkei to Dithotaheng camp in QwaQwa and another camp on a farm called Ferndale, near Bergville in Natal, where the Special Tasks personnel assigned to the LLA project were also based. These were at various times Special Forces members Colonel Hennie Blaauw, Major GC (Dan) Griesel (who was base commander at Ferndale for a period), Captain C 'Pine' Pienaar, Lieutenant Erasmus Steyl (aka Trevor), Colonel MA van den Bergh and Major Johan Opperman.

204 Although officially heading the BCP in exile in Botswana, Mokhehle seems to have spent a good deal of time in South Africa in the early 1980s. He is known to have stayed at Port St Johns in the Transkei in about 1983, where he developed close ties with the former Rhodesian military officers then running the Transkei Defence Force. At other times, he is known to have been given accommodation at the secret SAP farms Vlakplaas and Kochfontein. This latter was near Zeerust and was frequently used by the SADF's Special Forces as a base for attacks into Botswana.

205 Operations inside Lesotho focused

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990 PAGE 101

222 On both occasions, the ambush group used the facilities of a farm just inside the Swazi border owned by a South African named by Dirk Coetzee as an agent. The farm also had a helicopter pad for use by South African security forces.

223 The operation was jointly

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

LESOTHO IN THE EARLY 1980S.

239 On 26 November 1981, Dirk Coetzee led a team in an attack on a house in Gaborone, Botswana occupied by two ANC activists, Ms Joyce Dipale and Mr Tieho Masinga (aka Rola). The house was believed by the security police to be an ANC transit house. In his original hit squad confession document, Coetzee states that he was ordered to kill the occupants by the head of C section and to link up with the heads of the Zeerust and West Rand Security Branches. The base from which the attack was launched was an abandoned farm house close to the Kopfontein border post.

240 Amnesty applicants Almond Nofemela and Mr David Tshikilange as well as Vlakplaas members Captain Paul van Dyk and Mr Joe Mamasela were the operatives who performed the mission; others at the farm briefed the team on details such as the layout of the house.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 2 The

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

of a similar poisoning attempt.

293 The Commission has been unable to corroborate that Ms Braam was subject to an assassination attempt, but accepts that she could well have been a target for elimination by poisoning. This view is based on evidence before the Commission on the use of poisons as a method of elimination by South Africa's security services and on the testimony to the Commission by Christo Nel that he was twice asked to arrange for the supply of poisons to the NIS for use in Zimbabwe. Further, the Commission has considered evidence from Mr Leslie Lesia that, whilst in Chikurubi prison, he was held with South African agents imprisoned who told him that "they took their apparatus into Zimbabwe by plane. This apparatus included poison, bombs ... "20 . Court papers filed by Mr Guy Bawden in support of a damages suit against the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, included a statement to the effect that in December 1987 he was asked by his cousin, Mr Barry Bawden, to collect materials parachuted onto his farm by the SADF. What he found was grenades, firearms, clothing and chemicals. This pick-up occurred three months after Ms Braam was 'targeted', but is indicative of the use of contaminated clothing.

20 Statement 8 November 1990

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

in Botswana at this time.

323 On 15 April 1989, nearly ten years after a parcel bomb attack on Ms Phyllis Naidoo and others (see earlier), her son Mr Sadhan Naidoo and a fellow ANC member, Mr Moss Mthunzi, were killed in Lusaka, Zambia. They were shot while watching television on an ANC farm outside Lusaka where Naidoo was the manager and Mthunzi a labourer.

324 According to information supplied

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

made to seem an abduction.

366 Boom was thus taken to a farm in the Ladybrand district where she allegedly suggested that contact be made with Mashiya, a fellow cell member, with a proposal that she join Boom. Mashiya allegedly agreed, but insisted that she be accompanied by her one-year-old child. Once she had joined Boom, Mashiya agreed to become an informer and asked the police to deliver her child (with an explanatory letter) to her parents in the Vereeniging area. This was done. Soon afterwards, Tax Sejamane allegedly agreed to become an informer. Having established a network of agents, the three were returned to Maseru where they disappeared soon after.

367 This version of events

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

Steenberg and JJ Viktor snr.

373 A member of the ANC machinery who worked under Ndlovu was Ms Nokhuthula Aurelia Dlamini. She operated as a runner-cum-courier between the Swaziland ANC cadres and those in Johannesburg. Dlamini was abducted by the security police outside the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg in 1983 and has never been

seen again. Uncorroborated information in the hands of the Commission suggests that Ms Dlamini was held by the security police on a farm near Krugersdorp where she was severely tortured and eventually killed (for more details, see elsewhere in this volume).

374 On 12 February 1989

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

like Swaziland were sometimes hit.

467 The Commission has information on attacks by South African security forces or their surrogate allies, on schools and clinics, road and rail networks, bridges, electricity, water, fuel and communications lines or networks, food stores, dipping facilities, farms or fields of crops.

468 One particular target in

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Eleven had died in banishment.

6 Banished people were sent to isolated farms on Native Trust land, where they were usually given work as labourers. Some went alone; others were sent to camps built for groups of six or more. Both they and those who visited them speak of their extreme poverty and near-starvation. Those who were not given work were entitled to an allowance of about R4 per month, though not all received this. A banishment order was indefinite and remained in force until the government gave permission for the banished person to return home.

7 Mr Ben Baartman [CT00822

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

a period of nine months.

9 In June 1969, Mr Rangoezi G Tshikilange [JB01421/02NPVEN] was deposed as chief of Tshififi in the northern Transvaal, and banished to the farm 'Ardath' in the Kuruman district. His wife died in childbirth and their baby died soon afterwards due to lack of medical attention. In February 1974, his banishment order was lifted and replaced with a house arrest order. He lost another child when he was unable to take the child to hospital.

10 Ms Nozithandiso Olga Siliza

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

brother was an MK 'terrorist'.

198 Amnesty applicant Stephanus Adriaan Oosthuizen [AM3760/96] applied for the beating, kicking and suffocation of an unknown activist on a farm near the Pietersberg freeway.

199 Amnesty applicant Colonel PJ

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

as part of the SIU.

204 Mr Johannes Jacobus Strijdom [AM5464/97] applied for amnesty for torturing activists on a Hammanskraal farm during 1986/7 when he was a member of Vlakplaas and the security police's anti-terrorist unit – using forced posture, beating and intimidation. Strijdom and Major Sarel du Plessis 'Sakkie' Crafford were part of a team of mostly black security force members who were staying on the farm to assist with the interrogations. After interrogating an activist one Saturday, Strijdom and a named colleague left the activist with the black security members and went to Pretoria. When he returned, the activist was hanging from a tree and was being assaulted. His colleague held a pistol to the activist's head, with the barrel facing upwards, and pulled the trigger repeatedly. Strijdom got an empty soda water bottle and hit the man on the head several times. When he lost consciousness, they poured buckets of water on him. The interrogation was authorised by his commanding officer, whose name may not be revealed as the amnesty application had not been heard at the time of reporting.

205 Amnesty applicant Warrant Officer

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

an amnesty applicant, badly beaten.

289 From Norwood, Simelane was taken to a farm near Thabazimbi, where she was apparently kept in an outbuilding for a month, possibly two.

290 According to amnesty applicants

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990 PAGE 236

interrogation and torture to become an agent for the Security Branch and her removal to the farm had been organised to facilitate the necessary training. Coetzee claims that the arrangements surrounding this recruitment were discussed with his superior officer as well as with Section C at Security Branch headquarters. Pretorius and Coetzee said that, after three weeks, Simelane returned to Swaziland but that all subsequent pre-arranged contact and communication with her failed. These applicants said they believe that her defection was discovered by MK and that she was killed as a consequence.

291 A number of other members of the unit involved in her abduction also applied for amnesty. At least one of these, however, disputes the Coetzee/Pretorius version. According to this applicant, Simelane continued to be tortured at the farm in Thabazimbi. After about two months, she was put in the boot of the car, handcuffed and in leg-irons, and driven away. This was the last that black members of the unit saw of her. Her physical state at the time was such that returning her to Swaziland would not have been possible. "She was very beautiful. But by the time they were finished with her, she could not be recognised."

292 The applicant indicated that

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

forest workers the following day.

Ambushes and farm shootings in the Alldays area

333 A joint SAP/SADF

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

deaths of some sixteen people.

340 On 11 September 1987, one person was shot and two escaped in an incident at Renaissance Farm in the Waterpoort District. The two who had escaped were shot by a named farmer on 12 September. The investigating officer was CJH Bressler. The victims were Mr Nicolaas Moio, Mr Stanley Mehlahe, and Mr Frans Mgoasheng.

341 On 3 August 1998, five people were shot and buried on Bridge Water Farm, a state-owned farm in the Alldays area. The investigating officer was Warrant Officer Pretorius, an amnesty applicant in this and the Alldays incident.

342 On 23 September 1998

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

the ANC.

Phumelo Moses Nthelang

443 In June 1989, Eugene de Kock returned from an operation near the Oshoek border post that had failed to materialise. According to him, by the time he and his colleagues arrived at Vlakplaas they had drunk a significant amount of alcohol and they continued drinking in the Vlakplaas bar. While there, askari Phumelo Moses Nthelang reported to De Kock that he had lost his weapon. De Kock first struck Nthelang with a snooker cue and, when that broke, with his open hand. A number of other Vlakplaas operatives joined in the assault. Nthelang was 'tubed' (a common form of torture in which a tube is held tightly over the victim's mouth, preventing him or her from breathing), beaten and kicked to death. His body was taken to a farm near Zeerust and buried.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

Basie Smit.

Section C1: Vlakplaas

16 The unit which came to be known by the name of the farm was started in the late 1970s by Col JJ Viktor, then head of the C section, and Col Jan du Preez.

17 The purpose of Vlakplaas

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

IN THESE INSTANCES.

Landmine campaign

38 From late 1985 to mid-1987, some MK units were tasked with laying anti-tank mines in the rural areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, targeting military patrols. A number of civilians – both white farmers, their families, and black farm labourers – were killed when these explosives were detonated. The ANC estimates that thirty landmine explosions took place in this period, resulting in some twenty-three deaths, including those of two MK members killed in the course of laying a mine.

39 According to a submission

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

laying of anti-tank mines.

42 In a landmine explosion that took place on 15 December 1985 at Chatsworth farm in the district of Messina, five people were killed and five injured. Three of the dead were children aged two, eight and ten. Mr Johannes Frederick van Eck [JB00707/01MPWES] was severely injured and lost four members of his family: Johannes Frederick (jnr), Jacoba, Nelmarie and Michael Ignatius. His one-year-old son survived the blast. Two members of the De Nysschen family (Marie and Carla) who were with the Van Ecks also died, while Grizelle and Thea de Nysschen were injured.

43 Mr van Eck expressed

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 to 1990 PAGE 334

THE COMMISSION FINDS, HOWEVER, THAT THE ANC'S LANDMINE CAMPAIGN IN THE RURAL AREAS OF THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN TRANSVAAL IN THE PERIOD 1985-87 CANNOT BE CONDONED IN THAT IT RESULTED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS – CAUSING INJURIES TO AND LOSS OF LIVES OF CIVILIANS, INCLUDING FARM LABOURERS AND CHILDREN. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE USE OF LANDMINES INEVITABLY LEADS TO CIVILIAN CASUALTIES AS IT DOES NOT DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN TARGETS AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE CONTROLLED. THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS. THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THAT, TO ITS CREDIT, THE ANC ABANDONED THE LANDMINE CAMPAIGN IN THE LIGHT OF THE HIGH CIVILIAN CASUALTY RATE.

Killing of individual 'enemies' and

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

the Berg River in Paarl.

197 The Snyman Commission appointed to investigate the Paarl violence highlighted corruption and bad management in the Bantu Administration offices in Paarl and the inhuman treatment meted out to the so-called "Bantus". The PAC told the Commission that the violence in Paarl was directed against "the self-enrichment of a Mr Le Roux who hoarded migrant workers from Eastern Cape in his farm, using them as cheap labour, only giving them food".

198 The only PAC victim

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

did not leave politics alone.

125 When military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo deposed Sebe's government, the use of state-sponsored vigilantes continued. When the clashes between Gqozo's government and ANC supporters became increasingly bloody during 1992-94, Gqozo hired a private security company – Peace Force – to guard government installations and to recruit and train members of the government's African Democratic Movement (ADM), which acted as a vigilante force. As with the 1983 vigilantes, rural chiefs and headmen were crucial in recruiting these trainees. This group was given training by Peace Force at the CDF military

base on the coast, next door to Gqozo's private farm, and was armed with shotguns. Later Gqozo's security forces also armed headmen with G3 rifles.

Ciskei policy: targeting entire communities

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

run the clandestine security operations.

163 It is during this period that the security police set up an additional base in the Eastern Cape in support of Vlakplaas – based on a farm outside East London and apparently set up sometime during 1987. It is highly likely that one of Coetzee's key tasks was to oversee the setting up of this base.

164 During the mid-1980s

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

been thwarted by the authorities.

167 The Vlakplaas askaris were clearly operating in the Eastern Cape and in the then independent Transkei during the early 1980s. The Terrorism Research Centre incident lists record that on 7 August 1981 there was shoot-out between the police and the ANC cadres in Butterworth following a bomb blast in East London the day before; two Transkei policemen died. Later the same day two SAP members were seriously injured in a clash with the same guerrillas at a roadblock near Elliot on the main road to Lesotho; "Two ANC gunmen killed, one captured," noted the Terrorism Research Centre. Five days later the organisation recorded "Two ANC gunmen fatally wounded, one policeman seriously wounded, in shootout with police on farm near Aliwal North; the two ANC men were the last two of the group involved in the bomb incident at East London on 6 August, and the Butterworth and Elliot shootings on 7 August"²⁴. There is some confusion about the number of guerrillas involved in these incidents and their fate: the Commission dug up the remains of four guerrillas secretly buried by police on an Aliwal North farm after this incident, thus accounting for the two

²⁴ Terrorism Research Centre, 'Special

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

way to the latter four.

168 By late 1981, the Vlakplaas unit had been sent down to the Eastern Cape for a stint of several weeks, as reported by Dirk Coetzee. He reports that the C1 unit moved down to the Eastern Cape following a clash between police and guerrillas at Elliot and Barkly Pass in August 1981 (presumably the clash which resulted in the guerrillas being buried on the Aliwal North farm) and worked there for seven to eight weeks²⁵.

169 The early killings related

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

PAGE 477

■ KWANDEBELE KwaNdebele independence

289 In light of the unrest that eventually followed, it is ironic to note that Pretoria's homeland planners were initially loath to create a separate homeland for the Ndebele. In terms of the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, the Ndebele were not recognised as a 'national unit' worthy of their own homeland. For

many years, apartheid's ethnic strategists hoped that the Ndebele would simply assimilate into Bophuthatswana or Lebowa where a large number of Ndebeles already lived. In 1979, however, the South Ndebele territorial authority was granted legislative assembly status. Two years later KwaNdebele became self-governing. Although the South African government frequently justified its abrupt change in policy by referring to requests for recognition from Ndebele traditionalists, the real reasons lay in South Africa's changing political economy and emerging strategic concerns. The large number of Ndebeles forced off white-owned farms because of mechanisation and the sudden exodus of Ndebeles fleeing ethnic harassment in Bophuthatswana had created an acute demographic problem for Pretoria's planners. KwaNdebele's establishment was designed to control groups displaced by these processes.

290 By the early 1980s

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

the Northern Sotho 'national unit'.

308 However, on the recommendations of the 1975 select committee for Bantu Affairs, the government considered incorporating Moutse into the soon to be established Ndebele homeland. Given Moutse's history and its ethnic composition, many analysts condemned the proposal as a violation of apartheid's ethnic ideal. Internal DCAD memoranda reveal that the department realised that their plans for Moutse represented a significant change of emphasis. Nevertheless, officials justified Moutse's incorporation based on a number of administrative, economic and developmental considerations. For its part, the 1975 select committee was motivated by a number of concerns. First, the incorporation of Moutse would have greatly expanded the area of the small KwaNdebele homeland. Second, the enlarged homeland would have remained a contiguous area, a goal frequently mentioned by apartheid planners but rarely achieved. Third, KwaNdebele's land area and population size would be boosted without the costs and negative publicity accompanying physical removals. Finally, given Moutse's combination of trust land and African freehold, the area's incorporation would boost KwaNdebele's size without the state having to purchase white farms or modify the amount of land occupied by Africans in terms of the limits set by the 1936 Land Act. In 1980, the central government excised Moutse from Lebowa, the first step towards acting on the select committee's recommendation.

309 Following Moutse's excision from

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

their planned memorial for Mbuzini.

47 The main pieces of wreckage are still at Tonga police station, where they were taken after the investigation. Some pieces found their way to a game farm. The rest of the wreckage is at a scrap yard in Witrivier.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 6 Special

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

the process of locating bodies.

6 An undertaker in Louis Trichardt, Transvaal told a Commission investigator that his father, who had owned the business before him, had been visited by the police in 1987/1988 and asked to come to a farm in the

mountains where they "were going to shoot blacks". His father was to collect the bodies, accompanied by his son.

7 The undertaker pointed out

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

Zandile) Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed in 1988; exhumed 12 March 1997 at Elandskop farm, KwaZulu-Natal. Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe was allegedly the acting commander of Natal MK activities from Swaziland and was responsible for the infiltration of ANC cadres into Natal. Durban Security Branch members abducted her from Swaziland. She was not prepared to co-operate with the police. They state that they did not have admissible evidence to prosecute her and that they could not release her, so they killed her and buried her on the Elandskop farm.

1 KZN/NNN/018/DN

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

Nxiweni2 Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 4 November 1988; exhumed 14 March 1997 at Verulam farm and reburied in the Eastern Cape.

Mr Phumezo Nxiweni was allegedly the commander of an underground MK unit in Durban, which the Security Branch believed was responsible for several bombings. Durban Security Branch members arrested him on 4 November 1988. He refused to work as an informant. They therefore decided to kill him. He was buried on a Security Branch farm near Verulam.

Lesaja Sexwale3 (aka Reggie Gladman

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Mqadi) Age unknown; ANC/MK.

All four were killed on 13 August 1981 and exhumed on 9 April 1997 at Lushof farm, Rouxville, near Aliwal North.

Mr Lesaja Sexwale, Mr Sureboy A Dali, Mr Thabo Rakubu and Mr Mthimkhulu Mavuso were members of a unit of MK operatives deployed in the former Transkei. On 7 August 1981, they were caught in a police roadblock near Elliot. There was a shoot-out in which Rakubu and Mavuso died. Sexwale and Dali escaped but were cornered on 13 August 1981 at Barkly Pass. They were overpowered and died fighting. The four bodies were buried secretly on the farm Lushof in the magisterial district of Rouxville (near Aliwal North).

2 EC0246/96WTK; AM4077/96

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Tekere) Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 1989; exhumed 6 August 1997 at Elandskop farm. Mr Bheki Mkwana was allegedly an ANC operative who was caught by the Durban Security Branch while on a mission to place bombs in the Durban area at the end of 1988 and beginning of 1989. He was not prepared to cooperate with the police and there was no admissible evidence that could be used against him in court. The Durban and Pietermaritzburg Security Branch members therefore killed him and buried him on the Elandskop farm.

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

Cele) Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 1988; exhumed 10 March 1997 at Elandskop farm.

Mr Emmanuel Mthokizisi Mbova Mzimela was an MK member based in Swaziland. The Security Branch in Durban and Pietermaritzburg obtained information that Mzimela would be prepared to co-operate with the police. He was abducted from Swaziland in July 1988. He indicated that he was not prepared to cooperate with the police. They decided that they could not release him as he might continue with his activities (including the smuggling of arms into South Africa and the recruitment of people for internal and external training in the ANC). They therefore killed him and buried him on a farm in the Elandskop area.

Brian Ngqulunga10 Age 42; South

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

Burials and Exhumations PAGE 549

Mr Brian Ngqulunga was a member of a team from Vlakplaas, led by Captain Dirk Coetzee, which murdered Griffiths Mxenge, prominent Durban human rights lawyer. Ngqulunga was later tortured and killed by his own handlers at Vlakplaas in 1990 under orders from Colonel Eugene de Kock, when they felt that he was becoming a security risk to them. Colonel De Kock applied for amnesty for the killing. Ngqulunga's family approached the Commission and requested that his body be exhumed from the farm, to be buried at the place of their choice.

Paulos Madiba

Watson M Majova

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

17 March 1998 at Boshhoek.

On 17 March 1998, the Commission prepared to exhume the bodies of Mr Aaron Makwe, Mr Watson Majova and Mr Paulos Madiba on a farm near Boshhoek, outside Rustenburg. An employee of the undertakers responsible for burying them pointed out three graves to investigators. When the three graves were opened, it was found that there were twelve bodies, four in each grave. The person responsible for burying the original three bodies could not explain this. The twelve bodies that were exhumed are believed to include those of the three men mentioned above. The identity of the remaining nine bodies could not be established.

Majova's remains have now been

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

the mobility in his neck.

33 Mr Leonard Michael Veenendal [KZN/Mr/146/NC], a member of the Orde Boerevolk and an alleged NIS source, was detained under section 29 in July 1990. He was handcuffed and had his legs bound in chains and a balaclava pulled over his head. He was taken to a farm where he was assaulted with fists on his face

and stomach until he vomited. During the night he was taken to an office and further beaten by askaris. On another occasion, he was told to undress and was bound to a chair. Three live wires were attached to his armpit, toes and genitals and he was subjected to electric shocks until he lost consciousness. After being revived with cold water, he was told to stand but was too weak to do so. His torturers then urinated over him. Veenendal was eventually released after a seventy-six day hunger strike.

34 An amnesty application was

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

and Mr Charles Zakhele Ndaba.

59 According to information supplied by Colonel Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96], Mr Johannes Sweet Sambo died in July 1991 while being interrogated by the Komatipoort security police. De Kock was requested by the head of the Komatipoort security police to help dispose of the body and assigned four members of his unit to the task. They blew the body up with explosives at a police farm in the area called Verdracht. De Kock, JJ de Swardt [AM3750/96], Kobus Kopper [AM3762/96] applied for amnesty for this killing. In his trial, De Kock received a six-year sentence for defeating the ends of justice by arranging for the disposal of the body. Later, three members of the Komatipoort police were charged with the killing.

60 Mr Mbuso Shabalala [KZN

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

Transition 1990-94 PAGE 598

74 Mr Johannes Temba Mabotha, allegedly a trained MK member, was arrested at Potgietersrus and became an askari. He was assigned to work with former Koevoet member Colonel Jan Daniel Potgieter at the Soweto Intelligence Unit, and apparently became involved with the Mandela United Football Club. It is not clear whether this was part of his work as an askari. At some stage, Mabotha's loyalty was questioned and, following a meeting with Vlakplaas members, he was taken to a farm and interrogated. According to De Kock, Mabotha was tortured so severely that he could not be released and was handed over to the Security Branch at Soweto and kept there until his injuries had healed.

75 De Kock claims that

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

security police and higher up".

135 Former Vlakplaas askari Joe Mamasela alleged in the New Nation in March 1997 that Eikenhof farm in the Vaal area was used to house alleged train killers. Mamasela's testimony was confirmed by an ex-police officer referred to by New Nation as 'Mandla'. Mandla stated that he and other Vlakplaas members were not allowed access to those they suspected to be train attackers and that they suspected that the attackers were foreigners; they "were very dark and spoke bad English", and that the men would be armed with R5 rifles and 9mm weapons.

136 A statement by Mr

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

that people would be killed.

253 An informal alliance between the right wing and the IFP emerged after the formation of COSAG in 1993. The alliance played itself out in weapons smuggling and paramilitary training, primarily on white farms and KwaZulu nature reserves. There were also a few cases where IFP and right-wing members took part in joint attacks.

254 Prominent South Coast IFP

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

advocated a strong regional agenda.

294 Even before COSAG and the FA came into existence, AWB groups in KwaZulu (the North Coast in particular) and to a lesser extent the West Rand, were working closely with the IFP, providing training on their farms and often sharing membership.

295 One IFP amnesty applicant

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

white farmers (rural 'soft targets')

494 Part of the strategy behind the PAC's 'Year of the Great Storm' of 1993 was to drive white farmers off the land so that it could be reclaimed by the African people. A number of attacks were carried out on farms in this period, claiming the lives of many civilians died; weapons and vehicles were stolen. Attacks centred on the Orange Free State, the Eastern Cape and in areas bordering on the Transkei.

495 The Commission heard at various hearings that civilians died and weapons and vehicles were stolen in a number of attacks carried out on farms as part of 'Operation Great Storm' during this period (see also Volume Three).

496 Mr Letlapa Mphahlele, APLA

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

cause of death is suicide.

Seven senior members of MK are arrested at Lilliesleaf Farm, Rivonia on 11 July 1963. The Rivonia Treason Trial of ten people including Nelson Mandela follows. Most are sentenced to life imprisonment. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is founded.

1964

The Armaments Board, the

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

killing of white farmers.

1993

An APLA commander declares 1993 'The Year of the Great Storm'. APLA operatives carry out several attacks on restaurants, churches, farms and pubs, killing mainly white civilians. In March, APLA attacks the Yellowwoods Hotel in Fort Beaufort and a Baha'i church service in Mdantsane, Ciskei. On 1 May, APLA attacks the Highgate Hotel in East London, on 25 July the St James Church in Cape Town, and on 31

December the Heidelberg Tavern in Cape Town. These attacks result in multiple killings and injuries. The government announces in March that it has dismantled six nuclear bombs built secretly before 1989. Six children are killed by ANC supporters on 2 March and ten are killed by IFP supporters on 5 March in two separate bus ambushes Table Mountain, Natal. Chris Hani is assassinated in April. Senior CP member, Clive Derby-Lewis, and Polish immigrant, Janusz Waluz, are later convicted. Over seventy people die across the country in violence sparked by his murder.

27 April 1994 is confirmed

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

Appendix: National Chronology PAGE 32

The ANC wins an order in October, restraining members of the ISU from assaulting and torturing people at Nyoni farm, the ISU headquarters in Vosloorus. The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk in October. The SADF attacks an alleged APLA safe house in Umtata, Transkei in October. Five children are killed. The ANC and the government propose power sharing and a five-year interim government of national unity after elections. Three years of negotiations end with agreement on constitutional issues in November. Agreements are reached on a non-racial, multi-party democracy, a bill of rights, a system of proportional representation and other matters. The interim Constitution is finalised and a Transitional Executive Council is installed, with representatives from all parties at the negotiations. The ANC and the government continue talks with the Freedom Alliance in an attempt to resolve issues in time to bring the Alliance into the elections.

1994

One person is killed

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

prisoners and their families outside.

59 Mr Motshwa Sigwinta [EC1782/97ETK] and his brother, Mr Qawukeni Sigwinta [EC1782/97ETK], were arrested in April 1960, convicted and sent to work as farm labourers. Qawukeni died in the 1970s, apparently while still working as a prisoner on a farm. The surviving brother told the Commission:

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Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Eastern Cape PAGE 46

I together with my brother Qawukeni Sigwinta was taken by helicopter to somewhere in the Northern Transvaal which I think was Bethal. We were taken to farms where we were distributed to various farmers where I was subjected to hard labour and corporal punishment. That was the last I saw of my brother until I heard of his death in 1976 because we were not on the same farm ...

We were planting and harvesting

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

had happened to Mr Twalo.

133 On 6 August 1981, one person was injured in a bomb blast at Central Square in East London's city centre. The following day a shoot-out was reported between the police and MK guerrillas in Butterworth, killing two Transkei police officers, including a Captain Ngidi. The guerrillas escaped and later that day were involved in another shoot-out with the SAP at a roadblock near Elliot on the road to Lesotho, resulting in the injury of two SAP members, the death of two guerrillas and the arrest of another. Six days later, there was a final clash between the surviving guerrillas and the SAP on a farm near Aliwal North, during which the two last guerrillas were killed.

134 As a result of the Commission's investigations, the remains of the four guerrillas were found buried in unmarked graves on a farm in Aliwal North. The remains of Mr Senzangabom Vusumzi 'George' Khalipha, [EC2318/97PLZ], Mr Anthony Sureboy Dali [JB00216/01GTSOW], Mr Thabiso Isaac Rakobo [JB02461/01GTSOW], Mr

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Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

MASSACRES.

Hankey shootings: May 1986

203 Hankey is a small farming town on the Gamtoos river, about 100 km west of Port Elizabeth. In Hankey, as in many other small Eastern Cape towns, 1984–86 saw the emergence of youth and community organisations aligned to the UDF and opposed to the BLAs. A town council was set up in the local Centreton township but, by May 1986, most of the councillors had resigned under pressure. In April, activist Sandile Joseph Mjacu [EC0089/96TSI] was shot, allegedly by a councillor, and died in hospital on 3 May. One of the councillors who had not resigned, Mr AM Mabukane, was killed by militant youth. Three days later the state-owned beer hall and the homes of two black police officers and a councillor were firebombed.

204 In late May, five

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

and burnt with petrol.

Cradock

277 Cradock is a small farming town some 300 km north of Port Elizabeth. Michausdal and Lingelihle townships at Cradock have had a long tradition of resistance to apartheid. Canon JA Calata, General Secretary of the ANC between 1936 and 1949, was from Cradock. During the 1950s, the town had a vigorous ANC branch,

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Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

reported to the Commission include:

a the early 1992 attack on the Wilgespruit farm at Lady Grey near Aliwal North and an attack on police at Lady Grey (submissions and amnesty applications received);

b the 15 August 1992

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

Officer Sokhela, in August 1986.

Ndwandwe was abducted from Swaziland by Durban Security Branch members Lieutenant Sam du Preez, Sergeant Lawrence Wasserman, Colonel Andy Taylor, Mr J A Steyn and Mr J A Vorster in October 1988 and taken to their farm or 'safe house' at Elandskop, outside Pietermaritzburg. She refused to co-operate with the police.

The police officers, lacking admissible evidence on which to prosecute her, decided to kill her. Her body was buried on the Elandskop farm and was exhumed by the Commission.²⁴

The Killing of Jameson Ngoloyi

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

for internal and external training.

Cele was abducted from Manzini, Swaziland, in July 1987 by Security Branch members Sergeant Lawrence Wassermann and Mr Hentie Botha, with the help of an unknown informer, and taken to a house in the eastern Transvaal for questioning. When he refused to co-operate he was taken to the Security Branch farm at Elandskop, Natal. His hands were tied and a bag was forced over his head. He was hit with a heavy piece of wood on the head and finally shot in the head.

The following security policemen have

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

in December 1985 (see below).

In November 1988, Nxiweni was abducted and taken to the Security Branch farm at Verulam for interrogation, where he was killed and buried.

Seven Security Branch members applied

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

Killing of Bhekayena Raymond Mkhwanazi

Mr Bhekayena Raymond Mkhwanazi, [KZN/FS/121/DN], known by his MK name 'Tekere', left the country in 1984 after being harassed by the police. According to the amnesty applications of a number of Security Branch members, 'MK Tekere' was caught while on a mission to place bombs in the Durban area. He was abducted and taken to the Security Branch farm at Elandskop, where he was killed.

The following members of the

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

the Natal Midlands is illustrative.

317 The township of Bruntville, near the farming town of Mooi River in the Natal Midlands, was administered by a town council set up under the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982. Around 1990, Mooi River Textiles (Mooitex) was the largest employer in the area. About two-thirds of its labour force lived in the company's hostels located in Bruntville. The hostel-dwellers were predominantly Inkatha-supporting and members of UWUSA. In contrast, the township residents were predominantly ANC-supporting and members of COSATU.

318 On 8 November 1990

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

that offered them better protection.

338 Bergville is a small farming town in the foothills of the Drakensberg and is surrounded by a tribal area falling under the IFP-supporting chief Maswazi Hlongwane. The area became a strong Inkatha enclave. An attempt by some ANC youths to launch an ANC branch in February 1993 was aborted after IFP supporters allegedly intimidated them. A second attempt was made to launch a branch on 20 June 1993.

339 The ANC organisers sought

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

law into their own hands.

352 Also in 1991, AWB slogans started appearing in Richmond and the first rumours emerged of AWB training taking place on local farms.

353 On 26 March 1992

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

whose father I don't know.

There was a certain girl whom I found in that house and she was also abducted, she said she was from Richmond Farm. They used to come and rape us, both of us, and they will take us to a forest and in that area, there were a lot of bodies, dead bodies. And they used to tell us that this is what we will become. They used to assault us. They never used to give us food. They took my clothes, my money. They used to give us a bad porridge, which was black.

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Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

KZN/MR/465/CT].

KwaMashu

435 On 20 March 1994, the ANC booked the Princess Magogo stadium in KwaMashu for an ANC election rally. IFP supporters, mainly from the KwaMashu hostel and the neighbouring settlements of Lindelani and Richmond Farm, began occupying the stadium the day before the planned rally. In an attempt to avoid clashes, the ANC held their rally in the adjoining street. Conflict erupted nevertheless and continued for two weeks, resulting in the deaths of over fifteen people. Up to 3 000 residents were forced to flee their homes.

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Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

previous month.

Civilian right wing

439 Overt right-wing violence first emerged in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. An informal alliance between the right wing and the IFP emerged after the formation of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) in 1993 and was reflected in weapons smuggling and paramilitary training (mostly on white farms and KwaZulu

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Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

the cities and industrial centres.

7 From the time of the Boers' arrival with the Great Trek, Afrikaners dominated both the farming life in the rural areas and the political and social life of the urban areas. The province became a bastion of Afrikaner culture, known for its austere and moralistic character. This seems to be at the root of the perception that the powerful Afrikaners of the Orange Free State were both products and originators of the conservative ideologies and laws that gave rise to the policy of apartheid. Indeed, the province's administrative capital of Bloemfontein was also the judicial capital of the Republic.

8 VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 4

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 331

Numbers swelled in the territory as many people were forcibly removed to the homeland in the mid- to late seventies and many others were compelled to leave urban areas because of lack of employment. The resettlement township of Phuthaditjhaba at Witsieshoek was developed to accommodate families of migrants who commuted daily to work in Bethlehem or Harrismith. In October 1974, more than 2 000 families were relocated to Tseki at Witsieshoek. Most of them had been ordered out of Kromdraai, Bophuthatswana, by the homeland authorities there; others were evicted from farms. Tseki lacked any health and education facilities, even basic necessities like clean water. The people erected rough corrugated iron shelters and dug pit latrines. No local employment opportunities existed. Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli campaigned vigorously throughout the 1970s for more land to be allocated to the territory, but only a relatively small area of adjoining land was added.

14 In the 1970s and

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

government and security forces.

Botshabelo

15 Between May 1979 and January 1980, an estimated fifteen to twenty thousand non-Tswanas (excluded by ethnic background from the nearby Bophuthatswana homeland) were resettled on the farm 'Onverwacht', some sixty kilometres east of Bloemfontein, near Thaba'Nchu – and some 330 kilometres from QwaQwa, of which it was designated to become a part. The farm, later renamed Botshabelo, had been acquired by the South African government for the purpose of 'relocating' people from white farms and from the deproclaimed townships of the Orange Free State. The terrain consisted of rocky, barren veld on which plots were marked out by tin toilets. Employment opportunities were few. Residents were forced to travel the ten kilometres to Thaba'Nchu or the sixty kilometres to Bloemfontein if they were lucky enough to have a job. Schooling and health facilities remained

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

clashes with the security forces.

27 Many deponents from the Orange Free State told the Commission that they had been victims of assault and attack, including social and economic deprivation, purely on the basis of race. The Commission was not always able to make a positive finding in respect of such cases, particularly when no clear-cut political motive was identifiable. There was a substantial number of reports and allegations of the frequent eruption of conflict between white farmers, white political organisations and the security forces on the one hand, and ordinary black farm workers and township residents on the other. This supports the impression that race relations in the province were particularly strained and social conditions deeply repressive in the province. It is against this background of racial tension, inequality and polarisation that the Commission has considered the submissions received from victims of violations in all spheres of social life in the province.

28 VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 4

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

The children's hearing in Bloemfontein

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

86 The Commission heard from

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

these groups as the enemy.

154 The PAC and its military component, APLA, launched the so-called 'One Settler One Bullet' campaign in 1990 and later targeted white farms in a bid to reclaim the land and return it to what the PAC perceived to be its real owners, the African people. The white farming community, the security forces and right-wing organisations rallied to counter this threat.

155 Conflict between councillors and

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

THESE UNLAWFUL ACTS AND OMISSIONS.

163 Ex-SAP officer JJ de Ru [AM1780/96] applied for amnesty in respect of the death in January 1991 of Mr M Rampalile (who was being held in connection with the killing of a Mr Shorty Bezuidenhout on the farm 'Vrisgewacht' in June 1990), and for the death in August 1993 of Mr Z Mofokeng, a suspect in the 1993

killing of one Mr Meiring of Kragbron. De Ru's application gives evidence of police culpability in many deaths in custody in the Orange Free State.

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Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

The killing of Z Mofokeng

De Ru and three other detectives took the suspect, Mofokeng, to the farm 'Beltren', near Kragbron. A similar scenario was set up and the suspect was shot dead.

164 De Ru was convicted

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

Bloemfontein on 3 March 1992.

178 Civilians died and weapons and vehicles were stolen in a number of attacks carried out on farms as part of 'Operation Great Storm' during this period. Attacks were particularly frequent in the Orange Free State, amongst them:

a The attack on Wesselsdal farm, Vanstadensrus, Wepener, on 25 July 1993 in which Mr Johnny Smith was killed and his wife Rene was injured.

b

The attack on Boonzaaier's

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

wife Rene was injured.

b

The attack on Boonzaaier's farm at Virginia on 12 February 1989, in which Mr Johannes Hermanus Boonzaaier was fatally shot, his wife Mercia was assaulted and they were robbed of their bakkie.¹⁵

c The attack on the

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

The killing of RJ Fourie

Mr Hendrik Leeuw, Mr Mishek May and Mr Daniel Magoda, all PAC members, applied to the Commission for amnesty in respect of the killing of Mr R J Fourie on the farm 'Stormberg' at Verkeerdevlei.

On 12 February 1992, Fourie and a companion, a Ms May, were returning to his farm from town when the vehicle in which they were travelling was ambushed as Fourie stopped at his farm to open the gate. Fourie was shot dead. Ms May was forced to take the perpetrators to the farm house where they took various items. Leeuw told the Amnesty Committee that Ms May was not killed because she was not a target. He said that she had been beaten to show her what would happen to those who assisted the apartheid regime. Leeuw said that the instruction had been received from an APLA commander, Mr John Showa (deceased), who was also commander of a task force set up as a separate APLA unit and given specific duties to carry out.

During the amnesty hearing, Fourie's

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 381

thirty-four deaths and many more injuries. Thirteen of these attacks were on farm houses, three in the Ficksburg area.

180 In March 1993, two

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

194 The head of the Free State Agricultural Union, Mr Pieter Jakobus Gouws, told the Amnesty Committee that the farming community perceived themselves to be the targets of APLA and MK, which had intentions of driving them off their farms. He said that they felt under attack as the liberation forces wanted to destroy their economic power and political influence. This perception was derived from acts of aggression on farmers. Farmers had to live with the perceptions, rumours, and the utterances made by these organisations. 195 In response to this, the Union appealed to the farming community to protect themselves, to unite with the police and security forces, to form farm watches and to take on security matters themselves. Farmers became actively involved in policing and patrolling their areas in vehicles. The farm watches bound the police, security and defence forces and the farming community together in a direct working relationship. Many farmers enlisted as police reservists (described by Gouws as 'special constables') who dealt not only with security matters but with ordinary criminal matters such as the theft, for example, of copper wire or cattle.

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Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

and went mainly for firearms.

197 Little villages like Vierfontein and possibly Kragbron were bought up by the farming community as safe settlements for elderly Afrikaners, often retired farmers. Security arrangements were tight, with residents and police taking special safety measures. Even these communities were targeted for attack. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INJURIES AND DEATHS CAUSED BY APLA MEMBERS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE PROVINCE BETWEEN 1990 AND APRIL 1994 WERE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DELIBERATE ACTIONS OF APLA MEMBERS ACTING WITHIN THE MANDATE OF THE PAC'S POLICIES. APLA AND THE PAC ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

198 It would appear from the evidence available that white farmers enjoyed close working relations with police officers and would often turn to the police for assistance in dealing with 'troublemakers'. In the Northern Free State area, poor whites would often aspire to be police officers because this was considered prestigious and was a means of improving their lot in life. Many security force members therefore came from local farming families. In smaller, more conservative communities, police were very much members of the community and more subject to pressure than in larger areas.

199 Police appear to have had free reign to deal with 'troublemakers' on farms. However, farmers also declared that unless the police dealt with the situation first, they would deal with the criminals themselves. Offenders would be punished, tortured and assaulted, sometimes fatally.

200 Reports were received of white farmers in the Orange Free State who assaulted farm workers severely when disputes arose on farms or when workers were thought to be involved with political organisations.

The case of Jonas Mathe

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

The case of Jonas Mathe

In 1993, on a farm called Lambertina at Clocolan, an ANC member Jonas Matli Mathe was shot and injured by police because he was calling himself 'Mandela'.

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Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 388

The victim was taken to hospital but is today confined to a wheelchair, paralysed and mentally disturbed as a result of the incident. His parents said that they did not take any action against the police or the farmer for fear that they would be expelled from the farm [KZN/LMR/001/FS].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT VIOLATIONS

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Police farms

201 References in several testimonies before the Commission point to the use of farms for the work of the police. It is possible that the farm 'Bloemanda' was used for interrogations in 1978. The farm 'Roodewal' outside Bloemfontein was allegedly used as a detention centre by the police. These allegations are, as yet, unsubstantiated. It is known, however, that the SADF had a military base at 'Roodewal' to which vigilantes, such as the Eagles, were sent for training courses in intelligence and counter-revolutionary strategies.

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Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

Asian (0.3 per cent).

7 The major city is Kimberley; larger towns are Upington and De Aar. The main economic activities are mining (diamonds, asbestos, copper) and farming, mainly cattle and maize. Industrial and commercial activity is limited to areas around Kimberley, Kuruman, Sishen and Postmasburg. Migrant labour comes mainly from the former Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei. The largest African settlement in the province is Galeshewe near Kimberley, accommodating almost half the African population of the Northern Cape.

8 The Northern Cape has a long history of land dispossession and forced removals. Africans were removed mainly to Bophuthatswana, often making way for South African Defence Force (SADF) military camps. Later in the 1980s, independent communal farming settlements such as Leliefontein, Steinkopf and Richtersveld in Namaqualand were privatised by the House of Representatives, leading to impoverishment and protest.

Socio-political features

9 Five

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

hospital treatment for his injuries.

37 There were persistent rumours that many more people had been killed during this period than was actually disclosed by the authorities. A witness at the Commission's Cape Town hearing in June 1996 spoke of "mass graves" on a farm in Bonteheuwel, bordering Langa. Some of the rumours were that some of the missing persons had been shot by policemen and soldiers driving in Saracen armoured vehicles as they fled into the bushes near Vanguard Drive. Their bodies were allegedly buried in shallow graves and later exhumed and reburied at Ndabeni. A reporter who covered the Langa shootings claimed that he had seen "at least twelve people who appeared to be dead".

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Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

VINDICTIVE HARSHIP.

Detentions and torture

57 There were several distinct waves of detentions and torture during the 1960–75 period. The first occurred under the March to August 1960 state of emergency. The next wave, accompanied by severe torture, occurred in 1963 under the 'Ninety-Day Detention Law', passed on 1 May, and following the arrest of the Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) high command at the Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, Johannesburg at around the same time. Mass arrests of Poqo or PAC members were followed by extensive torture and trials that led to death sentences for many of the accused. After further intermittent detentions and trials throughout the 1960s, there were the nation-wide arrests of South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and Black People's Convention (BPC) members in 1973–74 which extended to the Western Cape as well.

58 In the evidence before

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

of five years to death.

8 In addition to legislation specifically designed to curb political opposition, other government policies effectively curtailed African political dissent. The government worked systematically to reverse the flow of Africans to the urban areas and to restructure the industrial workforce into one composed primarily of migrant labour. Over a million labour tenants and farm squatters and 400 000 city dwellers were resettled in the homelands, the population of which increased by

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 6 Regional

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

of the victim – 1960–75

Lilliesleaf farm and with large-scale arrests of members of the PAC's armed wing, Poqo.

18 Assault and torture in

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

a fine of £300.5

68 The Rivonia trial, which followed the raid on the operational headquarters of MK on Liliesleaf farm, began on 9 October 1963. Eleven members, led by Nelson Mandela, faced charges of sabotage. The state argued that the ANC was dominated by Communists, had planned a campaign of guerrilla warfare and, after its banning, had decided to embark on a policy of destruction and violence. In June 1964, seven of the accused, namely, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Dennis Goldberg, Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were sentenced to life imprisonment.6

69 While the Rivonia trial

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

imposed as ruler of Tshififi.

97 When the Tshififi community rejected the imposed chief, the Bantu Authorities banished Tshikalange. In 1969, he was deported to Kuruman in the northern Cape, thousands of miles from his home. Tshikalange's banishment lasted seven years until it was finally lifted in October 1976. Tshikalange and his wife were restricted to an isolated farm where they were not allowed to have contact with anyone except the local police.

98 The Commission received statements

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

ANC's armed actions were black.

502 From late 1985 to mid-1987, certain MK units were tasked with the laying of antitank landmines in the rural areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, the aim being to target military patrols. A number of civilians – farmers, farm labourers and members of their families – were killed in approximately thirty landmine explosions. According to the ANC, twenty-three people died, two of whom were MK members laying a mine. However, other sources give a death toll of thirty-seven: twentyfive civilians, nine MK members and three security force members. Some of the victims of these landmine explosions have testified to the Commission. Most of the casualties appeared to have been women and small children.

503 On 16 December 1985

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr Nelson Mandela in 1993.

505 In 1986, Ms Lindiwe Mdluli, a farm worker in the eastern Transvaal, and her eight-month-old baby were on their way to spend Sunday with their family when they were also killed in a landmine explosion.

506 Mr Johannes Roos [JB01350

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

Regional Profile: Transvaal

PAGE 696

stated that they believed the killing was provoked with the aim of derailing the peace process. Members of the Political Violent Crime Unit based on a farm in Katlehong called Vlakplaas arrested and allegedly tortured a number of SDU members in response to the attack. All were subsequently released.

620 The Goldstone Commission found

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

security police and higher up.”

661 The Commission received information confirming the involvement of the Vlakplaas unit in train violence, as well as the link between this unit and hostel residents. Mr Joe Mamasela, former Vlakplaas askari alleged in the New Nation in March 1997 that alleged train killers stayed at Eikenhof farm in the Vaal area. A state-

63 See Duduza, Katlehong, Thokoza

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

the custody of the unit.

741 In September 1993, the ANC won an order restraining members of the ISU from assaulting and torturing people at Nyoni farm, the ISU headquarters in Vosloorus. The following month, the Complaints Investigation Unit of the Peace Accord conducted a raid on the ISU base next to Natalspruit hospital on the East Rand. A number of instruments of torture were allegedly found, including electric shock equipment and rubber tubing. East Rand residents arrested by the ISU had frequently reported electric shock treatment and suffocation with tyre tubes placed over their faces.

77 See Graph D1c.5

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

pointed out that government policy:

narrowed the bank's scope for granting loans and excluded the large segment of the South African population. Although not wilfully, the bank was indirectly supportive towards the prevailing inequality around land distribution and farming opportunities.

40 The DBSA made a

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

virtually all other potential farmers.

45 Along with control of the land, white farmers also benefited from control over the movement of people by means of pass laws, which placed enormous power in the hands of farmers with respect to living and working conditions, wages and the lives of black workers and their families living on the farms.

46 Similarly, it is evident that the state's policy of forcibly resettling into the impoverished homelands hundreds of thousands of black South Africans no longer needed on the increasingly mechanised, commercial farms was done, if not at the explicit request of the agricultural sector, certainly with its implicit support. Indeed, the nature of the precise link between commercial agriculture, the apartheid state and the infamous policies of resettlement as they were experienced by millions of South Africans during the 1960s,

1970s and 1980s is one that requires recognition and acknowledgement.⁵ Likewise, many farmers took advantage of the farm prison system, which provided them with free labour and resulted in many human rights abuses.⁶

47 Another critical area requiring deeper reflection by white farmers relates to the extent to which they failed – either by simple omission or through active hostility – to ensure better education for the children (other than their own) living on their farms. Education of farm children has long lagged notoriously behind even that education that was available for African and coloured children, either in the former ‘homelands’ or in the towns. This failure to educate children in a modern economy is itself a human rights abuse, for which the commercial farming sector must take at least some of the responsibility.

5 See Platsky, L. & Walker

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

his mind, support this proposal:

a Africans were deprived of large parts of land on which they had conducted successful traditional farming for centuries.

b For decades, millions of

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

the hearing on the judiciary.

Farm prisons⁵

16 Another gap was the notorious farm prisons system about which nobody came forward to give evidence. The farm prisons system ensured that farmers were supplied with a cheap supply of labour. African people who failed to produce their passes were, in theory, offered the option of ‘volunteering’ as farm labour in exchange for having charges dropped against them. Arrests for failure to produce a pass became a rich source of labour for the farms. The General Circular 23 of 1954, issued by the Department of Native Affairs stated:

It is common knowledge that

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

in the late 1950s stated:

After I had been there [on a farm] for about four months I noticed one day a boss boy, Tumela, who was only about sixteen years old, beating one of the workers who was cutting firewood. After the assault I noticed this man’s nose was bleeding a lot. The man sat down and his nose continued to bleed and he was left there until we were locked up at six o’clock. The following morning he was unable to get up and work. He was shivering all the time. He did not work for three days and on that Saturday morning he died. The boss boy, Philip, told four of the workers to carry him into the room where the dead are kept and the body was left there until Monday morning. On Monday afternoon about half past four, I and seven others, including Philip, carried the body and buried it on the farm. There were other graves where we buried him. I never saw a doctor or the police come to see the body before it was buried.

18 As a result of the publicity around this and other cases, the farm labour scheme was suspended. However, within weeks, the government passed an amended Prisons Act of 1959, providing for short-term offenders to be processed quickly through the courts and sent to the farms. The act provided that the farms be

considered prisons and that it was a criminal offence to publish anything about prison conditions without the prior consent of the Commissioner of Prisons.

■ THE ORGANISATION OF THE HEARINGS

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

purposes of interrogation and torture.

69 The Department of Prisons created the 'farm prison' system as a basis for providing cheap labour for white farmers. Africans arrested for pass law offences were frequently used to provide this form of labour. Although the Commission was not presented with evidence of this, it has been recorded elsewhere that the system resulted in numerous instances of gross human rights violations, some of which resulted in death.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 7 Institutional

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

gross violation of human rights'

48 This definition limited the attention of the Commission to events which emanated from the conflicts of the past, rather than from the policies of apartheid. There had been an expectation that the Commission would investigate many of the human rights violations which were caused, for example, by the denial of freedom of movement through the pass laws, by forced removals of people from their land, by the denial of the franchise to citizens, by the treatment of farm workers and other labour disputes, and by discrimination in such areas as education and work opportunities. Many organisations lobbied the Commission to insist that these issues should form part of its investigations. Commission members, too, felt that these were important areas that could not be ignored. Nevertheless, they could not be interpreted as falling directly within the Commission's mandate.

49 The Commission recognised that

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

state violently enforced its policies.

139 The townships and residential areas constructed in this period were grossly underserved. Many were without basic services such as water, electricity, adequate housing, roads, schools and clinics. Lack of services and appalling living conditions generated tensions that laid the ground for much of the conflict that was generated in South Africa's contemporary history. From rural farming areas to homeland settlements to urban townships, living conditions and economic deprivation provided fertile ground for conflict. The battle for national liberation and civil and political rights cannot, therefore, be separated from countless localised battles rooted in socio-economic deprivation.

140 Many communities mobilised around

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

relatives and friends in Bongoletu.

168 In rural communities, racism and conservatism entrenched vastly unequal social and economic relations. These were entrenched through the awesome power wielded by the small white communities, who were

able to control and regulate black lives from the cradle to the grave. People who grew up on farms were often regarded as the farmers' possessions. Many breadwinners lost their jobs because they became involved in politics and were seen as troublemakers. For farm workers, the loss of a job often threatened homelessness for the entire family. Thus, political activity generated divisions within families, as some attempted to maintain their fragile existence through acquiescence in the oppressive situation and others continued to resist, regardless of the consequences. At the Worcester hearing, Father Michael Weeder said that, when he first arrived in the Boland, he observed this fear of challenging the system.

What I mistook for apathy

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

activists acquitted in political trials.

d Evidence presented to the Commission under oath and by way of amnesty applications that, on the instruction of their senior officers, security police members abducted MK cadres, executed them when they refused to cooperate and buried them secretly on farms owned or rented by the police.

e Evidence presented under oath

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

LOSS OF LIVES OF CIVILIANS.

WHILE THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THE ANC'S SUBMISSION THAT THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD ITSELF BY THE MID-1980S BLURRED THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MILITARY AND 'SOFT' TARGETS BY DECLARING BORDER AREAS 'MILITARY ZONES' WHERE FARMERS WERE TRAINED AND EQUIPPED TO OPERATE AS AN EXTENSION OF MILITARY STRUCTURES, IT FINDS THAT THE ANC'S LANDMINE CAMPAIGN IN THE PERIOD 1985-87 IN THE RURAL AREAS OF THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN TRANSVAAL CANNOT BE CONDONED, IN THAT IT RESULTED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF CIVILIANS, INCLUDING FARM LABOURERS AND CHILDREN, WHO WERE KILLED OR INJURED. THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

INDIVIDUALS WHO DEFECTED TO THE

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

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was the acting commander of Natal MK activities initiated from Swaziland. She was abducted from Swaziland by members of the Durban Security Branch but refused to co-operate with the police. It seems that the police did not have admissible evidence against her, but felt they could not release her. She was kept in custody and tortured. Eventually she was killed and secretly buried on a farm in the Elandskop area, near Pietermaritzburg. When she was exhumed, her pelvic bones were covered with a plastic supermarket packet with which she had tried to protect the dignity of her naked body.

31 The Commission provided financial

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

which I had to do.

I taught at an all-Indian school and had no white friends. I became ecstatic whenever a black boxer knocked a white boxer down, or when the South African rugby team lost its rebel tour matches. This anti-white obsession grew, and I would dream about burning down white businesses and farms, but it was sheer fear that prevented me from doing these things. I then began to fantasise and, while this may seem laughable, I sincerely prayed to God to make me invisible for just one day so that I could do the things I dreamed of, and when God did not comply, I reduced the time to one hour, and in that one hour I was determined to go to Parliament and shoot every one cabinet minister. As time passed, however, I realised that this would negate everything that my brother stood for, his ideal of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa. I grew to realise that hate is a boomerang that circles back and hurts you. The turning point came when I read in Martin Luther King's book called *Strength to Love* – now, I cannot remember the exact words used in the book, but it goes something like this: "Hate for hate multiplies hate. Darkness cannot destroy darkness, only light can do that. Hate cannot destroy hate, only love can do that." I also started reading books on Mahatma Gandhi... So, I changed my philosophy of life. I realised that I could not hate white people. It dawned on me that most white people were to a large extent by-products of apartheid, just as much as the freedom fighters were. I learned also that

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Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

a part of facilitating that.

106 At the faith community hearing in East London from 17 to 19 November 1997, Chief Rabbi Harris described some of the concrete work that members of the Jewish community are engaged in, born of a sense of shared responsibility for past wrongs while at the same time being sensitive to the pitfalls of patronising charity: In the Jewish community, we are developing a programme called Tekun. There [was] a great deal of hot air yesterday and this morning about what ought to be done, but there have been very few practical examples which are influencing the grassroots ... Tekun is a Hebrew word meaning repairing, trying to put things right. It is a wonderful exercise; we are trying to apply Jewish resources, skills, expertise and know how, to be of maximum benefit to the upliftment programme. One instance is food: the Jewish housewife, when she shops, is asked to buy an extra tin or extra packet. She is buying half a dozen tins, buy a seventh tin. A dozen packets of something – buy a thirteenth packet. That goes in a separate part of the trolley, goes to the nearest Synagogue... We have many projects. I give you one instance on welfare. Nokatula, which is a home for the physically and mentally handicapped in Alexandra township, is constantly visited by the Selwyn Segal Centre, which is a similar home for physically and mentally handicapped people in Johannesburg. We share expertise and facilities, and we all go together to Camp David at Magaliesberg. May I point out that here we are not being patronising. I know it sounds terribly patronising. We are trying to empower people to help themselves, and that's why we are handing over the skills. We have a major agricultural project at Rietfontein. It is an educational experience in farming, based on the success

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Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

dignity is restored and protected.

108 In concluding this section, it is important to highlight, once again, the historical and moral basis for the above-mentioned demands for widespread reparations beyond the limited group of victims on which the Commission was required to focus. At the business sector hearing in Johannesburg on 11 November 1997, Professor of Economics, Sampie Terreblanche, listed the following seven reasons why "political supremacy

and racial capitalism impoverished Africans and enriched whites undeservedly": Firstly, the Africans were deprived of a large part of land on which they conducted successful traditional farming for centuries. White farmers on the other hand had the privilege of property rights and access to very cheap and docile African labour, my father included.

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Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

and was weak and indecisive.

3. The final position and finding of the Commission was that business generally benefited financially and materially from apartheid policies. Some examples illustrating this finding emanate from points made during submissions: a White-owned large-scale agricultural, farming and agri-business enterprises benefited from the colonial-era restrictions on black land ownership that were maintained during apartheid, and the extremely low wages such enterprises were able to pay to the landless.

b Those enterprises involved in

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

u d i c e .

44. Through punitive taxes in rural reserves and through land dispossession (the Land Act of 1913 and 1936), the black male worker was dislodged from agricultural subsistence farming and forced to work at the underg round rock faces. This influx of a large black population instigated early stirrings of swart gevaar ('black danger') – and more broadly a fear of the threat posed not only to frontier political control but also to the stability and profitability of diamond and gold mining.

45. Migration control regulations were

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

leaders into the state apparatuses.

51. The renting of Waterloo farm to security force agents by Tongaat Hulett, a sugarp producing company with a majority Anglo American shareholding, represents one example of such collusion. Business, moreover, directly financed the SADF through its participation in the Defence Manpower Liaison Committee structures. These were designed to facilitate the least disruptive conscription of white men to the armed forces by supplementing the income of soldiers during their stints in the army.

52. Outs

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

GE210

131. The Amnesty Committee heard that the armoury was moved from Vlakplaas during the Harms investigation (East London hearing, 19 April 1999) and transferred first to Daisy farm (owned by Security Branch Headquarters) and then to Mechem, a subsidiary of Armscor. However, operatives continued to have access to the armoury long after they ceased to be members of the SAP. In one instance, Mr Phillip Powell of the IFP received from Colonel de Kock six 10-ton truckloads of weapons, said to be a fraction of the

remaining armoury. At the time of this handover, in October 1993, Colonel de Kock was no longer a member of the SAP.^{6 3}

132. Evidence that emerged before

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

applied for amnesty.^{6 8}

158. Vlakplaas is a 44-hectare farm just outside Pretoria. C1 was ostensibly a rehabilitation project for 'reformed members' of the liberation movements. However, beyond the employment of a sk r i s as trackers of MK and APLA combatants, there is no sign that any rehabilitation took place.

159. From its inception

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

and refused in one instance.

184. One case involved ANC intelligence operative Jabulani Sidney Msibi, a former b o d y g u a r d of ANC President Oliver Tambo. The situation arose because members of the Branch suspected that they had been infiltrated by the ANC. When suspicion fell on a Nelspruit Security Branch operative, Warrant Officer Malaza, he allegedly confessed, naming Msibi as his handler. He was then instructed to set up a meeting with Msibi in Swaziland. Msibi was abducted and taken to Daisy Farm.

185. Although the Eastern Transvaal

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

severely assaulted and brutally beaten.

202. She was subsequently transferred to a farm near Northam in the current North West. Here she was held in a room in an outside building for a period of a p p roximately four to five weeks. Lieutenant Willem 'Timol' Coetzee, Wa r r a n t O f f i c e r Anton Pretorius and Sergeant Frederick Barn a r d Mong were tasked with i n t e r rogating and recruiting Ms Simelane. When she was not being interro g a t e d , Ms Simelane was under constant guard by black members of the SIU. At night, she was cuffed and chained to her bed with leg irons. The black members, who w e r e responsible for guarding her, slept either in or outside her ro o m .

203. Black SIU applicants, Constables Veyi and Selamolela, testified that she was repeatedly and brutally tortured throughout her stay on the farm, finally becoming ' u n recognisable'. The white applicants denied this vehemently.

204. A c c o

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

were part of this unit.

223. The a s k a r i unit operated from a number of safe houses and farms in Natal and established its main centre at a farm near Camperdown. The unit's primary task was tracing, apprehending and interrogating MK suspects, but as an operational unit it was also able to take proactive and reactive measure s .

224. One of the ANC's

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

Brigadier Jacobus Hendrik 'Jac' Buchner.

235. As mentioned above, the Natal Security Branch participated in the work of the a s k a r i unit and owned one of the farms from which the unit operated. It was on this farm near Elandskop that the bodies of three abductees were exhumed.

236. Applications were received from

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

C to go to the

house of Mr Moses Morudu, who was also suspected of being linked to the 'Icing Unit'. Their orders were to pretend to be MK operatives and to persuade Mr Morudu to go into exile. Morudu agreed to go with them and was handed over to white members of Section C. He was taken to a farm near Hammanskraal where he was held for approximately one week, during which time he was interrogated by members of both Section C and the covert unit, including Lieutenant Hechter and Constables van Vuuren and Mamasela.

273. Constables Mathebula, More and Matjeni applied for amnesty for this incident[AC/2000/010]. They testified that they had no idea of Morudu's ultimate fate, except that he disappeared from the farm after a week. The Morudu family believed that he had gone into exile but realised that something must have happened to him when he failed to re t u r n with the other exiles after 1990.

274. Another killing linked to

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

sentenced to death [AM2777/96].

276. Mr Petros Lubane was suspected of being a courier for Mr Siphiwe Nyanda (aka Gebuza), head of the MK's Transvaal Machinery and allegedly involved in re c o nnoitering Wachthuis, the SAP headquarters. Mr Lubane was abducted by Constables More and 'Bafana' Mbatha on 17 September 1987 on the instructions of Captain Prinsloo. He was taken to a farm near Rust-de-Winter in the Transvaal, where he was held, interrogated and tortured for a number of days. After unsuccessful efforts to recruit him as an informer, Captain Prinsloo and Major Crafford decided that he should be killed. When authorisation was received from Divisional Commander Brigadier Cronje, Mr Lubane was given a poisoned beer. He fell unconscious and was placed in a hole in the gro u n d b e f o re being shot in the head. His body was then blown up with explosives. The black constables were instructed to help their white colleagues comb the are a for pieces of flesh. These remains were placed in the hole, which was now much larger because of the explosion. A second explosion ensured that all traces of Mr Lubane were obliterated.

277. Mr Lubane's family has

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

s i b l e .

3 3 8 . In June 1986, Mr Jabulani Sydney Msibi, a prominent MK operative, was abducted from Swaziland on instructions from Security Branch Headquarters. He was subsequently transferred to Daisy Farm where

Captain de Kock and another severely assaulted him in the presence of Brigadier Herman Stadler, head of the Intelligence Section of Security Branch Headquarters. Brigadier Stadler instructed Captain de Kock to stop the assault, but took no further action.

339. In December 1985, General

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

Van Eck and De Nysschen

families were on holiday on their game farm in the Messina area when their vehicle detonated a landmine. Four children, aged between three and nine years, and two women were killed in the blast. Mr Johannes Frederick van Eck and his eighteen-month-old baby boy, Mr de Nysschen and his daughter survived this ordeal, although they were seriously wounded.

78. The former head of

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

amnesty for the provision of:

maps of border areas and the farm and security network. Instructions were given on reconnaissance methods and planning and on the collecting of data. When farm labourers and civilians were killed and injured in some of these explosions, MK Commanders, myself included, visited these areas with instructions to our operatives to exercise greater caution and be stricter with their reconnaissance. In the end these operations were called off. During this period I was working mainly with Paul Dikaledi (deceased) and Julius Maliba (deceased). (Hearing, 24 July 2000.)

ANC violations against its members

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 2 9 4

Robberies on farms

118. The Amnesty Committee also heard applications from UDF supporters who planned and participated in robberies, often on farms, largely for the purpose of acquiring arms.

119. Five UDF supporters from Kubusi township, Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape, applied for and were partially granted amnesty for five attacks on white civilians, mainly living on farms, during the period January to March 1990 [AC/1999/0277]. The applicants were Messrs Randile Bhayi [AM0122/96], Jimmy Nokawusana [AM1977/96], Mziyanda Ntonga [AM2018/96], Melumuzi Nokawusana [AM2009/96] and Bonakele Bhayi [AM2770/96].

120. In their applications, they sketched the turbulent political history of the township since 1985, including serious clashes with security forces. They testified that local farmers served as police reservists and had played a role in other forms of political repression. As a consequence, groups of up to forty youths, including the applicants, had embarked on raids and robberies on white farmers. In most instances, the motive was to acquire weapons and ammunition. In some of the attacks, farmers or farm workers were shot and injured. Amnesty was granted for four of the attacks and refused for one.

121. In a similar case, three UDF supporters applied for amnesty for an attack on a farm in Paarl outside Cape Town on 15 April 1986. The three applicants, Mr P Maxam [AM1283], Mr T Madoda [AM0865/96] and Mr CS Ndinisa [AM3802/96], were members of the UDF-affiliated Paarl Youth Congress in Mbekweni

township outside Paarl. The three applicants testified that the purpose of the robbery had been to obtain weapons to defend themselves against the police and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which they believed was being supported by the police.

122. The three applicants, together with four or five other 'comrades', set out to rob the farm where they had been told weapons were available. During the robbery, Maxam shot and killed the domestic worker, Ms Anne Foster, and the gardener, Mr John Geyser. Madoda and Ndinisa expressed their shock at the killings, which had not been part of the plan. The group fled and several were later arrested, convicted and sentenced for the robbery and the killings. All three were granted amnesty for the robbery, but only Ndinisa and Madoda were granted amnesty for their role in the killings.

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Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

ed. 176

63. IFP member Mr Conrad Bheki Magoso [AM4014/96] applied for amnesty for a number of offences related to a conflict between IFP supporters residing in an informal settlement in Richmond Farm near KwaMashu and ANC supporters residing in K-section, KwaMashu in the late 1980s and early 1990s. According to the applicant, members of a known criminal gang of dissident former UDF supporters, the 'Amamasi nyor', became an integral part of the IFP group. The conflict was sparked by arson attacks on the border between the two areas, culminating in the alleged 'necklacing' of

of an elderly man by

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

applications in the following categories:

a Violations committed by the PAC within its own ranks; b Armed robberies; c Attacks on security forces; d Armed ambushes; e Attacks on civilians; f Attacks on farms; g Sabotage; h Procurement and possession of arms, explosives and munitions, and i Other matters.

9.

It should be noted

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

and i Other matters.

9.

It should be noted, however, that these are not discrete categories. In some instances, for example, APLA attacks on security forces were motivated by the intention to strip the victims of their firearms and could therefore also be described as armed robberies. Many attacks on farmers and farms were also intended as armed robberies.

200 Trans

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

and 122 seriously injured.

90. Most of these attacks took place between 1991 and 1994 and formed part of the PAC's 'Operation Great Storm'. In this campaign, the targets of APLA attacks were, on the one hand, white-owned farms in the Orange Free State, the Eastern Cape and areas bordering the Transkei and, on the other, public

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Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

Dawie Ackerman told the Committee:

I went on record after the event to say that I hold no personal grudge: that I do not hate them and I stand by that. I also held out reconciliation to them, and I believe with all my heart because I've experienced reconciliation with God, through Jesus Christ, that it is available to every body, including to them. And I held that out to them at the time and I still do so now. ... It was a release to me to go there and to be where she was killed. And as the time unfolded, and the Truth Commission started up and I heard the testimonies of my fellow Black South Africans, who had been subjected to the treatment that they had. And parents and mothers, brothers asked, telling where is my son, where is my father, and we know now that some of them were buried in a farm somewhere in the Free State, some were thrown in rivers in the Eastern Cape – because I know the value of going back to the place where it happened, I appeal to the agents of the government, whoever they might be, to come forward and to identify what they had done, where they did it, at least give them also the opportunity to grieve where it happened. (Cape Town hearing, 9 July 1997.)

127. Mr Ackerman requested that

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

did not belong to them'.

131. In line with this policy, Diaho-Monaheng identified two farms in Fouriesburg and the Riverside Lodge outside Ladybrand for attack. The Lodge was also chosen as a target because it was believed that it was frequented by members of the security forces on border duty. The applicant also had information that the AWB was having a meeting there. In the event, the meeting APLA believed was going to take place had either finished or did not take place at all.

132. Satisfied that full disclosure

Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

granted amnesty [AC/2000/147].

Attacks on farms

202. The Committee received a total of twenty-seven applications from PAC and APLA members for attacks on farms, all committed between 1990 and 1993. A total of twelve people were killed and thirteen injured in these attacks. The Amnesty Committee granted all but four of the applications.

Attack on Mr RJ Fourie on the farm 'Stormberg'

203. PAC/APLA members Hendrik Leeuw, Daniel Magoda, Meshack May and Sebolai Petrus Nkgwedi applied for amnesty for the robbery and killing of Mr Roelof Johannes Fourie on the farm 'Stormberg' in the district of Verkeerdvlei, Orange Free State, on 12 February 1992.²¹¹

204. The Committee heard testimony that, during 1991, the PAC and APLA launched their 'Operation Great Storm', in terms of which APLA operatives were instructed to attack and to instil fear in farmers. The

applicants testified that the purpose was to drive the white farming community from their farms in order 'to get the land back'. During November 1991, APLA Commander Jan Shoba (now
211 Volume Th r e

Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

special revolver for this purpose.

205. The farm of Mr RJJ Fourie was identified as a target by Mr Leeuw and Mr Nkgwedi: Mr Nkgwedi had grown up on the farm. The four applicants went onto the farm property and observed Mr Fourie and his companion leaving, appare n t l y on their way to town. They also noticed that Mr Fourie had left the gate open. The applicants closed the gate so that, on his re t u rn, Mr Fourie would be obliged to stop and open it. They then positioned themselves in the bushes adjacent to the gate and waited for the couple to re t u rn. When Mr Fourie stopped to open the gate as anticipated, one of the applicants shot him in the back of his head. His companion, Mrs May, remained in the car, which the attackers then drove to the farmhouse.

206. The applicants searched the

Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

off in the deceased's car.

207. The Amnesty Committee received a submission from Mrs Margot Penstone, who stated that the deceased was not involved in party politics and was a prog ressive farmer who had assisted his farm workers to improve their stock, housed them in brick houses with running hot and cold water, built a school for their children on the farm and provided them with a soccer field. She added that she believed the murder to have been a purely criminal act. In this, she was supported by Mrs May, who stated in an affidavit that the applicants had repeatedly asked her where the money was kept and said that they were only i n t e rested in valuable articles. Mrs May and Mrs Penstone did not give evidence b e f o re the Committee, so the applicants' counsel did not have the opportunity to cross-examine them on these claims.

208. The applicants testified that

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 4 1 9

209. In making its decision, the Amnesty Committee first considered Mr Nkgwedi's involvement in the attack and whether, having grown up on the farm, he might have been motivated by ill-will or personal malice. In reaching a decision on this issue, the Committee concluded that an act that was, or may have been, motivated by a personal grievance could, nonetheless, qualify for amnesty where t h e re was also a strong political motive. There f o re, although there was some evidence of a personal motive in Nkgwedi's case, the fact that the applicant would have killed any white person in furtherance of official APLA policy meant that the political motive for the attack outweighed the personal.

210. The Amnesty Committee further

Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

of Mr John Bernard Smith

212. Mr Jacob T Mabitsa [AM5178/97], Mr Petrus T Mohapi [AM1167/97], Mr Thabo Paulus Mtjikelo [AM1249/96], Mr Simon T Olifant [AM5177/97], Mr John Wa - Nthoba [AM2997/96] and Mr John Xhiba [AM1215/96] applied for amnesty for the killing of Mr John Bern a rd Smith on 25 July 1993 on his farm at We s s e l s d a l in the district of Vanstadensrus in the Eastern Cape.

213. The applicants also stole

Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment.

214. The applicants testified that they left Botshabelo for Wesselsdal on the 23 July 1993 with the intention of carrying out the attack. They called this off because of the presence of visitors on the farm. On 25 July, Mjikelo, Mohapi, Oliphant and Xhiba went back to the farm and approached Mrs Smith with a request for petrol, saying that their car had run out of fuel. Mrs Smith called her husband who said he would help them to syphon some petrol from his car. Mr Smith gave Xhiba his store room key and asked him to fetch a container and a pipe.

215. The other three applicants

Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 4 2 1

217. The applicants called Mr Lerato Abel Kotle, the regional commander of APLA in Bloemfontein, to give evidence about 'Operation Great Storm'. Khotle explained that 'Operation Storm' was intended as a means of intensifying the armed struggle and was decided upon by APLA's military commission, which included the political leadership of the PAC and the military leadership of APLA. He described the attacks on farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PAC believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that farmers were beneficiaries of the land taken away from the Africans.

218. The Amnesty Committee accepted

Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

fence into the neighbour's yard .

225. Dolo told the Committee that the attack had been motivated by a recent statement by the Minister of Defence that there would be no more farm attacks in the area. The applicants had carried out the operation 'to show the enemy what we can do. We can continue with the armed struggle; nothing will stop us.' He said it was 'unfortunate' that they had ended up attacking a house that was not occupied by the police. All whites, however, were regarded as supporters of the government, with whom APLA was still locked in armed struggle because the oppression of blacks had not yet stopped.

Our interest was not on

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

travelling in a passing taxi.

229. Mr Dolo also gave evidence of his involvement in a further attack in which he and two others threw a hand grenade and opened fire on a farmstead in the Danside area on 19 December 1992. One person, Mrs Leone Pretorius, died in the attack. Once again, the farm was attacked because it was believed that white farmers belonged to the commando structures. APLA cadres wanted to drive them out of the area in order to create a wider operational platform for themselves. Dolo was granted amnesty for this incident [AC/1999/0182].

V O L U M

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

L I C A T I O N S R E F U S E D

254. As noted earlier, the Committee refused amnesty for forty-nine (24 %) of the 204 separate incidents placed before it. Out of forty-nine incidents of armed robbery, amnesty was refused to applicants in twenty-four cases (49 %). Out of twenty-eight incidents of attacks on the security forces, amnesty was refused in just two cases (7 %). Out of twenty-seven farm attacks, amnesty was refused in eight cases (30 %).

255. The reasons for the

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 4 2 9

C o r n e l i a W a r d on 21 December 1992, and for the attempted killing of 69-yearold Mrs Anna Wilhelmina Ward on the farm Emmaus in the district of Theunissen.

260. Pumulo professed to be

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

a t i o n .

269. Mr Vanana applied for amnesty for the killing of Mrs Jane Sophia Rossouw, aged 72 years, the attempted killing of Mr Casper Gabriel Rossouw, aged 81 years, robbery, housebreaking with the intent to steal, and theft of a motor vehicle. These offences were committed on the farm 'Sarahsdale' in the district of D o r d r e c h t on 1 August 1993.

270. A c c o

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

the gro u n d .

301. Applicant Phila Martin Dolo [AM 3485/96] told the Committee that the 'bastions and minions of the ... erstwhile regime' were, from the APLA perspective, members of the SADF, members of the SAP, reservists, and farmers, as they belonged to commando structures and occupied farms and white homes described as 'garrisons of apartheid'.

302. The aim of attacking

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

chaos had followed political change.

115. It was eventually decided to bury the weapons on a farm belonging to Mr Terre'Blanche's brother until they were be needed. The weapons were later seized by the police and Terre'Blanche was arrested and convicted.

116. In another incident, AWB

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

of 2nd/3rd January 1993.

118. Under the leadership of Mr Jordaan (who holds the rank of General in the AWB), the applicants broke into the military base and made off with a large amount of weaponry, including rifles, handguns, ammunition, flares and smoke grenades as well as other equipment. No one was injured during the incident. The police recovered the stolen weapons and equipment a few days later on a farm in the Hobhouse district.

119. The applicants testified that

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

civil claim for the incident.

260. Subsequent to the arrest of applicants, the police discovered various arms caches on farms in the vicinity of Nelspruit and Sabie. One of the farms belonged to Kruger. Various charges were brought against the applicants as a result. The arms and explosives in question had been stockpiled on the instructions of the leadership of Tokomangsepek in accordance with its policy of preparing for armed resistance against the political reforms introduced by the NP government at the time.

261. None of the implicated

Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

in the Bothaville area.

282. The bombing campaign commenced on 9 November 1993 and lasted until 7 February 1994. During that period they placed twenty-one bombs at different targets, including Welkom, Wesselsburg, Potchefstroom, Orkney, Viljoenskroon, Hoopstad, Bothaville, Stilfontein, Kroonstad, Leeudoringstad and Verfontein. Nineteen of these exploded. The other two (at Welkom and at Leeudoringstad) did not detonate. All the bombs were homemade. Eleven of the targets were railway lines, three were power installations, four were black residential areas, two were business premises and one was a farm school.

283. Nobody was killed in

Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

injured at least six people;

311. The unlawful possession of explosive devices and materials at the Springfontein Farm in Rustenburg between 22 and 27 April 1994.

312. Mr Jan de Wet, Mr Johannes Vlok and Mr Johan du Plessis were granted amnesty for the unlawful possession of explosive devices and materials at the Koesterfontein Farm in Krugersdorp between 22 and 27 April 1994.

313. Mr Etienne le Roux

Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

case of Phila Portia Ndwandwe

4. The remains of Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe, an MK operative known as Zandile, were exhumed from Elandskop Farm in KwaZulu-Natal on 12 March 1997.

5. Members of the Port

Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

sources available.

28. A further issue that had to be considered was that the Commission had, in the early part of 1998, carried out an exhumation at Boshoeck farm near Rustenburg in the Transvaal, which resulted in fifteen bodies instead of the two that had been expected. While the two bodies identified as activists had been handed over to families for reburial, the remaining thirteen needed to be identified so that arrangements for reburial could be made. As an interim measure, the Commission had contracted with Saffas Undertakers to hold the remaining thirteen bodies until such time as the Commission took a decision on how to finalise the matter.

29. The Commission decided that

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the accuracy of the exhumations.

61. On the basis of the EAAF report, the task team also determined that the thirteen bodies exhumed from the Boshoeck Farm were not political cases, and the Commission arranged for their re-interment.

25 Focus 53, p. 4

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GE648

30. With respect to the actions of MK during the armed struggle, the Commission found that: Whilst it was ANC policy that the loss of civilian life should be avoided, there were instances where members of MK perpetrated gross violations of human rights in that the distinction between military and civilian targets was blurred in certain armed actions, such as the 1983 Church street bombing of the SAAF headquarters, resulting in gross violations of human rights through civilian injury and loss of life. In the course of the armed struggle there were instances where members of MK conducted unplanned military operations using their own discretion, and, without adequate control and supervision at an operational level, determined targets for attack outside of official policy guidelines. While recognising that such operations were frequently undertaken in retaliation for raids by the former South African Government into neighbouring countries, such unplanned operations nonetheless often resulted in loss of life, amounting to gross violations of human rights. The 1985 Amanzimtoti shopping centre bombing is regarded by the Commission

in this light. In the course of the armed struggle the ANC through MK planned and undertook military operations which, though intended for military or security force targets sometimes went awry for a variety of reasons, including poor intelligence and reconnaissance. The consequences in these cases, such as the Magoo Bar incident and the Durban esplanade bombings were gross violations of human rights in respect of the injuries to and loss of lives of civilians. While the Commission acknowledges the ANC's submission that the former South African government had itself by the mid-1980's blurred the distinction between military and 'soft' targets by declaring border areas 'military zones' where farmers were trained and equipped to operate as an extension of military structures, it finds that the ANC's landmine campaigns in the period 1985 –1987 in the rural areas of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal cannot be condoned, in that it resulted in gross violations of the human rights of civilians including farm labourers and children, who were killed or injured. The ANC is held accountable for such gross human rights violations. Individuals who defected to the state and became informers and/or members who became state witnesses in political trials and/or became Askaris were often labelled by the ANC as collaborators and regarded as legitimate targets to be killed. The Commission does not condone the legitimisation of such individuals as military targets and finds that the extra-judicial killings of such individuals constituted gross violations of human rights.

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7, paragraph 253, page 641:

253 An informal alliance between the right wing and the IFP emerged after the formation of COSAG in 1993. The alliance played itself out in weapons smuggling and paramilitary training, primarily on white farms and KwaZulu nature reserves. There were also a few cases where IFP and right-wing members took part in joint attacks.

Paragraph 253 is substituted by

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substituted by the following paragraph:

253 An informal alliance between the right wing and the IFP emerged after the formation of COSAG in 1993. The alliance played itself out in weapons smuggling and paramilitary training, primarily on white farms and KwaZulu nature reserves. There were also a few isolated cases where certain IFP and right-wing members took part in joint attacks.

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's argument is fairly spurious.

79. The Commission received a total of twenty-seven applications from the PAC and APLA for attacks on farms, committed between the period 1990 and 1993. In these attacks, twelve people were killed and thirteen injured. The majority of these applications were granted.

80. APLA and PAC operatives testified that it was part of their strategy and policy in terms of 'Operation Great Storm' that farmers would be attacked in order to drive white farmers from their farms in order to get their land back.

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81. These operations involved the deliberate targeting of white farmers and are quite unlike the ANC's landmine operations in farming areas. Whilst it is true that farmers in many of the border areas were trained and issued with weapons so that they could take part in commandos patrolling the area, not all of the farmers so targeted were an extension of the apartheid system.

Specific amnesty applications dealing with

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with attacks on white farmers

82. One of the incidents for which amnesty was applied involved an attack on Mr RJ Fourie on the farm 'Stormberg'. Mr Fourie was attacked from behind, ambush style, and killed. A witness made a submission to the amnesty committee to the effect that the deceased was not interested in politics and was known to be a progressive farmer in the area. He had assisted his workers to improve their stock, housed them in brick houses with running hot and cold water and built a school for their children on the farm, as well as a soccer club.

83. In another incident, the amnesty application involved the killing of Mr John Bernard Smith, also a farmer. Mr Oliphant, one of the applicants, testified that it was the objective of the PAC to wage the struggle for the return of land to the African people, which was why he had become involved in that operation. Another applicant testified that it was part of PAC policy to intensify the armed struggle in order to strengthen the hands of the PAC in the negotiating process. He described the attacks on the farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PAC believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that they were beneficiaries of the land taken away from the Africans.

84. None of the reasons

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BABA, Mbonambi (7), was shot dead during a shootout between the ANC and the IFP at a political rally at King Zwelithini Stadium in Umlazi, Durban, in February 1992. BABE, Keitumetse Yvonne (17), was one of several people tortured by named SAP members in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 16 June 1986, following a commemoration service for victims of the SOUTHERN AFRICAN BOYCOTT in June 1976. The detainees were tortured at Vryburg police station and then interrogated at a farm called Blou Gom. BABUPI, Pule Edward, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police while protecting the SRC president during a student protest at the University of the North West in Mafikeng, on 7 May 1993. BACELA, Lungile (18), an ANC supporter, was found hanged in his cell while serving a 14-year sentence at Kirkwood prison, Cape, in 1988. Mr Bacela had been convicted of a killing that took place during a consumer boycott in 1987. BACELA, Sakhiwe Lewis (33), a UDF supporter, was injured in a DRIVE-BYSHOOTING by named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during protests over the Black Local Authority in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 30 November 1985. BADAT, Mohamed Saleem (26), an AZASMSUPPORTER, was detained for

four days under the Internal Security Act and severely beaten by named members of the Security Branch near Worcester, Cape, in June 1983. BADELA, Arthur Sipho (25), a journalist, ANC supporter and PEBCO leader, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in North End prison, Port Elizabeth, on 6 April 1963, and again at Kirkwood police station in January 1980. On 1 November 1984 he was detained at the St Alban's prison under the Internal Security Act, and kept in solitary confinement. His house was petrol-bombed on 5 June 1985 and he was abducted and severely assaulted by AZAPO members during the conflict between AZAPO and UDF in Port Elizabeth in 1985. A former Security Police agent was refused amnesty for the petrol-bombing of his home (AC/2000/239). BADELA, Mzontsundu (15), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP during conflict between AZAPO and UDF supporters in Port Elizabeth on 18 May 1985. BADI, Eric Fumanekile (30), an ANC underground member, was shot several times and severely injured in an attack by members of the CDF at his home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, on 15 October 1992. He escaped but three members of his family were killed and his house was destroyed. BADI, Nontsikelelo Jeanet (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the legs by members of the CDF at her home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, on 15 October 1992. Three members of her family were killed in the attack and the house was destroyed. BADI, Nowinile Nanyuku (73), was shot dead by members of the CDF at her home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, on 15 October 1992. Two other members

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

B ATYI, Nomayeza Nolungile Regina (47), had to flee with her family after a crowd threw a petrol bomb through a window of her home at Queenstown, Cape, during a consumer boycott in 1985. Her son had been accused of being a collaborator. B ATYI, Vuyisile (27), was shot and severely injured by named members of the SAP at Queenstown, Cape, on 19 November 1985, while handing himself over to police. Two days earlier, police and residents had clashed at a meeting at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church. Police opened fire, killing at least 11 people and injuring many more. See QU E E N S T O W N S H O O T I N G S. On 27 November, Mr Batyi was arrested while in hospital and charged with public violence. B ATYI, Vuyo (32), died after he was 'necklaced' during a consumer boycott in Queenstown, Cape, in 1986. The named perpetrators had allegedly accused a member of his family of being a collaborator. BAUER, CRC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G, P R E T O R I A. B AVUMA, Mncedisi (26), was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police near Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, in August 1983, during the MD A N T S A N E B U S B O Y C O T T. B AWANA, Noyedwa (31), was shot and injured by SAP members near Crossroads, Cape Town, in February 1987. BAXTER, Barnard Sydney, a local farmer, was shot dead by an MK operative near Mount Ayliff, Transkei, on 3 November 1993. The MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/002). B AYANA, Christopher Mvumeni (21), lost his left eye when he was shot by members of the SAP on 19 October 1993 in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg. He had been locked outside the school gate with other latecomers and had started stoning an approaching furniture truck. B AYES, Peter Johannes, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161). B AYISA, Nomayazi Yaliwe (46), an ANC supporter, had her home at Umlazi, Durban, set alight by IFP supporters in December 1991. B AYO (MAKHAWULA), Nomakula

Maria (39), was severely injured when a bomb, planted by members of the AVF, exploded in Westelsbron, OFS, on 15 November 1993, during a right-wing campaign to force the government to acknowledge their struggle for the creation of a volkstaat. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0001).

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BHENGU, Thulani (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. BHENGU, Welcome, sustained injuries when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one Vlakplaas operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046). BHENGU, Zagiya Muzofikayo (32), had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 February 1990, in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ASSOCIATES. BHENGU, Zakhona Doreen (42), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, Durban, in August 1989, in intense political conflict in the area. BHENGU, Zitusele Doris, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 1 January 1992 in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in continuing political conflict in the area. BHENTSWANA, Magaduzela, an IKONGOMEBER, was shot by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. BHESWA, Nongayi (38), had his home destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. BHIKITSHA, Litheya Joseph, was severely ill-treated and had his property damaged during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). BHILA, Stanley Siphos, an MK operative, was abducted, shot in the head and killed on 22 February 1987 by Security Branch operatives. His body was then allegedly thrown off a cliff in a remote area near Umbumbulu, Natal. Mr Bhila had been acquitted of terrorism charges only days earlier. Two Port Natal and three Vlakplaas operatives were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/112). BHILISHO, Mzingisi (21), a student leader, was shot dead by a named SAP member on 21 August 1985 during political conflict between youth and police in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape. See ALI WALNORTSHOOTING. BHOTO, Buyiswa Patience (20), a COSAS supporter, lost an eye when members of the SAP opened fire to disperse a meeting in February 1990 in Maclear, Cape. The meeting was in support of a COSATU stayaway. Ms Bhoto was then arrested. One other person was shot and injured in the same incident. BHUDA, Abram, was abducted from his place of business in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, by UDF supporters in June 1986 and found burnt to death a few days

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supporters on 11 February 1990 at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, during violent conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ASSOCIATES. BUKOSINI, Zamazulu Eunice (43), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ASSOCIATES. BUKUBUKWANA, Mkhululi (20), an ANC

supporter, was tortured after his arrest on 15 June 1984 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. He had allegedly refused to be a police informer. BUKULA, Elias (27), was arrested and tortured in custody by named SAP members in April 1985 after widespread unrest broke out in De Aar, Cape. He was also charged with public violence and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. BULALA, Mkhuseleli Wileman, a UDF supporter, was beaten to death by members of AZAPO during political conflict in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 26 May 1985. BULO, Tuli Wellington (30), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by AZAPO members during political conflict in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, on 1 April 1988. BULOSE, Bhabhe Zebulon (33), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBORSONATATACKS. BULOSE, Bongeni Tholakele (22), a UDF supporter, had her house near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 January 1988. BULOSE, Buyelaphi (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBORSONATATACKS. BULOSE, Fakazile Phakamile (23), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBORSONATATACKS. BULOSE, Gqigqa (61), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBORSONATATACKS. BULOSE, Lindeni (64), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBORSONATATACKS. BULOSE, Makazi Murriel (40), lost her home in an arson attack at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 20 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. BULOSE, Msongellia Elias (54), had his house destroyed in an arson attack at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1989, in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. BULOSE, Musakawukho John (66), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBORSONATATACKS. BULOSE, Ndu Basisiwe (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Inanda, VOLUME

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by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1990 during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. BUTHELEZI, Sibongile (34), a UDF supporter, was stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 February 1989, in intense political conflict in the area. BUTHELEZI, Sibongile Mintha (34), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by a named IFP member at KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993. The attack was allegedly motivated by the fact that Ms Buthelezi's sons were ANC supporters. BUTHELEZI, Sigcawu Siphiwe (33), was shot dead by ANC supporters on 12 February 1994 in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, while attending the funeral of a local IFP councillor. About 20 killings of both IFP and ANC supporters were recorded that month. Hundreds of people were forced to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close. BUTHELEZI, Simon Mandla, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVETERAINS attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). BUTHELEZI, Sipho (32), was abducted from a taxi rank and shot dead by AMASINYOORA vigilantes on 11 January 1990 in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. BUTHELEZI, Sipho Dennis (39), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in December 1990 during intensifying

conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. BUTHELEZI, Tembeni Isabel (54), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990 at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban. See RICHMOND FARM ASSASSINATIONS. BUTHELEZI, Themba Alpheus (31), was severely injured when members of the Orde Boerevolk opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCOBUS ASSASSINATIONS. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053). BUTHELEZI, Thembekile Joyce (41), an ANC supporter, was beaten and had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters on 17 November 1992 at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal. BUTHELEZI, Thokozani (14), an ANC member, was abducted and shot and hacked to death by ANC selfdefence unit (SDU) members on 7 December 1993 in Katlehong, Transvaal. Thokozani was one of eleven ANC members killed, nine execution style, by SDU members in Moleleki Section, Katlehong, during conflict between the local ANC Youth League and SDU members. His father was also shot dead in the incident. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

BUWA, Nonosi, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). BUWA, Nomakhwezi (32), a UDF supporter, was kicked and slapped by named members of the SAP on 9 June 1986, and held for six months in a corrupt iron shack on a farm near Cookhouse, Cape. Named SAP members attempted to bribe the victim to become an informant (informant). BUWAPI, James Manka, was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP while in detention at the Queenstown police station, Cape, in November 1962, following a clash between police and PAC activists. BUYEYE, David (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING. BUYS, Attie, a sergeant-major in the SADF, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. BUYS, Khethiwe (43), had her home and possessions burnt down at Isithebe, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 13 April 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. BUYS, Marshall Cornelius (33), was beaten, tortured and stabbed to death in Brits, Tvl, on 21 May 1988. He was the chairperson of the Brits Action Committee, which was resisting forced INCORPORATION into the former Bophuthatswana homeland. The named perpetrators were allegedly members of a vigilante group acting against the Oukasi community. BUZA, Tilu Daniel, a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in labour strike action in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and police members opened fire on the striking miners, injuring six. BYNEVELDT, Shaun, was shot with rubber bullets by police in Eersterivier, Cape Town, on 6 July 1993, while participating in a community sit-in to demand improved water services. BYRNE, Kevin, was injured in what became known as the MARGO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). BYRON, P, was injured in what became known as the MARGO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

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CABE, Thembekile Phillip (39), was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). CABELA, Criselda Nceya (57), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990 at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban. See RICHMONDFARMSONATTA CKS. CAICAI, Esther Nontombi (26), was seriously injured in a limpet mine explosion near the Standard Bank in Rodepoort, Tvl, on 3 June 1988. Nobody claimed responsibility for the blast. CAKWE, Nomboniso, was killed on 12 April 1986 by members of the UDF-aligned SADA Youth Congress at Sada, Hewu, Ciskei. The attackers believed her to be a police informer. She was one of two 'collaborators' killed that day, and several homes were attacked. One UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2001/076). CALATA, Fort, a UDF activist, was one of the CRADOCKFOUR abducted by the Eastern Cape Security Branch while travelling to Cradock, on 27 June 1985. He was stabbed near Port Elizabeth, after which his body was burnt. Six Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were refused amnesty for the killings. The commander of Vlakplaas was granted amnesty for knowledge of the incident (AC/1999/0350). CALU, Vincent Lungile (21), a UDF supporter from KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, was arrested on 1 June 1986 and again in 1987 by members of the SAP. He was held at Algoa Park and Louis le Grange Square police stations in Port Elizabeth, where he was interrogated about the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. During interrogation he was tortured by electric shocks to his genitals and by forced posture known as the helicopter. CALUZA, Precious Nomathemba, a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1988 during political violence in the area. CALUZA, Selby Thamsanqa (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters on 15 September 1988 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg. CALUZA, Tiyo Dorah (57), lost her home and possessions in looting by IFP supporters in February 1993 at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. CAMAGU, Khayaletu Reginald (19), a COSAS supporter, was injured when struck in the head with an axe and stabbed by a named perpetrator in July 1980 at his home in Fort Beaufort, Cape. The perpetrator believed Mr Camagu had been involved in an arson attack allegedly carried out by students on his home. CAMP, Gregory (aka 'George Sanderson') (23), an ANC member, was detained in 1980 and held for seven

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CELE, Kayiya Boy (18), an ANC supporter, was forced to flee his home on 5 May 1990 and live on the run at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in the fear that named Inkatha supporters were attempting to kill him. CELE, Langelakhe (52), an ANC supporter, was axed to death by named IFP supporters at his home in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 30 January 1991. See UMGABABAATTA CKS. CELE, Leluter Thoko (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORASETTLEME NTATTA CKS. CELE, Lena Fezani (48), an ANC supporter, had her house and belongings burnt by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in May

1993. CELE, Lolozi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Newtown, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 April 1991. CELE, Mabhampe December (39), a UDF supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Kwa - Dweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988. CELE, Mamayi Madrina (72), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1993. CELE, Mandla Christopher, was abducted, assaulted and shot by IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, on 28 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Cele was permanently disabled as a result of the attack. CELE, Mandla Gilbert (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the IFP during an attack on his house in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 July 1990. CELE, Mandla Muzikayise (28), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by other IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 April 1994, allegedly because his father's brother-in-law was an ANC supporter. CELE, Mandlenkosi Ntsikelelo (47), had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during May 1993, in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. CELE, Mantombi Ntombekezi Hotensia (34), had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1988 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. CELE, Matilda Viera Mathi (38), had her home burnt down in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Ms Cele's son was an MK member and had gone into exile just before the attack. CELE, Mbekezeli (17), an ANC supporter, was killed in a grenade attack by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in September 1992. CELE, Mirriam Ngenzeni (34), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 April 1994, days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. CELE, Mkhokheli Michael (46), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters on 16 September 1993 near Estcourt, Natal.

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CELE, Mondli (22), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in March 1991. CELE, Msamaniselwa (38), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 29 April 1992. CELE, Mtshingiswa Jones (39), an Inkatha supporter, had his house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by named UDF supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1989. CELE, Mtungani Alford (37), lost his home, tuck shop and possessions in an arson attack at Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 13 July 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. CELE, Muntuzelula Gladness (36), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by other IFP supporters on 27 July 1993 in Empangeni, Natal, when she refused to allow her children to attend IFP rallies. CELE, Musawenkosi Richard (43), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the IFP-supporting 'Ihlathi' vigilante group, at Adams Mission, near Durban, on 6 March 1993. CELE, Muzi Lucky (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured and had his home burnt down at Port Shepstone, Natal, by named IFP supporters in 1992. CELE, Mvusen Michael (34), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON NATAL CASES. CELE, Mzonjani Albert (43), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 April 1992. CELE, Ncani Doreen (30), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 April 1991. CELE, Ncanyibe (61), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 March 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. CELE, Ndwangu Petros (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 February 1994, when police opened fire on protesters marching to draw attention to a perceived bias in policing by the SAP. CELE, Ngoneni Mayo

(35), an IFP support e r, had her home burnt down at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N A T T A C K S. CELE, Nicholas Ndoda, disappeared from his home in P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in 1987. Mr Cele, whose house was burnt down on the same day, has not been seen since. CELE, Nico Sicelo (10), from an ANC-support i n g f a m i l y, died on 31 January 1991 after being assaulted with knobkerries by IFP supporters who attacked his f a t h e r ' s home in Umkomaas, near Durban. His father was also killed in the attack.

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which she was travelling was ambushed by IFP s u p p o r t e r s at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g. See TA B L E M O U N T A I N B U S A T T A C K S. CHONCO, Boy, died after being shot in police custody in Umbumbulu, near Durban, on 12 June 1991. Thre e of Mr Chonco's employees, all members of the Mkhize family, were also shot dead in police custody at the time, allegedly in an eff o r t by the security forc e s to kill members of the prominent, ANC-support i n g Bhengu and Mkhize families. CHONCO, Christine, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headq u a r t e r s at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine m a r c h e r s were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142). CHONCO, Debra Thembeke (24), an IFP support e r, had her home and possessions burnt by ANC support e r s at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1992. CHONCO, Hendrick, a UDF support e r, was shot at by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). CHONCO, Hendrieta Nokuthokoza, a UDF support e r, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). CHONCO, Hilarius Budabuphangwa (37), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, died after being shot by IFP supporters in an ambush in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 August 1991. Mr Chonco had allegedly switched allegiance from the IFP to the ANC. CHONCO, Nhlanhla Zepried (36), had her home b u r n t down by an unidentified group of mourn e r s r e t u r n i n g from a funeral near Eshowe, Natal, on 10 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. CHONCO, Sifiso (26), an ANC support e r, died after being shot on 10 December 1992 near Mooi River, Natal. Mr Chonco and six others, including three Chonco b r o t h e r s, were allegedly targets of an IFP hit squad. CHONCO, Thembeni Beauty (36), an ANC support e r, had her home at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burn t down by IFP supporters on 2 Febru a r y 1992. See EK U T H U L E N I A T T A C K S. CHONCO, Wiseman Sifiso (19), a UDF support e r, was shot and stabbed to death by named Inkatha support e r s and the SAP in Greytown, Natal, on 13 July 1988. CHONGO, Siwakhile Paulos, was injured in a shooting on 10 December 1992 near Mooi River, Natal. Mr Chonco and six others, including three Chonco b r o t h e r s, were allegedly targets of an IFP hit squad. CHRISTIANS, Andrew Saul (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980, during a stayaway commemorating the SO W E T O U P R I S E I N G. CHRISTIE, Daniel Johannes, was shot in the arm during the Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, when thre e MK members held him hostage during a raid on the

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COOPER, Revabalan (21), a BPC and SASO activist, was severely beaten in detention in Durban by members of the Security Branch in February 1973, following strikes in Durban, and again in October 1974. He was even more severely tortured in detention when transferred to Pretoria in October 1974, and was kept in solitary confinement. His brother was also detained and tortured at this time. Some of the perpetrators applied for amnesty. COOPER, Sathasivan, an AZAPO official, survived a petrol bomb attack by the Witwatersrand Security Branch on his residence at the University of Witwatersrand during 1985. The petrol bomb was intended to intimidate him. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/0184). COPPIN, GB, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248). CORNELIUS, Quentin (21), a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA AT TACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026). CORRANS, Louise, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA AT TACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182). COTANI, Lungisile Robert (33), was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). COTHOZA, Ntsikelelo June-Rose, was one of four ANC members killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tv, on 8 June 1988. See PIRETIEFAMBUSHE. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the commander of Vlakplaas, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273). CRANKO, Robin Phillip, was detained by the SAP on 28 December 1966 and held in solitary confinement in Ladybrand, OFS, for more than a month. On his release in January 1967, he was banned in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act for a period of five years, during which he was imprisoned in Fort prison, Johannesburg, for ten days, for contravening the terms of his restriction order. CRONJE, Albertus (4), was a victim of an armed robbery by APLA operatives at the farm 'Panama', near Bloemfontein, during 1993. The victims were threatened and locked in a bathroom. One person was abducted

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and released later. See APLA AT TACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239). CRONJE, Elizabeth Maria Sussana, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161). CRONJE, Pierre, was a victim of an armed robbery by APLA operatives at the farm 'Panama', near Bloemfontein, during 1993. The victims were threatened and locked in a bathroom. One person was abducted and released later. See APLA AT TACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239). CRONJE, Pieter (7), was injured on 16 April 1987 when an MK unit detonated a limpet mine under a car at a shopping centre in Newcastle, Natal. Four people, including two children, were injured in the explosion. CROUS, Carel Frederic, a commandant in the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted

amnesty (AC/2000/153). C R U C K E T, (full names not given), an ANC support e r, was shot and injured by IFP members during political violence at Extensia, Ermelo, Tvl, in 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). CRUISE, Nicholas James Elvin (23), was killed on 2 October 1990 in Durban, when he opened a parc e l bomb delivered to a computer company that was known to work with trade unions and anti-apart h e i d o rganisations. Three other people were injured in the explosion. Six right-wingers were detained and questioned in connection with the incident. C U B B I T, Jenny, was injured in what became known as the MA G O O'S BA RB O M B I N G in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). CULE, Sipiwe Elsie (35), an ANC support e r, had her home petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990. CULLING, Stanley Johannes (23), an ANCYL member, was severely injured when he was shot and beaten by members of the SAP at 42nd Hill, OFS, on 16 April 1993, when the police opened fire on pro t e s t e r s m o u rning the death of Chris Hani. CULLIS, (first name not given), was shot and injure d when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Churc h , K e n i l w o rth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA AT TA C K S. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018). CUPIDO, Clive Christopher (18), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Bellville, Cape Town, on

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result of the shooting. DAKI, Xolisa Lennox Nkonkobe (23), disappeared in 1977 after visiting his sister in Engcobo, Transkei. He is believed to have gone into exile in Lesotho, but has never been seen again. DAKI, Xosheni Francis (39), an ANC support e r, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 1 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the are a . DAKISI, Thabo Philemon (47), an ANC support e r, was taken from his home by members of the SAP, allegedly masquerading as ANC supporters, and was shot dead in Welkom, OFS, on 4 November 1990. Mr Dakisi, along with his neighbour who was also shot and killed by the police, believed he was being asked to help defend the area against an impending attack by the AM ARU S S I A N S. DAKU, Wandile Ponkie (21), a CRADORA member, was detained during political unrest and tort u red by members of the SAP while in police custody at the Cradock police station, Cradock, Cape, in 1987. DAKUSE, Monde (15), a member of the BPC, was t o r t u red with electric shocks by named members of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, during 1977, allegedly in an attempt to force him to admit to his involvement in arson attacks on the labour bureau building and schools in the are a . DALGLEISH, Marlene Caro l, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gard i n e r S t reet, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA AT TA C K S. One APLA member and two PA S O members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076). DALI, Anthony Sure b o y, was in a unit of five MK operatives active in the Eastern Cape when he was caught in a police roadblock near Elliot, Cape, in August 1981 and shot dead. Three others were killed in the ambush and the survivor was arrested. The bodies w e re secretly buried on a farm near Aliwal Nort h , Cape, and exhumed by the Commission in 1997. DALI, Funzani Metha (23), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the Venda Police Force in Vuwani, Venda, on 1 January 1990. Ms Dali was taken into custody a day before the military coup in Ve n d a because she was re g a rded as an instigator of youth p ro t e s t s . DALIWE, Mnyamana, died after being abducted, beaten, stabbed and burnt by 'comrades' in Old Location, Cathcart, Cape, on 14 November 1985, for b reaking a consumer boycott enforced by the UDF. DAMANE,

Dumisani Christopher (31), disappeared in Katlehong, Tvl, in March 1992 during ongoing political violence on the East Rand.

DAMANE, Mlungisi Abednego (23), an

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convicted on charges relating to a confrontation between the police and PAC members at Queenstown station, Cape, in 1962. D AYI, Agrineth Khalelani (29), lost her home in an arson attack near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the April 1994 Elections. D AYI, Toti (64), was detained without trial for three months from 12 June 1986 in Worcester, Cape, during the state of emergency. D AYI, Zukiswa, (14) was assaulted by police while being arrested at her home in Robertson, Cape, during November 1985. She was charged with public violence and detained in prison for three months. The charges were later withdrawn. D AYILE, Alfred Mcekeleli (39), an ANC supporter, was shot and seriously injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). D AYILE, Punki Mzamo (22), a SAYCO supporter, was arrested and detained for 21 days after he was savaged by a dog and beaten by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth during 1986. D AYIMANI, Zolile Leslie Nteyana (20), a SAYCOMEMBER, was detained, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 22 February 1987. DE BEER, Deon du Plessis (34), was severely injured when a landmine set by MK members and aimed at military patrols in the area exploded at his farm in Stockport, Ellisras, Tvl, in January 1986. He lost the use of fingers on his left hand, and two other family members were seriously injured. DE BEER, Elizabeth (32), was injured when she drove over a landmine set by MK members in Ellisras, Tvl, in January 1986. The explosion was part of an ANC LANDMINECAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural areas. DE BEER, Hubert du Plessis (63), was killed when a landmine planted by ANC operatives exploded in January 1981 on his farm near Ellisras, Tvl. The explosion was part of an ANC LANDMINECAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural areas. DE BEER, JH, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREETBOMBING, PRETORIA. DE BRAGANZA, Aquino, a Mozambican citizen and Director of the Centre for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University, was seriously injured in Maputo, Mozambique on 17 August 1982 by a letter bomb sent by members of Security Branch headquarters. Fellow academic Ruth First, who opened the letter when he was in her office, was killed in the explosion. Dr de

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DE CARVALHO, Maria Jose, was injured when MK operatives detonated a limpet mine in a dustbin at the Vanderbijl Square bus terminus, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. Nineteen people were injured and a number of vehicles and buildings were damaged. Two MK Special Operations operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/056). A late application by a third operative was dismissed. DE CASTRO, Joao Avellon

o, was wounded by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserv e s u p e rmarket at We s s e l s b r o n, O F S, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA AT TA C K S. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250). DE CASTRO, Maria Fatima, was shot and killed by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra H y p e r s e r v e supermarket at We s s e l s b r o n, O F S, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA AT TA C K S. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250). DE CASTRO, Pedro Ignatius, lost his wife in an attack by APLA operatives on his family's superm a r k e t in We s s e l s b r o n, O F S, on 3 July 1993. The superm a r k e t was extensively damaged. The attack was the work of an APLA 'repossession unit' aimed at obtaining arm s , cash and disposable pro p e rty to facilitate APLA's a rmed struggle. Five people, including Mr de Castro 's wife, were killed in the attack, and three others were i n j u r e d, including Mr de Castro 's bro t h e r. Six APLA operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 2 5 0) . DE FREITAS, Jose, an employee at a bottle store , was robbed by IFP members in Denver, Tvl, on 22 F e b r u a r y 1994. Amnesty applicants testified that the ro b b e r y was in order to raise funds to purc h a s e weapons. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/221). DE JAGER, Carel Wi l l e m, was killed on 17 June 1985 by members of the UDF-supporting Addo Yo u t h C o n g r e s s in an attack on the local white farm i n g c o m m u n i t y. The perpetrators broke the windows of the house, destroyed e v e r y t h i n g inside and set the De Jager's car alight. Mr De Jager's wife was also killed in the attack. Two applications for amnesty were received. One was withdrawn and the other granted (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 2 6 4) . DE JAGER, Jan, a member of the SADF, was shot and wounded when APLA members ambushed a m i l i t a r y vehicle, firing on it with automatic weapons, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 16 December 1986. See APLA AT TA C K S. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/0133). DE JAGER, Myrtle Louisa, was killed in her home at Addo, Cape, on 17 June 1985 by members of the U D F - s u p p o r t i n g Addo Youth Congress, in an attack on the local white farming community. The perpetrators b r o k e the windows of the house, destroyed e v e r y t h i n g inside and set the De Jager's car alight. Ms De Jager's husband was also killed in the attack. Two applications for amnesty were received. One was withdrawn and the other granted (AC/1999/0264).

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DE JAGER, PD, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Churc h S t r e e t, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people w e r e killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of M K 's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives w e r e granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G, P R E T O R I A. DE JONG, (Daughter one, first name not given), was i n j u r e d when a limpet mine was detonated beside their vehicle in Durban on 21 December 1985. Her mother and her sister were also injured in the explosion. The attack was in retaliation for a raid by V l a k p l a s operatives on ANC houses in Lesotho two days earlier, in which nine people were killed. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and A C / 2 0 0 1 / 1 3 9) . DE JONG, (Daughter two, first name not given), was i n j u r e d when a limpet mine was detonated beside their vehicle in Durban on 21 December 1985. Her mother and her sister were also injured in the explosion. The attack was in retaliation for a raid by V l a k p l a s operatives on ANC houses in Lesotho two days earlier, in which nine people were killed. Two MK operatives w e r e granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139). DE JONG, Ina, was injured when a limpet mine was detonated beside their vehicle in Durban on 21 December 1985. Her two daughters were also injure d in the explosion. The attack was in retaliation for a raid by V l a k p l a s operatives on ANC houses in Lesotho two days earlier, in which nine people were killed. Tw o MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139). DE KLERK, Anna Magrieta Susanna Jacoba (3 8) , was shot dead on 25 January 1980 in the

Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, when three MK operatives held her hostage during a raid on the bank. Five people were killed in a gunfight after police stormed the bank and several others were injured. DE KLERK, Johanna Elizabeth, was the victim of an attack by APLA supporters who threw petrol bombs, hand grenades and opened fire on her farm home in Elliot, Cape, on 8 August 1992. See APLA AT TAC K S. DE KLERK, Nicolaas Johannes Hendrik (58), was the victim of an attack by APLA supporters who threw petrol bombs, hand grenades and opened fire on his farm home in Elliot, Cape, on 8 August 1992. See APLA AT TAC K S. DE KOCK, Helena Kroon (38), was injured in a bomb explosion at a non-racial private school in Witkoppe, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 16 December 1991. DE KOK, Felicity (19), a UDF supporter and BMW member, was detained in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, on 2 October 1987, and severely beaten by named members of a special police UNIT at the Brackenfell police station. DE KOKER, Abri Jacobus (15), was shot and injured by SAP members in Ashton, Cape, on 26 June 1990, during a demonstration against continuing apartheid discrimination in the town.

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DE LA HARPE, Sharon, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. DE LEEUW, KP, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. DE LIMA, Alberto De Ariz Magalhaes, was injured by PAC supporters at the Durban beachfront on 9 October 1990. The perpetrators attacked white people at random, killing one elderly man and injuring several other people. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144). DE NYSCHEN, Carla (10), was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANCLANDMINECAMPALIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). DE NYSCHEN, Marie (2), was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANCLANDMINECAMPALIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). DE NYSCHEN, Thea, was seriously injured when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANCLANDMINECAMPALIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). DE NYSSCHEN, Grizelle (7), was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANCLANDMINECAMPALIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). DE NYSSCHEN, Johannes Jacobus (37), was severely injured when the vehicle he was travelling in detonated a landmine, planted by MK members, on 15 December 1985 on a farm in Messina, Tvl. See ANCLANDMINECAMPALIGN.

DE SOUSA ALVES, MA, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. DE SOUSA, Francisco, a civilian, was shot and killed in an armed robbery by APLA operatives at his shop in Westonaria, Tvl, on the 16 November 1990. One other person was injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0104). DE VILLIERS, Andre, a farmer, was shot and killed by MK and ANC members, during a robbery in Addo, Port Elizabeth, on 17 August 1992. Two family members escaped injury. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One was granted and the other refused (AC/1999/0234). DE VILLIERS, Annamarie Trengardt (27), sustained permanent damage to her right hand and arm when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. DE VILLIERS, Elizabeth Brenda, was shot at by MK and ANC members, during a robbery at her family's farm in Addo, Port Elizabeth, on 17 August 1992. One person was killed and Ms de Villiers and one other escaped injury. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One was granted and the other refused (AC/1999/0234). DE VILLIERS, Gert Jacobus, survived a landmine explosion that severely damaged his motor vehicle at Messina, Tvl, on 26 November 1985, in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). DE VILLIERS, Johannes, a commander in the South African Air Force (SAAF), was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the SAAF headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. DE VILLIERS, Louis Andre, was shot at by MK operatives and ANC members, during a robbery at his family's farm in Addo, Port Elizabeth, on 17 August 1992. One person was killed and Mr de Villiers and one other escaped injury. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One was granted and the other refused (AC/1999/0234). DE VILLIERS, Simphiwe Jeffrey (13), lost an eye after being shot by SAP members on 2 May 1985 when protests and clashes with police broke out in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape.

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Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214). DINWA, Nomonde, was shot and injured by a BALACLAVA GROUP, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack left three people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burnt. DINWA, Nyamaayipheli, was executed in Pretoria, on 5 April 1962 for his participation in the PONDOLAND REVOLT, an extended uprising by groups in Pondoland against imposed tribal authorities and self-government for Transkei. DINWA, Qhekwane, an ANC supporter, was arrested in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. DINWA, Vuyo Patrick (12), was shot and severely injured by a member of the SAP on 1 May 1990, while on his way to the shops in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape. DIOKA, Keodirileng (25), a UDF supporter, was repeatedly tortured during interrogations by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1986. DIPHOKO, Samba Joy, survived when shots were fired into the home of the Ntsime family at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during an attempted coup d'état on 10 February 1988. Two Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were

granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044). DIPHOKO, Zayedwa (41), died after being shot, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 6 July 1993 while on his way to work. DIPICO, Sephiri Ignatius (21), a member of the Ikageng Civic Association, was arrested and assaulted by named members of the SAP in Potchefstroom, Tvl, in May and June 1986. Mr Dipico had helped form a s t reet committee and participated in the occupation of empty land. DIPPENAAR, Francois, a member of the SAP, was shot at during an exchange of fire with an ANC member whom the police had come to arrest on 25 Marc h 1993, in nort h e rn KwaZulu/Natal. The perpetrator was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0341). DIRANE, Jacob, an ANC support e r, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 5 November 1986 during the state of emerg e n c y. DIREKO, Lettie Maboleta (62), was shot with a ru b b e r bullet by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during a peaceful marc h by the community to deliver a memorandum to the magistrate on 7 March 1990. D I S C O, an unidentified a s k a r i, was stabbed to death by MK operatives who were attempting to escape f rom the covert Security Branch farm, V l a k p l a a s, Tvl, a round New Year in 1981. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/215). DISEKO, George (17), an ANC support e r, was stabbed to death with a p a n g a by named perpetrators in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in November 1993 during conflict between COSAS and a newly-elected ANC branch committee in the are a .

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

DLAMINI, Nombulelo Christina (36), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was shot dead by named IFP support e r s outside her home in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 December 1993. DLAMINI, Nomusa (45), a member of FAWU, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by a named IFP s u p p o r t e r at Ixopo, Natal, on 17 May 1992. Prior to the attack, Ms Dlamini was allegedly harassed by the IFP because FAWU was associated with the ANC. DLAMINI, Nomuzinto (66), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the are a . Ms Dlamini's son, who had refused to join any political o rganisation, was shot dead in the attack. DLAMINI, Nongilishi (69), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 October 1993, because she and her family were believed to be IFP support e r s . DLAMINI, Nonguquko Buselaphi (20), an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r, had her home burnt down by ANC support e r s in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 F e b ru a ry 1990. See R I C H M O N D F A R M A R S O N A T T A C K S. DLAMINI, Nonhlanhla Joyce (18), had her home b u r n t down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the are a . DLAMINI, Nonhlanhla Maria (36), was severely injure d when she was attacked with a broken beer bottle in her home in Uthambeka Section, Tembisa, Tvl, in April 1993 by IFP-supporting T O A S T E R G A N G m e m b e r s. Ms D l a m i n i ' s lodger was raped in the attack. DLAMINI, Norm a n, was hacked to death by Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 10 January 1989. DLAMINI, Nozethu, an ANC support e r, had his house d e s t r o y e d in an arson attack in Richmond, Natal, during 1991, in political conflict between ANC and IFP s u p p o r t e r s in the are a . DLAMINI, Ntombi Lefina (32), a local IFP leader, lost her house in an arson attack in Tokoza, Tvl, in September 1993 while she was attending the funeral of her mother who had been killed during ongoing political violence in the area. DLAMINI, Ntombiakile Rittah (46), had her home d e s t r o y e d in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pieterm a r i t z b u r g, in Febru a ry 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area. In the attack, Ms Dlamini was assaulted by the perpetrators who were allegedly trying to force her two sons to join the org a n i s a t i o n . DLAMINI, Ntongas Seraphinia, a UDF support e r, had her house and pro p

erty destroyed on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

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DLAMINI, Sbhongiseni Terence (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator at KwaPata Junior Secondary School in Pietermaritzburg, on 29 July 1991, during political conflict in the area. DLAMINI, Sbusiso Freedom, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVITRA INEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). DLAMINI, Shonapi Florence (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, on 30 October 1993. DLAMINI, Sibongile (21), was severely burnt in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. DLAMINI, Sibongile Mary (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 November 1993. DLAMINI, Siboniso, sustained burn wounds in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. DLAMINI, Sidudla Florence (38), had her home destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters on residents of Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1992, during intense political conflict in the area. DLAMINI, Sifiso, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters and kitskons tabels in Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 November 1993 during a night vigil for a victim of conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. An IFP supporter and a kitskons tabel were charged with murder for the attack. One of the perpetrators applied for amnesty and implicated several IFP supporters and kitskons tabels in the attack. DLAMINI, Sikhumbuzo David, a UDF supporter, was stabbed, shot and burnt to death by other UDF supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 December

1989, allegedly for failing to

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DLAMUKA, Kwezakhe (45), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT C K S. DLAMUKA, Magenqe (72), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT C K S. DLAMUKA, Mashayina Mira (58), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT C K S. DLAMUKA, Mkuzeni (56), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT C K S. DLAMUKA, Mzovele Hamilton (27), a member of the SAP, sustained shrapnel wounds in a hand grenade explosion caused by an ANC member whom the police had come to arrest on 25 March 1993, at Ngidi kraal in Northern KwaZulu/Natal. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/99/0341). DLAMUKA,

Qapheleni Princess (21), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMB OA R S O NAT TA C K S. DLAMUKA, Shongani Gane (45), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMB OA R S O NAT TA C K S. DLAMUKA, Songeleni (42), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMB OA R S O NAT TA C K S. DLAMUKA, Velaphi Phillip (42), an Inkatha supporter, had his house and tuck shop burnt down by ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during May 1990. DLANGA, Dennis Bantu (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 27 December 1976. The shooting took place after political conflict over the Christmas 1976 period, between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels, spread to Langa. DLANGAMANDLA, Khanya (27), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention in 1961 in Bizana, Transkei, after escaping from the NGQUZ A H I L L raid during the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L U T I O N. DLANGAMANDLA, Siphon (40), was shot by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 4 March 1990 while he was attending a protest march. Police opened fire when the crowd was already dispersing. DLANGISA, Samukelisiwe Cynthia (21), an Inkatha supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond Farm, KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990, during intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON NAT TA C K S. DLANJWA, Albertina Nontsikelelo, a UDF supporter, died 11 days after a petrol bomb was thrown into her home by ANC supporters on 29 July 1986 at Port Elizabeth.

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FOLOTSI, Solomon Santi Henry, was shot and burnt to death in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 October 1993 while visiting relatives at a hostel during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. His wife was shot and burnt to death in the same incident. FONK, Thelma Nonzaliseko (23), was detained in Worcester, Cape, on 14 June 1986. She was held under emergency regulations for three months. FORBES, Ashley 'Yusuf' (22), an MK operative, was detained in May 1987 under SECTION 29, held for six months and severely tortured by named Western Cape Security Branch operatives in Cape Town. He was then charged with terrorism and held in custody while awaiting trial, before being sentenced to 15 years in prison. Two members of the Security Branch were granted amnesty for the torture (AC/1999/0027 and AC/1999/028). FOROSI, Nomvuyiseko (17), an ANC supporter, lost her hearing in one ear after she was arrested and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in September 1977, for her alleged involvement in the murder of two of their colleagues. The incident took place during widespread arrests on the day of Steve Biko's funeral. FORTUWU, Henry (46), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Hermanus, Cape Town, and severely beaten by named police during anti-Pass protests. He was detained for a month and later served three months' imprisonment. FORTUIN, Bernard Gordon (14), died two days after being shot and injured by members of the SAP during protests in Elsie's River, Cape, on 28 May 1980. FOSTER, Anne, a domestic worker on a farm outside Paarl, Cape, was shot dead on 15 April 1986 during an armed robbery of the farmhouse by a small group of UDF supporters who sought to acquire weapons. A gardener was also shot dead in the attack. Three UDF supporters applied for amnesty for the killings and the robbery. Two applicants were granted amnesty for both acts. The applicant who had performed the shootings was refused amnesty for the killings and granted amnesty for the robbery (AC/1997/0038). FOUCHE, Justin Julian, a civilian, was shot and injured when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026). FOURIE, (first

name not given), suffered injuries when the armoured vehicle in which he was travelling drove over and detonated a landmine in Messina, Tvl, on 27 November 1985. The ANCLANDMINCEMPAIGN was aimed at military patrols in the rural areas. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). FOUR YOUTHS, who were ANC supporters, were stabbed and injured by IFP supporters who stormed their house at Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. FOURIE, DC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCHSTREETBOMBING, PRETORIA. FOURIE, Dries (55), had his home in Durban burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. FOURIE, J, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCHSTREETBOMBING, PRETORIA. FOURIE, Johannes Petrus, a member of the KwaNdebele Police, was shot dead by MK operatives in an ambush on his vehicle at Moteti in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 11 September 1987. His son was also killed. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/102). FOURIE, Leonie (25), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003). FOURIE, Lindy-Anne (23), a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026). FOURIE, Mark Dirk, was shot dead in an ambush by MK operatives in Moteti in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 11 September 1987. His father, a member of the KwaNdebele Police, was also killed. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/102). FOURIE, Nicolas Cornelius, an AWB member, was killed by policemen in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994. Two other AWB members were killed in the BOPHUTHATSWANA SILENCE. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0239). FOURIE, RC, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCHSTREETBOMBING, PRETORIA. FOURIE, Roelof Johannes, a farmer, was shot and killed in an ambush by four members of APLA on his farm in Stormberg, Verkeerdervlei, OFS, on 12 February 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0297). FOURIE, Wynand, a security guard, was shot and injured by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members at

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to death, but was later released as a political prisoner. He was granted amnesty for the killing. GERMISHUIZEN, Cornelia Johanna, was injured in what became known as the M A G O O'S B A R B O M B I N G in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). GERRARD (OOSTHUIZEN), Marchelle Cheryl (28), was severely injured in what became known as the M A G O O'S B A R B O M B I N G in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). G E R T S E, Jan 'Outjie' (20), lost his sight after he was shot by members of the SAP in Ashton, Cape, in July 1990 during a protest march for the opening of public facilities to all races. GETYESIE, David Dayi (36), was shot and injured in Tembisa, Tvl, in April 1992 during an attack by IFP supporters. In the early 1990s several T r a n s v a l townships were embroiled in political conflict between the ANC and IFP. GETYESIE, Livuyo (3), died when he was thrown against a wall by alleged IFP supporters in V u s u m u z i hostel, Tembisa, Tvl, in March 1992 during conflict in the area between ANC and IFP supporters. GETYEZA, Mncanyalwa Ernest (40), an ANC supporter, was injured in a shooting in Umlazi, Durban, on 23 June 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. GEWENSA, Hloniphile (23), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area. GEYSER, John, a gardener on a farm outside Paarl, Cape, was shot dead on 15 April 1986 during an armed robbery of the farmhouse by a small group of UDF supporters who sought to acquire weapons. A domestic worker was also shot dead in the attack. Three UDF supporters applied for amnesty for the killings and the robbery. Two applicants were granted amnesty for both acts. The applicant who had performed the shootings was refused amnesty for the killings and granted for the robbery (AC/1997/0038). GEZA, Lucky Mishack (24), was shot dead by an Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 October 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area. GHOSA, Desiree Veronica (21), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Atlantis, Cape, on 17 September 1985, during a rent boycott. GIANINI, (first name not given), was assaulted and robbed by IFP members at Verwoerdbrug, Pretoria, on 24 March 1991. His wife was also a victim in this incident. One IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/226). GIANINI, Ms (first names not given), was assaulted and robbed by an Inkatha supporter at Verwoerdbrug, near Pretoria, on 24 March 1991. One person was granted amnesty (AC/2000/226). GIBBINGS, Kevin Noil, was injured in what became known as the M A G O O'S B A R B O M B I N G in Durban on

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

GORDON, Peter Dennis Anthony (29), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018). GOREWANG, Isaac Mawele (23), was detained for 29 days in May 1992 at Meyerton police station, in Vereeniging, Tvl, where members of the SAP beat him extensively with guns and burnt him with cigarettes while interrogating him about a suspected arms cache. GOSENYEGANG, Joseph Thusitse (42), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Sebokeng, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 3 July 1992 in a DRIVE-BYSHOOTING. GOTYANA, Maratjie, a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Alexandria, Cape, on 12 April 1986. GOUWS, Elize, (23), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294). GOUWS, Mbombo

William (18), an ANC supporter, was severely tortured by named SAP members in Knysna, Cape, in 1986. Although arrested on a nonpolitical matter, he was tortured due to his known political activities. GOUWS, MM, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248). GOUWS, Tarina (8 months), was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294). GOVANA, Wellington Mongezi (33), a supporter of WITDOEK E vigilante leader Johnson Ngxobongwana, lost his home when it was burnt down in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1990, by supporters of Jeffrey Nongwe, a former Witdoek member who had changed allegiance to the ANC. GOVENDER, Peter Ramakrishna (41), a supporter of the National Indian Congress, was repeatedly harassed, then detained and assaulted, by named members of the Security Branch at Port Shepstone, Natal, before and after 7 May 1980. GOVANE, Nomachule Albertina (48), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMONDFARM

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

HADEBE, Eugene Mlungisi (14), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at Umkomaas, Natal, in October 1990, in ongoing political conflict in the area. HADEBE, Fanny Richard, was shot in the knee by IFP supporters, in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993. HADEBE, Hamilton, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 29 September 1985, because he was thought to be an Inkatha supporter. Mr Hadebe was wearing traditional dress and returning from a Shaka's Day rally. HADEBE, Ida (44), was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 December 1988, in the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The Commission granted amnesty to a former SAP captain for his part in planning and executing the attack. HADEBE, Jabulani Mpikayiphele, a local chief's councillor, was assaulted, forced to drink petrol and set alight by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 25 December 1993. Mr Hadebe survived the attack. One SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/223). HADEBE, Jabulile Elizabeth (56), had her house burnt down at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1987 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. HADEBE, Joyce Bongumusa, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members when they attacked her house at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). HADEBE, Khalelwa Jeza (70), an IFP supporter, was doused with petrol and burnt to death by named ANC supporters in Alfred, Natal, on 3 January 1990. Ms Hadebe was suspected of practising witchcraft. HADEBE, Khulekani, had his house burnt down on 11 September 1992 when armed gunmen attacked homes of suspected ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people died, one was injured and several homes were burnt down in this attack. HADEBE, Lancelot Mfanafuthi (aka 'Sobantu') (31), a member of MK's Special Operations Unit, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed. Mr Hadebe was from Durban. HADEBE, Makhosi Priscilla (35), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by named ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 19 July

1990. See RICHMOND FARMARS ONATACKS. HADEBE, Mandlakayise Meshack (53), an Inkatha supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 March 1983, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

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HANI, Luyanda Matthews (18), an ANCYL member, was beaten by members of the SAP police at his home near Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 6 October 1993. HANJANA, Tasi Nehemiah (61), a Mgwali Residents' Association member, had his shop burnt down by members of the SAP and the Ciskei Police during a consumer boycott in Stutterheim, Cape, in February 1986. HANS, Gqibile Nicholas, a Poqo member, was executed in Pretoria, on 30 May 1967 for his alleged involvement in the killing of a white shopkeeper in September 1962 in Paarl, Cape. Mr Hans and other Poqo members had also been arrested and convicted of other charges relating to Poqo activities in Paarl. After serving a three year sentence, he was charged with murder and sentenced to death along with eight other Poqo members, all of whom were hanged. HANS, Kululekile Matthews (24), a UDF supporter, lost his sight after he was shot in the head by members of the SAP while on his way home from the local shop in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 March 1985, during political conflict in the area following the killing of a local COUNCILLOR. HANS, Ncunywisa Agatha (33), an ANC supporter, was detained under SECTION 29 on 18 November 1988 for providing support to MK operatives, and was held for two months in solitary confinement in the Sea Point and Macassar police stations, Cape Town. During her detention she was hit, abused and subject to numerous deprivations that resulted in severe depression, requiring hospitalisation. Ms Hans filed a civil suit against the Minister of Law and Order that was settled out of court in her favour. HANSE, Fezile Thomas (13), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985. Three children were killed and several others injured in the shooting. See BONGOLETHUTHEE. HANSEL, Albin, was assaulted and robbed of firearms by a group of UDF supporters at his home at Greenlands Farm, Stutterheim, Cape, on 31 January 1990. Four UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277). HANSEN, Elke Martha, suffered injuries when a limpet mine, placed in a pot plant, was detonated near the Juicy Lucy restaurant on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen Streets, Pretoria, on 26 May 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199). HANSEN, Michael Edward, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161). HARBER, Anton, a journalist, was harassed by the Witwatersrand Security Branch between 1984 and 1985. One Witwatersrand operative was granted amnesty for intimidation (AC/2001/0184). HARDY, Marie Catherine, was injured in what became known as the MAGOOSBAROMBING in Durban on 14

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

HLOG WANE, Bazothini Lungile (32), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mkhobeni, near Bulwer, Natal, on 28 November 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area. Another member of her family was also injured in this attack. HLOG WANE, Bethuel (30), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP

supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in January 1990. He was forced to flee the area. H L O N G WANE, Billy Ace, an Alexandra Civic Association member, was shot and burnt to death by named SAP members in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986. He was helping to organise a mass funeral of 19 people killed in clashes between residents and hostel-dwellers. After he was shot, he ran into a house which was then set alight. H L O N G WANE, Biziwe Albertina 'Mahlongwane' M a k h o s i (39), an Inkatha support e r, had her house b u r n t down by other Inkatha supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in January 1990, because her brother was an ANC support e r. H L O N G WANE, Bongumusa Ndabitheni (18), an ANC support e r, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 October 1993. H L O N G WANE, Bonisiwe Lephina (44), an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r, had her house burnt down by ANC s u p p o r t e r s in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990, in intense political conflict in the area. See R I C H M O N D F A R M A R S O N A T T A C K S. H L O N G WANE, China Gray (35), a COSATU member, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha support e r s in an attack on the Hlobane Colliery near Vryheid, Natal, on 6 June 1986. See H L O B A N E C O L L I E R Y A T T A C K. H L O N G WANE, Christopher (17), an ANCYL member, was shot in the head and partially paralysed in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 February 1986 when members of the SAP opened fire before a mass f u n e r a l. H L O N G WANE, David (17), a COSAS and C A Y C O m e m b e r, was detained in Worcester, Cape, during 1993, and charged for participating in a political campaign to boycott taxis belonging to local C O U N C I L L O R S. T h e r e a f t e r, he was constantly harassed by police, which forced him to flee Worcester and go into hiding in Cape Town. In June 1986 his father and three brothers were detained under emergency regulations for several months. H L O N G WANE, DE (56), an IFP support e r, had her home and possessions burnt in an attack by ANC s u p p o r t e r s at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1991. H L O N G WANE, Elias, was severely injured when members of the O r d e Boerevolk opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 i n j u r e d in the attack. See P U T C O B U S A T T A C K. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053). H L O N G WANE, Fikile Jane, a UDF support e r, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

H L O N G WANE, Ningi Promise (12), was shot dead in an attack on her home at KwaHaza, near Howick, Natal, on 11 April 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Two other family members also died in the attack. H L O N G WANE, Nkosinathi Phillip, a supporter of the ANC, was attacked and killed by an Inkatha member during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 July 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). H L O N G WANE, Nokiki, was stabbed to death in April 1992 by IFP supporters when she visited the V u s i m u s i hostel in Tembisa, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Her thre e - y e a r - o l d son was also killed in the attack. H L O N G WANE, Nomshado Dinah (38) was stabbed in the back during an attack on her home by IFP s u p p o r t e r s looking for 'comrades' in Katlehong, Tvl, in August 1990. Ms Hlongwane's three sisters and a friend were gang-raped during this attack. The incident o c c u r r e d shortly after the outbreak of violent political conflict on the East Rand. H L O N G WANE, Nomthandazo Gloria (31), had her home burnt down in political conflict between the ' R E D ' A N D ' G R E E N ' F A C T I O N S in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in May 1993. Ms Hlongwane's health suff e r e d as a result of the attack, and she died at age 37. H L O N G WANE, Nsizwane Johannes (26), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in B runtville, KwaZulu, near Mooi River, Natal, on 7 June 1991, in intense political conflict in the area. H L O N G WANE, Ntobeko Patrick (40), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu,

near Umlazi, Durban, in April 1991. H L O N G WANE, Ntombi Carinah (25), had her house and all belongings burnt during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Richmond Farm , near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990. H L O N G WANE, Paul Hickson, was detained for six months in 1987 in Johannesburg. During his detention, he did not receive adequate medical attention for his d i a b e t e s . H L O N G WANE, Phakamani Joseph (23), an ANC s u p p o r t e r , was shot dead by IFP supporters while attending an ANC rally near Bergville, Natal, on 6 June 1993. See B E R G V I L L E A T A C K . H L O N G WANE, Phillip Smanga (19), an ANC support e r , was stabbed in the body and eye by IFP supporters on a train travelling between Phomolong and Phefeni stations in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 October 1993. See T R A I N V I O L E N C E . H L O N G WANE, Phumlani, was shot and injure d , together with a friend, by named IFP support e r s , allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, near Bulwer, Natal, on 4 March 1993 in continuing political conflict in the are a . H L O N G WANE, Pretty Elsie (28), an IFP support e r , had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Hosiyaana, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in Febru a ry 1994 in the run-up to the A P R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S .

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G E 1 5 7

H L O N G WANE, Richard (26), was injured in a shooting in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 11 May 1992 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and A N C - s u p p o r t i n g r e s i d e n t s . H L O N G WANE, Ruth (35), was shot dead by Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s at Ta y l o r ' s H a l t , KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the S E V E N - D A Y W A R . H L O N G WANE, Samuel (21), a UDF support e r , was detained, together with his father and two brothers, in Zweletemba, Wo r c e s t e r , Cape, during June 1986. They were held under emergency regulations for several months at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape, and interrogated about their political activities. H L O N G WANE, Sebenzile Sabhina (38), lost her home in an arson attack in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1991 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the are a . H L O N G WANE, Sibusiso Erick (11), an ANC support e r , died instantly when he was stabbed with a spear by IFP supporters in Bruntville, KwaZulu, near Mooi River, Natal, on 16 August 1991, in intense political conflict in the are a . H L O N G WANE, Simati Daniel (57), was detained, together with three of his sons, in Zweletemba, Wo r c e s t e r , Cape, during June 1986. They were held for several months under emergency regulations at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape, and interro g a t e d about their political activities. Mr Hlongwane was assaulted by police during his detention. See P O L I C E B E R U T A L I T Y . H L O N G WANE, Sindisiwe (21), IFP support e r , had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC support e r s at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the are a . H L O N G WANE, Sipiwe Solomon (34), had his home d e s t r o y e d in an arson attack at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 Febru a ry 1990, in political conflict following the mass funeral of several UDF support e r s . Fighting in the area continued for up to seven days resulting in the deaths of ten people, including a member of the South African Police. H L O N G WANE, Sipho (31), was stabbed and stoned to death by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 July 1993 in continuing political conflict in the are a . H L O N G WANE, Solomon (34), an ANC support e r , had his home destroyed by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 Febru a ry 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. T e n people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See M P U M A L A N G A A T T A C K S . See Mpumalanga attacks. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 3 3 2) . H L O N G WANE, Thami, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Ta v e r n , Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Thre e perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two

perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198). H L O N G WANE, Thandi Cicilina (34), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu,

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possessed an ANC membership card. He was never seen again although police later informed the family that he had been sent to Robben Island. JACOBS, Lionel, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and A C / 2 0 0 0 / 2 4 1). JACOBS, Mxolisi Johannes 'Dikkie', a UDF supporter and youth activist, was found dead hanging in his prison cell in Upington, Cape, on 22 October 1986, after 129 days in detention under emergency regulations. JACOBS, Nkosomzi Jeffrey 'Banda' (24), was shot at a UDF rally and then detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Knysna, Cape, on 15 March 1986. JACOBS, Ntombomzi Nancy (24), a UDF supporter and street committee member, was detained by members of the SAP in March 1985 in Somerset East, Cape, and tortured in North End prison, Port Elizabeth. JACOBS, October (22), was shot dead by a named farmer on 15 February 1992 on a farm in Nieu Bethesda, Cape. JACOBS, Paulus (17), was shot and injured by a MUNICIPAL POLICE member in Barkly West, Cape, on 24 August 1990, while a group of Mataleng youth were toying in the township. About 13 others were injured in the incident. JACOBS, Peter, an MK operative, was detained in May 1987 in Cape Town and held under SECTION 29 for six months. During his detention he was severely tortured by named Security Branch members. Mr Jacobs was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment. Two members of the Security Branch were granted amnesty for his torture (AC/1999/0027 and AC/1999/028). JACOBS, Sarel, was arrested in Upington, Cape, on 3 December 1985, and spent long periods in custody during the trial of the UPINGTON 26. At the conclusion of the trial, he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, overturned on appeal. JACOBS, Sebenzile Jackson (18), was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator in Cradock, Cape, on 15 April 1984 during a SCHOOLBOYCOTT in the area. JACOBS, Shahied, was shot dead by members of the SAP while in a protest march at Trafalgar High School in Cape Town, on 3 September 1976, during the SOWETO UPRISING. JACOBS, Thandiwe Alinah (21), an ANC supporter, lost her sight in both eyes after being shot in the face by SAP members in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 21 March 1990. Police reportedly fired shots at protesters commemorating the anniversary of the SHARP VILLENAS SACRE. JACOBS, Thembekile John, was shot dead by members of the SAP during unrest in Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 May 1985.

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a group of vigilantes, including Mr Jantjies, severely beat school students engaged in a SCHOOLBOYCOTT. JANTJIES, Hennie (43), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and had her home damaged by SAP members during her arrest in Thembalesizwe, Aberdeen, Cape, in June 1986. She was then detained under emergency regulations for five months. See POLICE Brutality. JANTJIES, Nkotliso Frans, was shot and arrested by members of the SAP in Bloemhof, Tvl, in December 1990 at the launch of an ANC branch while singing freedom songs in the streets. Mr Jantjies now suffers from epileptic fits and has a

hearing pro b l e m . JANTJIES, Siphiwo Stanley (20), was severe l y beaten with knobkerries by named AM A S O L O M Z I vigilantes and members of the SAP on his arrest in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985. He later s e rved three years in prison for public violence. JANTJIES, Themba, was severely beaten by AM A S O L O M Z I vigilantes and members of the SAP on his a rrest in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985. JANTJIES, Wi l f r e d, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King Wi l l i a m 's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA AT TA C K S. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182). JANTSHI, Sipho Elijah (29), a UDF support e r, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Zola, Soweto, Johannesb u r g, on 11 December 1988 in violent conflict during f o rced removals of people from Moshenguville to Orange Farm . JANUARIE, Ragel (18), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 Febru a ry 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Tw o c h i l d ren were shot dead and 13 people injure d . J A N U A RY, Michael Jacob (27), a civilian, was shot and i n j u red when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Ta v e rn in Observ a t o ry, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA AT TA C K S. Thre e perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026). J A N U A RY, Mongameli Theophilus (22), a member of a student committee, was beaten with a bar by members of the SAP at Kirkwood police station, Cape, in June 1980 during the 1980 S C H O O L B O Y C O T T S. J A N U A RY, Nomfanelo (41), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, on 27 April 1985, while she was participating in a march pro t e s t i n g against a police shooting. Others in the march were shot by the same perpetrator. JARA, Silverman Mzondeleli (38), a BCM support e r, was stoned to death while trying to stop students f rom stoning a school during S C H O O L B O Y C O T T S in Alice, Ciskei, on 15 September 1980. JARA, Welcome Mtutuzeli (41), an ANC member, was shot at and his house was set alight in Flagstaff , Transkei, on 14 November 1992 during a part y membership drive that was opposed by the local chief.

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labour dispute between striking COSAT U - a l i g n e d FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. This caused violent conflict between July and December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others w e re injured in the attack. J O K WANA, Wa l d a (21), was beaten and arrested by members of the SAP on 18 March 1985 in Pearston, Cape, and detained without trial in Graaff - R e i n e t . While in detention he was tort u red to force him to sign a statement. After being held for a month he was c h a rged with public violence and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. JOKWENI, Tryphina 'Mboxela' (62), an ANC support e r, who ran a safehouse for MK cadres in Umlazi, Durban, was detained and tort u red by named members of the SAP in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in April 1987. On 24 April 1987 Security Police members from V l a k p l a s and Durban killed three MK operatives in a shoot-out at Ms Jokweni's home, damaging her house. JOLOZA, Nkosiymzi Christopher (29), an NUM m e m b e r, was detained, severely assaulted and tort u re d by named SAP members in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1987. This occurred at a time of violent clashes in the area between union members and vigilantes allegedly hired by mine management to attack p e rceived UDF support e r s . JOMBILE, Mnikiswa (28), had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in intense political conflict between the ' R E D ' A N D ' G R E E N ' F A C T I O N S. JOMOSE, Xolani, a member of the UDF-support i n g AM ABU T H O, was shot dead by members of the SADF in P o r t Elizabeth on 24 May 1985 during political conflict. JONAS, Frederick (19), a PAC support e r, was detained by members of the SAP on 14 April 1963 in King Wi l l i a m 's Town, Cape, and held for 12 months during which he was tort u red. Mr Jonas was sentenced to two years'

imprisonment for his involvement in a PAC attack on the King William's Town police station. JONAS, Maqibo Ivan (36), was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Swartkopsdam, Port Elizabeth, on 3 February 1986, during clashes between UDF and AZAPO members in the area. JONAS, Mbulelo Michael (23), a PAC supporter, was hacked to death by UDF supporters at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in May 1990 during consumer boycotts and political conflict in the area. JONAS, Zolile (23), was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). JONATHAN, Sihombiso (49), an IFP supporter, was severely burnt when his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, was petrol-bombed, allegedly by AMASINYOORA vigilantes, on 11 December 1993. JONES, Ali, was shot by AWB members in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl, on 9 August 1991. The AWB was

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KHAKHANE, Samson Thabiso, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 3 November 1993 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. KHALA, Nophakamile (36), was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 April 1992. Ms Nophakamile was one of more than 100 Phola Park residents including women and teenagers who were assaulted by members of the SADF 32 Battalion after a member of the SADF was shot and injured in Phola Park. Two women were shot dead and at least four raped during the attack. An investigation by Justice Goldstone concluded that the soldiers had acted in a manner 'completely inconsistent with the function of a peacekeeping force' and recommended their removal from South Africa's townships. KHALIPHA, Senzangabom Vusumzi, an MK operative, was in a unit of five MK operatives active in the Eastern Cape when he was caught in a police roadblock near Elliot, in August 1981, and shot dead. Three others were killed in the ambush and a survivor was arrested. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission in 1997. KHAMA, Khama Henderson (50), lost his home in Maboloko, Bophuthutswana, when it was burnt down during a power struggle over chieftaincy in 1976. KHAMBA, Njabulo (19), was shot dead on 5 February 1992 at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban when armed men in two minibuses opened fire on ANC supporters, killing three people at a home and three school children on their way to school. KHAMBULA, Sitololo Gladys (40), had her house burnt down at Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband was severely injured in the same attack. KHAMBULE, Bajabuhle Christinah (39), was stabbed and severely injured by a named Inkatha supporter in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 14 May 1989. Her husband, a UDF supporter, was killed in the same attack. KHAMBULE, Baza, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and injured by UDF supporters at Inchanga, Natal, on 28 October 1989, during political conflict in the area. KHAMBULE, Ben November (20), an ANCYL member, was burnt to death when he was 'necklaced' by 'comrades' who suspected him of being an informer and an IFP member, in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, in 1992. KHAMBULE, Edward Mvuyo (41), was shot dead by a named perpetrator at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1994 when the car he was driving was ambushed during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His employer's daughter was also killed, and her brother and father were injured in the attack. KHAMBULE, Khombisile, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured and her home was burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 1 June 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. Two other family members were injured in the attack. The family was forced to flee the area.

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in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. KHOZA, Sipho (18), was beaten with batons and rifles by members of the SAP near Pretoria, on 19 March 1986 because he was believed to be involved in the killing of a police officer. KHOZA, Solomon Boy (27), was shot and injured by a named member of the local farming community in EMijindini, Barberton, Tvl, in April 1993 while singing freedom songs with others waiting for a bus to take them to the funeral of CHRISTIANI. KHOZA, Tembani Ntombinkulu (65), was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS. KHOZA, Themba Joseph (40), died after he was stabbed and stoned, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 July 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area. KHOZA, Thembekile Roselyn (47), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 January 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR. KHOZA, Thembinkosi Raymond (30), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1989, in intense political conflict in the area. KHOZA, Thomas (66), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and his house was burnt down by 'comrades' in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 10 January 1993. KHOZA, Tl, an IFP supporter, died in Ethethe, Stanger, Natal, on 27 July 1993 after being attacked by unidentified residents of the community in retaliation for stabbing a prominent ANC community representative to death. KHOZA, Zenzele Alpheus (20), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home and beaten by IFP supporters in Bergville, Natal, on 17 October 1993. He was released after the beating, but was attacked by a second group of IFP supporters on his way home, and shot in the leg. KHOZA, Ziningi Eunice (35), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense political conflict in the area in 1994. See SONKOMB OAT TA CKS. KHOZA, Zondani Gretta (49), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Okhalweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in July 1991. KHOZWAYO, PE, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

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of the Security Branch in Port Elizabeth. He was detained again in 1986 under emergency regulations. KOBESSE, Sandi Grebhe (23), a UDF supporter, was assaulted by three named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE at his home in Fort Beaufort, Cape, in July 1987, during a campaign of opposition to Black Local Authorities in the area. KOBO, Dorothy Mosetsane, was severely injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOLI PATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). KOBOKA, Bubele Baden, a Poqo member, was imprisoned at Robben Island, Cape Town, in

1963 for his involvement in Poqo activities in Paarl, Cape, and later executed in Pretoria on 30 May 1967 along with eight other Poqo members for the alleged involvement in the killing of a white shopkeeper in Paarl. KOBOLA, Phaladi Phineas (39), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SADF in Seshego, Lebowa, in 1987 because he was suspected of being an MK operative. KOBUS, Eric Ralph Gudmanz (74), a farmer, was shot and injured in the face when a group of UDF supporters attacked his home at Sunrise farm, Stutterheim, Cape, on 12 February 1990. Five UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277). KOCK, MM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. KOCK, Paul, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241). KODISANG, Shadrack (26), was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 9 July 1985 following tension between students and the SAP in the area. KODISANG, Siphosiphiso Adam (17), an ANC supporter was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 6 August 1993 when he mistook a toy gun Mr Kodisang was carrying for a real weapon and opened fire on him. An inquest was held but no one was found responsible for Mr Kodisang's death. KOEE, Aobakwe Gilbert (30), was hit on the head and threatened with death by Bophuthatswana Police at Taung, Bophuthatswana, in May 1988. Officials were searching for supporters of Chief Mankoroane who was in exile as a result of political differences with Chief Mangope.

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in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 29 November 1986 during a COSAS campaign for free and compulsory education and a boycott of Bantu education. KOLISI, Makayephi (20), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by a named perpetrator at Blackpool farm in Cathcart, Cape, in February 1987, while he was visiting friends at the farm. KOLISI, Mawethu (14), was shot dead by named members of the SAP on 1 January 1986 during unrest at Dongwe township, Whittlesea in Ciskei. KOLISI, Siphosiphiso Victor (aka Luvuyo Kehla) (20), an MK operative, was shot dead in an ambush at Alldays, Tvl, near the Botswana border, on 10 July 1986 by a joint team comprising SADF Special Forces and Far North Eastern Transvaal Security Branch members. Fourteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Nine of these applications were refused (AC/1999/0176). KOLISI, Tatiana (30), was shot and severely injured by members of the security forces in August 1976 in Langa, Cape Town, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to Cape Town. KOLISILE, Gampimpi Doctor (38), was assaulted at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 14 March 1992. At the time there were frequent attacks on the community by unidentified assailants. Two of his sons were also injured. KOLITI, Nontle (14), was shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 12 September 1986 during the state of emergency in Grahamstown, Cape. KOLO, Thomas (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP while toying with a crowd in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 1 October 1985. KOLOBE, Henry Malapile (34), was shot and injured in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 March 1992 by Simphiwe hostel-dwellers during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFPs supporting hostel-dwellers. Two people died in the attack and another was injured. KOLOI, Kenathatha Alice (13), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 27 September 1984 in Port Elizabeth. KOLOI, Machaya Phineas (19), an ANC-aligned selfdefence unit

member, was shot and severely injured by named members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 22 December 1993. KOLOI, Ohentse Richard (28), an ANCYL member, was arrested in August 1989 and severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, near Kuruman, Cape. He was charged with assaulting policemen but was found not guilty. He was again detained on 26 December 1991 and again severely beaten and tortured at the Tsineng police station. On 15 November 1992 he was arrested during a consumer boycott and beaten with several other ANC members. KOLOLO, Sandile (16), was shot dead by a member of the SAP near a bus terminus in Veeplaas, near Port Elizabeth, on 14 October 1986 during the state of emergency. See P O L I C E R U T A L I T Y.

KOLOTI, Elvis Radimakatso (17), an

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018). L O U W, Mieta, was a victim of an armed robbery by APLA operatives at the farm 'Panama', near Bloemfontein, during 1993. The victims were threatened and locked in a bathroom. One person was abducted and released later. See APLA AT T A C K S. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239). L O U W, Nosisa Celia (38), was severely beaten by members of the SAP during protests in Moses Mabida township, near Kirkwood, Cape, in March 1985. L O U W, September Joseph (45), was detained on 19 June 1986 in Noupoot, Cape. He was held for three months under emergency regulations at Middelburg prison, where his medication for a chronic illness was thrown away. See P O L I C E R U T A L I T Y. L O U W, Whiskey Lulu, was pursued and stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Standerton in August 1987, because he was believed to have collaborated with members of the MG Pirates soccer club and community councillors, to persecute UDF supporters. Four UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071). L O V A, Tendinjeni (62), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely assaulted by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, in March 1991. LOVING, Steven Kaumba, was shot dead by members of the SAP while crossing a street near a protest march in Ventersdorp, Tvl, on 7 March 1990. LOZA, Nkwenkwe Elijah (59), a trade unionist and ANC member, was detained in Cape Town for six months and severely tortured in 1963. He was then placed under banning orders for ten years, reimposed in November 1976. He was detained on 27 May 1977 and died in custody on 2 August that year. It is probable that he was again tortured in 1977 by the Security Police and that this contributed to his death, which was officially found to be natural causes, after a stroke. LUBANE, Petros Boy, an ANC member, was abducted on 17 September 1987 by North ern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, who suspected him of being a courier for MK. He was taken to a farm near Rust de Witte, Tvl, where he was held for several days and possibly tortured. After refusing to become an informer, he was sedated and shot dead, and his body destroyed with explosives. Nine North ern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/251). L U B A N YANA, Agnes Phumzile (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 13 April 1991. About 12 people were killed and 12 injured in attacks by IFP supporters in the area that month. L U B A N YANA, Mkhosi Isaac (56), an IFP supporter, died after he was shot and then stabbed by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, on 27 June 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area. LUBBE, S, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and

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near Empangeni, Natal, was shot

dead in Empangeni in a targeted killing by a V l a k p l a s 'hit squad' operative on 2 August 1990. KWAZU L U P O L I C E members allegedly covered up the investigation into his death. LUTHULI, Wiseman Nkosinathi (20), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was shot and burnt to death by IFP s u p p o r t e r s in Umlazi, Durban, on 15 December 1992 for refusing to change his political aff i l i a t i o n . LUTHULI, Ziphi Francisca (22), an ANC support e r, had her house near Ve rulam, Natal, burnt down by IFP s u p p o r t e r s on 28 Febru a ry 1991. LUTHULI, Zithulele (20), an ANC support e r, was stabbed and beaten to death by IFP supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 13 Febru a ry 1991. LUTOLO, Fundisile (40), had her house burnt down on 16 Febru a ry 1993 in a dawn attack on the ANC s t ronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban. Te n people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters over access to re s o u r c e s . LUTU, Olga Nomonde (34), chairperson of the Residents Association on We i l e r ' s Farm, Tvl, was repeatedly harassed by members of the SAP between 1984 and 1989 because she assisted farmworkers who, despite having paid rent to the farm e r, were assaulted and had their possessions confiscated for transgre s s i n g the Pass Laws. Upon being relocated to Orange Farm , Tvl, she established a farm clinic. Ms Lutu was detained in 1986 and was seriously injured by a named member of the SAP in 1992 because of her political activism. LUTULI, Alzina Mhlope (20), an ANC support e r, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 Marc h 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N A T T A C K S. LUTULI, Jandazile Otilia, ANC support e r, was s e v e rely assaulted by named IFP supporters at her home in Amanzimtoti, Natal, on 20 August 1990, during political conflict. LUTULI, Nomajaji (51), an ANC support e r, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 Marc h 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N A T T A C K S. LUTULI, Ti l i (50), had her house burnt down by ANC s u p p o r t e r s on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N A T T A C K S. L U T Y A, Wiseman Madodomzi (22), was shot dead by SAP members in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976, after the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G had spread to Cape Town. Mr Lutya was one of at least 20 people shot dead that day.

V O L U M

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G E 2 6 3

MADONDO, Maqhuphuza, an ANC support e r, and her husband were abducted by three members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pieterm a r i t z b u r g on 5 April 1989. The police allegedly believed them to be in possession of arms. She was killed, and her burnt body was found sometime later in Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal. Mr Madondo has not been seen since and is presumed dead. MADONDO, Nontombi (59), an IFP support e r, had her house and belongings destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, in May 1992. MADONDO, Oupa Ronald (aka 'Scorpio'), was abducted and killed by members of the Security Branch on the farm 'Leeuspoor', near Josini Dam, nort h e rn Natal during 1980. His body was destroyed by means of explosives. Five perpetrators were granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 1 5 1) . MADONDO, Phumelele Linet (28), was pulled from a taxi and stabbed by IFP supporters at Wasbank, near Glencoe, Natal, on 9 July 1993, allegedly because she had failed to give them information about ANC s u p p o r t i n g 'comrades'. MADONDO, Sibusiso, a MA N D E L A U N I T E D F O O T B A L L C L U B (MUFC) m e m b e r, died after being shot, stoned and stabbed with a sharp object in Orlando We s t , Soweto, Johannesburg, in Febru a ry 1989. Mr Madondo died when he was sent to kill five youths who had allegedly refused to join the MUFC. MADONDO, Sihle Johan (21), an ANC support e r, was

stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters at KwaPata, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990. IFP supporters were allegedly trying to evict ANC supporters from the area at the time. MADONDO, Siyabonga Wilson (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 28 December 1990. Police came to his home looking for him, and fired shots into the ceiling where he was hiding. MADONDO, Thamsanqa Wellington (17), a COSAS member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP under emergency regulations in Protea, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 February 1987. Mr Madondo was detained because of his political activities. MADONDO, Thandi G (34), had her house in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in September 1989 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. MADONDO, Thandi Zakhona (12), was severely injured in a grenade blast during conflict between rival trade unions in Tongaat, Natal, in 1985. Thandi lost her left arm as a result of the explosion. MADONSELA, Anthony (22), was shot in the stomach and leg by members of the SAP in Naas, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 18 May 1986 when singing freedom songs with friends in the street. MADONSELA, Jabulani Samson (19), an Impumelo Youth Congress member, was severely beaten and stabbed with a sharp object by members of the SAP and PIBATLESFOOTBALL CLUB vigilantes in Leandra, Tvl, during 1985. Police, in collusion with the vigilantes, constantly harassed Impumelelo Youth Congress

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MAFIKA, Lindiwe Sara Makazibuyile (43), an ANC supporter, fled her home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban on 5 July 1992 because of political violence in the area. A week later, she returned to find her home had been destroyed, allegedly by IFP supporters. MAFIKE, Mmanini Martha (69), was injured when her house was bombed by AWB members in Hoopstad, OFS, in December 1993. The incident took place at a time when the AWB were carrying out random attacks in the province in retaliation for the PAC's 'one settler, one bullet' campaign and their attacks on white farmers. MAFILIKA, Mkanyeli Edward (19), was severely beaten by police on 20 November 1985 and again later in custody in Robertson, Cape, after being arrested with over 70 other youth. He then spent three months in prison awaiting trial on public violence charges, which were then withdrawn. He was again detained in June 1986 and held under emergency regulations for three months. MAFILIKA, Violet (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with batons and sjamboks by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, during 1986. Police were forcing residents to clean Nkqubela township and many were beaten that day. MAFIRIKA, Telebo Johannes, was injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONGMASACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MAFOBOKWANE, Letsatsi Elias (66), an ANC supporter, had his house damaged in a petrol bomb attack by alleged members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in August 1985 because he was involved in the burial of people who died during political conflict in the area. MAFODI, Chuene Maria (46), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. MAFODI, Mmaphuti Maria (43), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. MAFODI, Phuti Matlou (32), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. MAFOLO, Khabonina Naomi (19), was severely beaten by named perpetrators for resisting Chief Daniel Mahlangu in Nylstroom, Tvl, on 18 May 1980. MAFONGOSI, Gqili Compton (21), was shot in the head by members of the SAP and the SADF

on 21 September 1976 in Port Elizabeth in the wake of the 16 June SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. Mr Mafongosi spent two months under police guard at Livingstone Hospital and was charged with public violence for which he serv e d t h ree years.

P A G E 2

Reference 215 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 2 8 0

M A H L A T S I, Paul, suff e red damage to pro p e rty when his business premises were set on fire by ANC members during political conflict between AZAPO and ANC supporters in Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, during 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 1 / 2 3 9) . M A H L A T S I, William Phera (28), was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG i n B rentpark, Kroonstad, OFS, on 28 August 1993, allegedly because he played an activist role in the local c o m m u n i t y. MAHLBOA, Michael, an ANC support e r, was tort u re d by members of the Security Branch on a farm near Bloemfontein in October 1989, allegedly because of his political activities. MAHLENTLE, Nelson Mandela (62), was burnt to death with his grandson in his home in Cro s s ro a d s , Cape Town, on 10 Febru a ry 1990, in an attack allegedly instigated by a named Cro s s roads leader opposed to the ANC. MAHLENTLE, Sonwabile (6), was burnt to death with his grandfather in his home in Cro s s roads, Cape To w n , on 10 Febru a ry 1990, in an arson attack allegedly instigated by a named Cro s s roads leader opposed to the ANC. MAHLILEVILA, Nomawithi (32), had her house set alight by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 Febru a ry 1993 in continuing political conflict. MAHLO, Siph o Cyprian (18), a member of the ANCYL and the Lorraine civic association, was detained and t o r t u red by members of the SAP in Tzaneen, Tvl, in May 1992 because of his political activities. MAHLO, Vi c t o r, was shot and injured in the ear by a named traditional leader who fired at a group gathere d for a civic meeting at Burg e r s f o r t, Tvl, on 3 April 1993 during resistance against traditional authority in the are a . MAHLOBISA, Mbulelo (37), an ANC support e r, was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Police, some of whom are named, on 15 September 1992 in Alice, Ciskei, in political conflict following the BI S H O M A S S A C R E. MAHLOBO, Makhafula Cyril, an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the security forces at Dumbe, Paulpietersburg, Natal, in March 1983. Mr Mahlobo was killed shortly after crossing into South Africa from Swaziland as part of a group of MK operatives on a mission. MAHLOBO, Nelson, an MK operative, was detained by the Security Branch by the Security Branch in Vryheid, Natal, in 1985, and was severely assaulted and tort u red. He had gone into exile in the 1960s and re t u rned in 1983 on an MK mission. MAHLOKO, Thabang Samuel (22), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, died in police custody in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 14 December 1991. M A H L O M O N Y A N E (23), James Basekgama, was abducted from his home in Ntwane, KwaNdebele, by IM B O K O D O vigilantes led by named KwaNdebele g o v e r nment ministers on 1 January 1986 and assaulted at the Siyabuswa community hall in an attempt to s u p p res resistance to I N C O R P O R A T I O N into KwaNdebele.

V O L U M

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

M A K H A N Y A, Goodnight (40), an ANC support e r, died after being shot, hacked and burnt in KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 June 1986 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and ANC/UDF supporters in the are a . M A K H A N Y A, Ida (41), an Inkatha support e r, was stabbed to death at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in Febru a ry 1989, when political violence b roke out between IFP-supporting Richmond Farm residents and UDF-supporting residents of K Section, KwaMashu. The violence claimed many lives, destroy

ed homes and forced residents to flee from the area. M A K H A N YA, Madela (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 June 1992. Mr Makhanya had been shot and injured four days earlier. After his release from hospital, members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E, one of whom is named, took him to the veld to point out an arms cache. They told him to run, then shot him in the back. M A K H A N YA, Mahluleli, was shot and killed and his body mutilated by an IFP member in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 22 April 1990, allegedly in a revenge attack following an attack on the perpetrator's house by unidentified UDF supporters. The perpetrator was refused amnesty (AC/1997/0059). M A K H A N YA, Mandla Percy (18), was shot and severely injured by a member of the SAP in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 11 March 1986 when students demonstrated outside the local Magistrate's Court against the detention of fellow students. M A K H A N YA, Margaret (69), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See S O N K O M B O A R S O N A T T A C K S. M A K H A N YA, Maxwell Jabulani (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by a named perpetrator, allegedly an ANC supporter, on 10 June 1992, reportedly because Mr Makhanya was accompanied by an IFP youth at the time of the incident. M A K H A N YA, Mdu, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 5 August 1989, during the state of emergency. M A K H A N YA, Menzi Michael (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 1 September 1992. M A K H A N YA, Mfanufikile, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. M A K H A N YA, Mlungisi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban on 4 July 1990. One other ANC supporter was killed in the incident. M A K H A N YA, Nakeni Mitta (41), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 1 February 1993 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters over political control of the area. Ms Makhanya's son had been shot and severely injured the previous year in the course of political conflict.

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). M A K H A Y E, Khulekile Christina (36), an ANC supporter, had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in January 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. M A K H A Y E, Leonard Fanifani (18), an ANC supporter, had his home in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in August 1989. His parents died from burn wounds soon after the attack. M A K H A Y E, Lindiwe Minnie, had her house looted and set alight by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See M P U M A L A N G A A T T A C K S. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). M A K H A Y E, Matombi Sophie (57), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN DAY WAR. M A K H A Y E, Nhlanhla, was shot dead in Mashayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 September 1988 during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. M A K H A Y E, Nomasotsha Christina (46), had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in October 1989, allegedly because of her son's support for Inkatha. M A K H A Y E, Patrick Prince (15), was severely beaten while walking in the street with friends in Magwababeni, Mpophomeni,

KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 25 February 1986. It is alleged that an SAP van stopped alongside them and a member of the SAP began beating Patrick. M A K H AYE, Sipamo Hezekia (41), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and burnt to death by another named ANC supporter in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 20 April 1992, allegedly because he was thought to be a 'spy' for the IFP. M A K H AYE, Thabo (20), an ANC supporter, was pursued and shot dead by a group of masked men in Tokoza, Tvl, on 20 September 1993 during escalating conflict in the area following an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel on May 22 1993 which led to more than 80 deaths. M A K H AYE, Victoria, an ANC supporter, died from burn wounds a day after her home in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in August 1989. Her husband also died as a result of the attack. M A K H AYELE, Cresetia Cabangile, a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu,

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

June 1986. He was shot in the back while walking away from policemen who had interrogated him in the veld at night. MAKHUBELA, Edward Bongani, an ANCYL member, was allegedly beaten to death by a member of the SAP in Vosloorus, Tvl, in July 1992. MAKHUBELA, Joseph, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers in Swanieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from Swanieville informal settlement. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence. MAKHUBELA, Joyce, was injured when UDF supporters launched a petrol bomb attack on a bus along the N3 freeway, near Standerton, Tvl, in March 1987. The bus was transporting Pirates soccer club players and fans to Tokoza. The Pirates were believed to be a vigilante group collaborating with community councillors and police in attacking the UDF. Three UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071). MAKHUBELA, Sellinah Mapontsho (34), had her house damaged in an arson attack by supporters of Chief Tshajwa in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1977 during conflict between the supporters of Chiefs Tshajwa and Lion. MAKHUBELA, Sipho Albert (18), was shot by members of the SAP in Dube, Tvl, on 26 August 1976 in the aftermath of the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. MAKHUBELA, Winnie (15), was severely injured when she was gang-raped, stabbed and shot, then thrown out of a window and left for dead, allegedly by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 July 1993. Ms Makhubela was abducted with three other girls, two of whom were killed. MAKHUBO, Beatrice Lindiwe (22), was shot by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in April 1984 during a student protest. MAKHUBO, Gagaza Morris, (21), a UDF supporter, was arrested and beaten while in custody by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, Balfour, Tvl, on 2 May 1986 for his political involvement and alleged participation in burning down a local store. Mr Makhubo was charged with public violence and granted R200 bail but the charges were eventually dismissed. MAKHUBO, Stanley Mzwandile (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP in a street in Zola, Tarkastad, Cape, on 11 September 1990, after allegedly throwing a petrol bomb at them. MAKHUBO, Thabo, an MK operative deployed in the Transkei, was shot dead at a police roadblock near Elliot on 11 August 1981. Two others were also killed in the shoot-out. Two escaped but were cornered and died fighting at Barkly Pass two days later. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm, Lushof, in the magisterial district of Rouxville, near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission on 9 April 1997. MAKHUBU, Makomorane Aletta, an ANC supporter, was shot in Vrede, OFS, on 28 April 1993, when police

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MALIBE, Reuben Mandla (17), was repeatedly assaulted, intimidated and tortured by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 November 1976 because he was regarded as an instigator of student boycotts against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. MALIE, Samuel Mokhele, an ANC supporter, died after he was allegedly forced to drink poison by a member of the SAP in Harrismith, OFS, on 17 October 1981. MALIE, Tseko Ajustinus (18), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by alleged members of the SADF in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 August 1992. MALIEHE, Ben, a civilian, was traumatised when APLA operatives opened fire on a vehicle travelling from Zastron to Sterkspruit in the OFS on 18 March 1992. In the attack, one person was shot dead while he lay injured next to the car. Another was severely injured. Two managed to escape unhurt. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/148). See ZASTRONROADAMBUSH. MALIEHE, Joseph Mahlomola, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a rent boycott during the VALLURISING. MALINDI, Agnes, was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MALINDI, Fanyana Ishmael (19), an MK operative and Sharpeville self-defence unit leader, was tortured and shot dead by members of the SAP in Orange Farm, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 30 March 1993. Conflicting reasons for his arrest were given including robbery, the killing of white civilians at Eikenhof, and his connection to MK operatives killed by police in Sharpeville. Two others arrested with Mr Malindi provided sworn affidavits about extreme torture inflicted on him by the police before his death. Police also disrupted Mr Malindi's funeral. MALINDI, Francinah, was severely injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MALINDI, Gloria Jongiwe (43), was beaten, raped and robbed by a white Railway Policeman on 14 May 1986 in Cape Town while in the 'whites only' section of a train. MALINDI, Lydia Mananki, was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MALINDI, Mkhonto Samson, was shot dead by a named perpetrator allegedly collaborating with the SAP at Avalon cemetery in Soweto, on 21 September 1985 while attending a funeral for a 'comrade'.

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MARULA, Patrick Pheteswayo (27), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 28 February 1990 when they attacked a crowd celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela. Mr Marula was also detained and tortured in 1993 for attending a community meeting. MARUME, Ndiko, a NACTU member, was severely injured when named police officers and WITDOEK attacked striking mineworkers at Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, on 2 October 1987. He died in police custody shortly after the attack. MARUMO, Alfred Toko, was shot dead by 'comrades' in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, in May 1992. Sharpeville, like many other Transvaal townships, was embroiled in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the early 1990s. MARUMO, Baslius Matlogelwa, was detained without trial for two weeks in April 1986 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, because he held illegal meetings and encouraged resistance to INCORPOR

AT I O N i n t o KwaNdebele. While in detention he was deprived of medical attention. MARUMO, Elizabeth Lesholobe (70), was stabbed and hacked to death while sick in bed in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991 by IFP supporters returning from a rally at the Jabulani stadium. Members of the SAP allegedly shot open the door for the perpetrators. MARUMO, James December (23), was one of four youths shot dead by members of the SAP in Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985, after extensive unrest broke out in the township. MARUMO, Maki Martha (15), was shot and injured in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 20 September 1992 when IFP supporters tried to pull her into a car and then shot her several times. D R I V E - B Y S H O O T I N G S o c c u r r e d often during conflict in the Vaal Triangle in the early 1990s. MARUMO, Maletsatsi, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) near Small Farms, Tvl, on 14 June 1993. Ms Marumo was believed to be an IFP supporter. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 3 4 3). MARUMO, Wessels Skuta Mahoko, an SAP member, was killed by 'comrades' on May 30, 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during intense political conflict. Mr Marumo was accused of killing an ANC supporter in the area. Mr Marumo's body was chopped up and his severed head was paraded around the township and placed on a signpost on the main road. M A R U N G W A N A, Lucas 'Billy-Boy' (26), was arrested and severely assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, on 27 March 1989 because he resisted Leeuwfontein's I N C O R P O R A T I O N into Bophuthatswana and attended Chief Sebogodi's victory celebrations in his legal battle against his rival Chief Moiloa. Mr Marungwana was arrested and taken to Motswedi Police station where he was interrogated, caned and detained for a month. MARUPING, Jackonia Rakoena (28), was shot dead in a D R I V E - B Y S H O O T I N G in Voelorus, Tvl, on 11 November 1991.

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killed in the midnight attack. Ms Marwana's father, her brother and sister were among those killed. Her mother, sister, niece and nephew survived the attack. The family was from Port Elizabeth. M A R W A N Q A N A, Thandiswa (32), was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Ms Marwana's father and brother were amongst those killed. Her six-month-old daughter survived. The family was from Port Elizabeth. M A R W A N Q A N A, Yolanda (10 months), survived an attempted killing when SADF Special Forces operatives attacked several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Yolanda's mother, grandfather and an uncle were among those killed. Her grandmother, brother, aunt and uncle survived the attack. The family was from Port Elizabeth. M A R W E B U, Talente Mirriam (62), an IFP supporter, had her home at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 3 July 1990. M A R W E S H E, Mahlaola Jeanet (13), was shot and severely injured in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 23 March 1992 when members of the SADF were called in by the local chief to quell political protests in the area. M A R W E X U, Nosipho Blossom (20), a COSAS member, was beaten by members of the Security Police while in detention at Cambridge police station, East London, on 18 June 1986. She was accused of burning the homes of two police members during the 1986 state of emergency. See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. MARX, Getrudia, sustained damage to her property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257). MASA, Elizabeth, survived when shots were fired into the home of the Ntsime family at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during an attempted coup d'état on 10 February 1988. Two Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044). MASABALALA,

Sandra (20), died after she was teargassed by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth on 21 April 1986 during the state of emergency. See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. MASAKALA, Jamina (27), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home in Tokoza, Tvl, on 12 September 1990 during political conflict. Ms M a s a k h a l a 's husband was also killed in the attack. MASAKALA, Joshua (27), was burnt to death in an arson attack on his home in Tokoza, Tvl, on 12 September 1990 during political conflict. His wife was also killed in the attack. MASALA, Edith , had her shop looted and subsequently b u r n t down by 'comrades' during a consumer boycott in September 1990 at Evaton, Tvl.

V O L U M

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Anton 'Jaguar'

(43), a UDF

s u p p o r t e r, had his home burnt down by Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1988. MASIKANE, Ntombana (59), an ANC support e r, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, in the S E V E N - D A Y W A R. MASIKANE, Patrick V u s i , a UDF support e r, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg , on 5 August 1989. MASIKANE, Philisiwe (71), an Inkatha support e r, had her home at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, b u r n t down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See R I C H M O N D F A R M A R S O N A T T A C K S. MASIKANE, Phiphu (28), had his house in Chesterville , Durban, burnt down in September 1986 in an attack allegedly carried out by members of the Chesterville A - T E A M. MASIKANE, Vusumuzi Clif f o r d (19), was shot and i n j u r e d during intense conflict between ANC and IFP s u p p o r t e r s near Hammarsdale, Natal, 4 October 1990. He had also been beaten and intimidated by a named member of the SAP in 1988. MASIKE, Isaac Serame (19), a Basotholand Congre s s P a r t y (BCP) member, was severely beaten and t o r t u r e d by named SAP members in Vi l j o e n s k r o o n , OFS, in December 1960, allegedly because of his s u p p o r t for the BCP. At the time, the South African g o v e r n m e n t was vigorously opposing the BCP's campaign for Lesotho's independence. MASIKE, Mapula Rahab , was severely beaten by a member of the SAP in Vi l j o e n s k r o o n , OFS, in December 1960, allegedly because of her father's political activities. MASIKE, Pitso Andries (16), a UDF support e r, was detained and tort u r e d in Ve reeniging, Tvl, in January 1986.

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MASILELA, Mdasié Johanna (52), lost her house and possessions in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu. Chief Mahlangu supported the I N C O R P O R A T I O N of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted, which r e s u l t e d in attacks on people and pro p e r t y. MASILELA, Samuel , a COSAS member, was r e c r u i t e d for military training by a Security Branch agent p u r p o r t i n g to be an MK operative, and was killed in the N I E T V E R D I E N D A M B U S H near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special F o r c e s, Nort h e r n and We s t e r n Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 1 9 7) . MASILELA, Skons Petrus (27), lost his house and possessions in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu. Chief Mahlangu supported the I N C O R P O R A T I O N of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents

resisted, which resulted in the attacks on people and property. MASILELA, Soni Petros (66), disappeared after being abducted in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 17 August 1986. MASILELA, Sophy, was killed on a farm road near Nelspruit, Tvl, when the car she was travelling in detonated a landmine on 17 August 1986. Planting of landmines aimed at military patrols in rural areas was part of the ANC's campaign but was called off due to the high civilian casualty rate. MASILELA, Thulani (15), a Soweto Student Congress member, was shot and injured by members of the government-aligned RASTAGAN in 1989 in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg. MASILELA, Thulare Booï (70), lost his house and possessions in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in attacks on people and property. MASILELA, Velaphi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body was burnt on 3 August 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by ANC supporters. MASILO, Innocentia Tebogo (38), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, reportedly to force her to become an informer. Ms Masilo was detained and tortured for two weeks. MASILO, Jones Tony (23), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten with a sjambok by members of the SAP at a friend's funeral in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 22 September 1984. Mr Masilo was also shot and injured with a rubber bullet. MASILO, Mafete Chilboy (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and the 'ZimZim' group in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 15 December

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Daniel

(43), had his home

in KwaMancinza, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in October 1991 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MATHABELA, Boy, a farm employee, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Pondoriver police station, Blood River, near Dundee, Natal, in 1986, after he and a friend reported having found a limpet mine. MATHABELA, Evelyn Kemoneilwe, was shot by members of the SAP in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, on 28 February 1986 for taking part in a protest march by the Khuma Youth Congress. MATHANG, Josia Booï, an ANCYL supporter, was arrested, detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Kliprivier, Natal, in 1960. MATHE, Anthony, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police who opened fire on people protesting against the INCORPORATION of Leeuwnfontein into Bophuthatswana, on 1 July 1989. MATHE, Augustine (13), a church altar boy, was one of two youths shot dead by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 25 October 1980, after his mother sent him to the shop. Police opened fire on unruly crowds celebrating the defeat of Gerrie Coetzee, a white South African boxer, by Mike Weavers, an African-American boxer. MATHE, Bhekizitha, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 June 1993. MATHE, Eunice Shisekile (44), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured and had her home burnt down by

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

IFP supporters in Somopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 May 1994 in ongoing political violence following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. MATHE, Joseph Albino (36), a COSATU member, was shot by

members of the SADF in Kagiso, Tvl, on 8 January 1987. At the time, there was a curfew under emergency regulations. MATHE, Mishake (10), was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked his home in Somopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 May 1994 in ongoing political violence following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. MATHE, Musa Mathews, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by an IFP supporter in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 1 November 1992, while on his way to attend a peace meeting called by the local induna. MATHE, Petros (23), was thrown from the first floor of Ngoye University by members of the SAP in Empangeni, Natal, on 18 June 1976 when the SOWETO UPRISING spread throughout the country. The police allegedly evacuated the campus by force and Mr Mathe fell and injured his head. He still receives medication for mental illness as a result of his injuries. MATHE, Reuben Fisokwakhe (25), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in February 1990 following the UNBANING of political organisations earlier that month. MATHE, Sibongiseni (20), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in December 1992 in continuing political violence between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MATHE, Siphobethuel (35), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death, allegedly by IFP supporters in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 13 October 1990. MATHE, Tolakele Judith (65), an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMONDFARM ASSOCIATION AT TACKS. MATHEAKWENA, Pule (60), a citizen of Botswana, was shot dead by Vlakplaas operatives in Sikwane, Botswana, on 23 April 1990. Mr Matheakwena was a security guard for the Chand family, five of whom were killed in the attack. Eight Vlakplaas operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/089). MATHEBA, Elizabeth Matu (42), had her property destroyed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Marokolong, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 12 January 1993 during conflict with the chief of Marokolong. The chief was suspended and the whole community was forcibly removed. MATHEBE, (first name not given – granddaughter 2), was incarcerated by members of the SADF in 1987 in Moutse, KwaNdebele during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele. MATHEBE, (first name not given – granddaughter 3) was incarcerated by members of the SADF in 1987 in Moutse, KwaNdebele during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele.

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MATROSS, Zolile Christopher (35), a UDF supporter and Civic activist, was arrested on charges of public violence and beaten by police in Worcester, Cape, in August 1985. He fled the country, returning in 1986 when he was again arrested on 29 September 1986 in Worcester and held under SECTION 29. He then served five years of a 14-year prison sentence. MATSABA, Lephallo Abel, was tortured by members of the SAP while in police custody in Kroonstad, OFS, in 1991. He had been arrested on suspicion of the murder of a member of the THREEMILLION GANG. MATSABO, Abel, was shot at by NUMSA members during a strike at the Haggie Rand factory in Cleveland, Johannesburg, on 24 November 1989. Amnesty was granted to the one NUMSA member (AC/1999/0296). MATSAMGU, Wilson (40), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP near Endlovini, Soweto, on 19 July 1986. Mr Matsamgu had attended a night vigil the previous night. MATSANE, Miemie suffered an attempt on her life when she was attacked by IFP supporters during political conflict at Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 13 June 1993. One person was killed. Ms Matsane and another were injured. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0343). MATSANE, Thabo Godfrey, an ANC activist, was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP in Hoedspruit, Tvl, on 7 April 1992. MATSAPA, an AZAPO supporter, was arrested at a shebeen by

named members of the Lebowa Police at M a h w e l e r e n g, Lebowa, during an illegal gathering on 4 April 1985. M ATSA POLA, Elizabeth (18), was shot on the fore h e a d and in the back by members of the SAP in Naledi, Soweto, on 17 June 1976 during the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. M ATSEMBE, David , was seriously injured when he was stabbed by ANC supporters at a squatter camp on a chicken farm in Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg , on 7 July 1991. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty for the attempted killing (AC/1999/0212). M ATSEMELA, Elizabeth (61), an ANC support e r, was a rrested in June 1986 and held at Wilbeken prison in Benoni, Tvl, following student boycotts and other political protests in the are a . M ATSEMELA, Matsobane Morris (32), an MK operative, was detained and tort u red for nearly a year f rom 1 April 1964 in Pretoria by named members of the SAP. He was accused of sabotaging the Ministry of Agriculture . M ATSEMELA, Ramolobi Robert (48), had his home b u rnt down by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 17 January 1993. M ATSEMELA, Solomon (24), an ANCYL member, w a s assaulted by members of the SAP in Soshanguve, P retoria, in March 1986 following a student boycott in the are a . M ATSENA, Michael Silas (17), a community activist, was tort u red in detention in 1985 and 1986 and his family home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, was bombed by members of the SAP in 1986.

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G. M AVUSO, Johannes Vusumuzi

was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, on 5 August 1990. M AVUSO, Lokufa , was beaten and necklaced by named ANC supporters in Nelspruit, Tvl, in July 1986 because she was identified as a witch. She died two days later in Shongwe Mission hospital. M AVUSO, Mhlupheki Cornelius (39), was beaten to death with a golf club in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 7 November 1988 because he was suspected of being an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r. M AVUSO, Nomathemba (24), an Inkatha support e r, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 23 January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the are a . M AVUSO, Nombuzo , was abducted and gang-raped by members of the IFP-aligned TO A S T E R G A N G i n

V O L U M

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MBHELE, Albert Lungisani , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC h e a d q u a rters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a cro w d of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine m a rchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142). MBHELE, Balungile Donata (25), an Inkatha support e r, had his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 11 Febru a ry 1990 in violent conflict between ANC and Inkatha support e r s. S e e RI C H M O N D FA R M A R S O N AT TA C K S. MBHELE, Bazisola Augustine (47) had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, vandalised and looted by UDF s u p p o rters in 1989 during intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the are a . MBHELE, Ben Chunkie (38), an ANC support e r, was t h rown out of a train by IFP supporters in Clerm o n t , near Durban, in 1990. MBHELE, Bhekabantu Clement (38), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, had his home vandalised and destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in March 1994, during the run-up to the AP R I L 1 9 9 4 E L E C T I O N S. MBHELE, Bhekabantu , an ANC support e r, died of smoke inhalation when the house he was in was set alight at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 22 July 1990 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP s u p p o rters in the are a . MBHELE, Boy (34), a COSATU member, was shot dead by members of the KWAZU L

U P O L I C E at Umlazi, Durban, on 25 July 1991 during continuing political conflict in the area. MBHELE, David , was injured and suffered damage to property in the B O I P A T O N G M A S S A C R E by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MBHELE, Dingane (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Ncekubane Village in Ixopo, Natal, on 1 May 1994, days after the A P R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. MBHELE, Dumisani Cyril (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named Inkatha supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 19 July 1990. MBHELE, Dumisani Henry (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by an IFP supporter in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in December 1992. MBHELE, Eugene Mlungisi , a member of the SAP, was abducted, together with another police officer, by MK operatives during a raid on the Bhongoletu police station at Kokstad, Natal, in October 1993. The two police officers were subsequently killed by the perpetrators. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0033). MBHELE, Eunah (50), an ANC supporter, was hacked by a named Inkatha supporter in 1979, and in 1981 was beaten and stabbed and had her house damaged by named Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, allegedly in conflict due to ethnic rivalry.

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Reference 229 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MBINGO, Christopher , a member of the SAP, was stabbed and stoned to death by a group of ANC supporters at Elukwatini, KaNgwane, on 14 September 1990. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 1 / 1 3 7) . MBINQO, Mpumelelo , was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Mr Mbingo and three others were burnt to death while one survived with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049). MBITYO, Vuyiswa Gladys (35), was shot and severely injured in a random shooting by members of the SAP during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 March 1985. M B I W A, Mankwekwe Ben (57), was hacked to death by IFP supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, on 22 August 1990 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. MBIXANE, Mzwandile (3), was shot by members of the 'Amatshaka' M U N I C I P A L P O L I C E in February 1987 at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. MBIXANE, Nceba Mpimpi (14), was 'necklaced' to death by named police collaborators in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, in August 1986 during a state of emergency. MBIZA, Witnes Gezani (29), an ANC supporter, was tear gassed and shot in the left eye when members of the Bophuthatswana Police fired on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks stadium, Wineteveld, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. See C I T Y R O C K S S H O O T I N G. MBIZANA, Justice Mfulathelwa (aka 'Mandla') , an MK operative, was abducted by members of the North ern Transvaal Security Branch in September 1986 and taken to a farm in the Hammanskraal area, Tvl. He was severely tortured and, after several days, taken to a spot near Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, where he was killed. His body was blown up using a landmine, to make it appear that he had blown himself up while laying the mine. Ten North ern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Seven applications were granted and three refused (AC/2001/248). MBIZANA, Sibongiseni Simon (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at KwaMnyandu railway station, Umlazi, Durban, on 14 April 1993. Mr Mbizana was allegedly returning from a prayer meeting after the assassination of Chris Hani when he was shot, allegedly by IFP supporters who opposed the memorial service. MBIZANE, Bhanoyi (54), an ANC supporter, had his home in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in November 1991. Mr Mbizane was allegedly thought to be harbouring ANC supporters. MBIZO, Modi (30), a PAC member, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, on 9 May 1963. He was

sentenced to death for killing a headman in the Cofimvaba district, Transkei during protests against forced removals and the Trust Land Act.

P A G E 3

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MBONAMBI, Mzo, was severely beaten in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Mbonambi was one of five people who survived the beating, while two others were beaten to death, allegedly for crimes committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033). MBONAMBI, Ngila Balungile (42), had her home at Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters during January 1990 in ongoing political conflict in the area. MBONAMBI, Nokulunga (13), was shot dead in Lower Illovo, Natal, in 1992 during a violent political confrontation between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MBONAMBI, Sibusiso Patrick (27), an ANC supporter, was killed near Stanger, Natal, on 22 February 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His brother had been killed in June 1991, also in political conflict in the area. MBONAMBI, Sizwe, was severely beaten in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Mbonambi was one of five people who survived the beating, while two others were beaten to death, allegedly for crimes committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033). MBONAMBI, Vimba Enock (41), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 February 1990. MBONAMBI, Vincent Bonginkosi (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Stanger, Natal, on 25 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. MBONAMBI, Zandile Anna (44), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 May 1993. MBONAMBI, Zwelempi (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 September 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. MBONANE, John, was beaten to death in Mathyzensloop, KwaNdebele, in 1986 by 'comrades' during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the village into KwaNdebele. Mr Mbonane's house was torches and his stock and property were destroyed and stolen prior to this attack. MBONANE, Lucas Lucky (23), was severely beaten by named perpetrators in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, in January 1985. Mr Mbonane had reportedly participated in killing Chief Mayisa but was attacked by his vigilante group when he told the Mayisa family how the chief had died. Conflict erupted in the township after the State attempted to remove the community forcibly after it was declared a 'black spot'. MBONANE, Mgazi Phillip, was shot dead in Volsloors, Tvl, on 12 September 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

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an IFP supporter,

was shot and killed by ANC supporters in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993, allegedly in a revenge attack. Her granddaughter and several other family members and neighbours were killed or injured in the attack. MCHUNU, Nontobeko, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993. MCHUNU, Nozi (59), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Bruntville, near Mooiriver, Natal, on 11 August 1991. MCHUNU, Ntinti Amos (58), an IFP

supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in We m b e z i , KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 31 December 1992. MCHUNU, Oscar Thamduxolo (31), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 April 1990 in ongoing political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area. MCHUNU, Paulos Lucky (34), an ANC supporter, had his house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down on 14 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. MCHUNU, Peter Jabulani, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Mofolo North, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g , on 17 February 1988 during the state of emergency. The soldiers chased him in a Casspir, broke down a door in his home and shot him. MCHUNU, Phendukile Beauty (49), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 July 1990. MCHUNU, Phumelele, was shot dead during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 September 1993. Her home was also set alight and all belongings were destroyed. MCHUNU, Richard (25), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in November 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. MCHUNU, Samson Mfaniseni (36), a SANCO supporter, was shot and injured during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg on 8 June 1992. MCHUNU, Shadrack Mechack (32), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 September 1990. Mr Mchunu, whose tenant was burnt to death

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during 1993. MGEDEZI, Ephraim Mbongeni

KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 9 February 1986, when members of the SAP accosted him and his friends in the street. The youths were allegedly ordered to run and the police opened fire. Three named policemen were convicted of the killing. MGEDEZI, Mandla, was beaten and shot dead in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 9 February 1986, when members of the SAP accosted him and his friends in the street. The youths were allegedly ordered to run and the police opened fire. Three named policemen were convicted of the killing. MGENCE, Fayedwa (43), an IFP chairperson, was shot and injured and lost his home in an arson attack by named ANC supporters on 20 August 1990 in intensifying political conflict in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban. MGENCE, Grace Tholani (46), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters during 1989. MGENCE, Lindiwe Dorah (16), had her home at Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, burnt down on 12 November 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MGENCE, Mama Nellie (58), had her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down in September

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M J I J W A, Nimrod Monde (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 23 May 1986 in Hankey, Cape, for allegedly trying to attack a C O U N C I L L O R ' S h o u s e . M J I K E L O , July Xwele (52), an ADM supporter, lost his homestead in arson attacks by named ANC members during political conflict at Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, in September 1992. M J I L A , Noxolo Lindelwa (27), was shot and injured by named and unnamed ANC supporters during political conflict in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 28 January 1993. She was allegedly targeted because she was the wife of an ADM member. M J I L O , Jumouma (68), an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in violent

conflict with Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARMARSON AT TACKS. MJIWU, Sizwe Witness (36), was blindfolded and severely beaten by members of the SAP and the CDF on 16 May 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. The police claimed that Mr Mjiwu was harbouring weapons at his house and detained him at the Cambridge police station, East London. He was released and then released before he fled from the Ciskei. Mr Mjiwu has suffered from partial deafness since then. MJOBO, Zandisile Zenieth (23), was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from Vlakplaas were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276). MJODO, Enoch (58), was beaten and forced to flee Crossroads, Cape Town, after several of his colleagues were killed in 1983 by members of an opposing committee. He lost his home in an arson attack in KTC in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDFs supporting squatter camps by WITDOEK E vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. MJOKA, Madoda Louis (22), was hacked and shot dead by named Inkatha supporters on 25 August 1989 in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in intensifying political conflict in the area. MJOKA, Nontobeko (12), was shot and her left arm was broken when IFP supporters attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, at the end of July 1992. Nontobeko's father was killed in the attack. MJOKA, Sylvia Baphindile (39), was repeatedly harassed by Inkatha supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in December 1989, after her son had allegedly been killed by the same perpetrators during political conflict. MJOLA, Nonhlanhla (3), was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked the home of her grandmother, an ANC supporter, in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1993. Three other people were killed in the attack. MJOLI, Bhoko July (25), an AZAPO supporter, was subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP after his arrest on 15 March 1986 in Joubertown,

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

and Swaziland on 8 December 1981. The car caught alight, severely burning the two bodies. The divisional commanders of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal Security Branches, the officer commanding the SAP's Special Task Force, as well as several Security Branch and Special Task Force members, were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2001/186). MK 'Scorpio', or 'Scorpion' (whose real name may have been Oupa Ronald MADONDO), was shot dead on the farm Leeuspoor near Jozini Dam, northern Natal, by members of the Natal and Northern Natal Security Branch in 1980. His body was destroyed by means of explosives. Five Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander of Soweto Security Branch who authorised the operation, were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/151). MKABALASA, Silumko Leonard, was hacked and stabbed to death by AZAPO members in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, in 1984 after he refused to join AZAPO. MKABELA, Hendrik Fani, was shot dead by members of the SAP at KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, on 20 July 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. MKABELA, Moss, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 March 1986. Fifteen people died and scores were injured when the grenade, thrown by SADF members, exploded in a packed shebeen on Good Friday 1986. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE AT TACKS. MKABINDE, Nathi, was shot and injured in crossfire between the police and named ANC operatives at Edendale Hospital, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1986, when the operatives tried to free a political prisoner held at the hospital. MKAFU, Msuthu (25), a Poqo member, was detained without trial for 30 days in 1963 at Somerset West, Cape. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his political activities. MKALIPI, Pretty Ntombomzi (15), an AZAPO supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by UDF supporters during political conflict in Port Alfred, Cape, in June 1985. The perpetrators, armed with hatchets and axes, arrived at her

home and attacked her in the yard after she escaped through a window. As a result of the attack, she is disabled. MKAMBA, Bobby (54), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in December 1990 during intensifying political conflict in the area. MKAMBA, Thandiwe Primrose (53), an ANC supporter, had her house and business premises in Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 6 May 1992. MKAMBULA, Dinekile Lillian (46), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 10 February 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Ms Mkambula's new home in Inchanga, Natal, was reportedly burnt down in 1989. MKAMBULE, Thomas Shortie, was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 8 July 1985 during a march to protest against the killing of

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MKHIZE, Euclide Muzi, an ANC supporter, had his house at Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992. MKHIZE, Fanana Sixtus (40), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) on at Zuba Location, Umkomaas, near Durban, 7 November 1990. The family's home was burnt down in the attack. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0102). MKHIZE, Fano, was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator near Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Natal, on 22 July 1988 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. MKHIZE, Fihliwe Viera (55), a UDF supporter, was raped, stabbed and killed by an members of an Inkathasupporting gang known as 'Otheleweni', who attacked her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1987, allegedly because her sons were UDF supporters. Her two daughters were also raped in the attack, and one was also stabbed and severely injured. MKHIZE, Fikelephi (52), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ASSOCIATION AT TACKS. MKHIZE, Fikile Crezencia (38), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area during 1987. MKHIZE, Flora Bazabile (49), an ANC supporter, had her house in Nkoneni, Harding, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 11 July 1990. MKHIZE, Florence Fisani (27), had her house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down on 2 July 1993 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Peace talks about the return of political refugees had collapsed two weeks previously. MKHIZE, Gladness Ganile (13), an ANC supporter, had her home at KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 January 1991. Two family members were killed in the attack. MKHIZE, Gqizo Ntombeziningi (38), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ASSOCIATION AT TACKS. MKHIZE, Gqokeleni Mpompo (37), an IFP supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ASSOCIATION AT TACKS. MKHIZE, Grace, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Durban on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA AT TACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076). MKHIZE, Gugu Ritta (20), died after being raped and hanged by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu,

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in Greytown, Natal, who opened fire during a violent confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters on 10 November 1990. MKHIZE, Nobuhle Dorothy (50), lost her house in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, on 20 January 1991. MKHIZE, Nokusuka Irene (57), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by an IFP supporter at Bhamshela, near Maphumulo, Natal, in continuing political conflict in June 1993. MKHIZE, Nokuthula Lungile (5), was severely injured when she was shot in the jaw by IFP supporters who attacked her family home in Pietermaritzburg, on 26 October 1991. The family had allegedly been targeted because they supported the ANC. MKHIZE, Nomnikelo Thembisile (37), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in July 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MKHIZE, Nompumelelo (18), had her home set alight and was shot and injured by named IFP supporters during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 January 1988. MKHIZE, Nomsa, was shot dead at Umkomaas, near Durban, in October 1987 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. MKHIZE, Nomzinto Esther (50), an ANC supporter, was forced to leave her home in Pietermaritzburg and flee with her family after being threatened by IFP supporters at her husband's funeral in 1991. MKHIZE, Nonhlanhla Florence (33), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR. MKHIZE, Nontombi Daisy (44), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON AT TACKS. MKHIZE, Norah (66), had her house at KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during 1991, allegedly because her sons were ANC supporters. MKHIZE, Ntantuza Sithelele, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. Eight people died in the attack. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219). MKHIZE, Ntokozo Make-Peace, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Greytown, Natal, on 15 September 1990. MKHIZE, Ntombenhle Nomthandazo (26), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT TACKS. MKHIZE, Ntombifikile Finest (24), was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters and a named member of the SAP who attacked her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 30 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Her mother and stepfather were injured in the attack. The family was accused of supporting the ANC.

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Bethwell (49), had his houses

in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down during November 1993, when IFP supporters carried out several attacks on ANC supporters in the KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza areas. One person was killed and more than 45 homes burnt down, allegedly under the direction of the local IFP-supporting chief, who wished to purge the area of ANC supporters. MKH WANAZI, Ncebo, was shot and injured at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Two people were shot dead in the attack. MKH WANAZI, Ndani (54), had her house at Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack on 24 August 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MKH WANAZI, Nokuthula Khululiwe (24), lost her home in an arson attack at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in January 1991 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in January 1991. Ms Mkhwanazi escaped injury by hiding nearby. MKH WANAZI, Nolwazi (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 2 August 1992 when men wearing

balacclavas and armed with KZP pump-action shotguns carried out several attacks on homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. At least 11 people were killed and three were injured in the incident, which was thought to have been the work of the ES I K H AW I N I H I T S Q U A D. M K H WANAZI, Nombulelo Freida (38), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by other ANC supporters at her home in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1994, allegedly because her husband attended their IFP-aligned neighbour's funeral. M K H WANAZI, Phetsetso Jeffrey (29), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP on 3 September 1984 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during a rent and transport boycott. Several others were killed or injured that day during the V A A L U P R I S I N G. M K H WANAZI, Philangani Margaret (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 23 August 1976 in Meadowlands, Soweto, while on her way to a rally which was addressed by Henry Kissinger. M K H WANAZI, Princess Lindiwe (30), had her house burnt down at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 December 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her parents-in-law were both burnt to death in the attack. M K H WANAZI, Qhikiza Joyce (33), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992. M K H WANAZI, Sam Simon (33), lost his right eye and sustained serious injuries to his head and leg when he drove a tractor over a landmine on Vlaktefontein farm, Beeyten, Tvl, on 21 April 1986. The ANC had launched a landmine campaign aimed at military patrols in rural areas but it was subsequently called off in the light of the high civilian casualty rate.

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burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 7 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. MLAMBO, Mzondeni Willie (56), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON AT TACKS. MLAMBO, Phiyayinkosi, an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 August 1992. MLAMBO, Pukupe (16), an IFP supporter, survived being repeatedly stabbed by a named perpetrator at her home in Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, during intense political conflict in the area in the early 1990s. MLAMBO, Tezane Norah (37), had her home damaged in an arson attack in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in June 1976. Ms Mlambo believes that her house was mistakenly attacked because the house next door was occupied by a Chinese family who were the relatives. The attack took place in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING when the businesses and homes of people thought to be 'collaborators' were burnt. MLAMBO, Themba (5), was shot and severely injured on 16 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters because his family refused to join the IFP. Four people died and three were injured in the attack. Themba was permanently confined to a wheelchair as a result of his injuries. MLAMBO, Zephried Mzwakhe, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). MLAMBO, Zibeke (52), an IFP supporter, was shot and killed during political conflict in Inkanyezi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 September 1993. MLAMLA, Mteteleli (27), was shot by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCA N VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985. MLAMLI, Petukile John (45), a PAC supporter, was arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1963. On his release in 1978 he was banished to the Cofimvaba district, Transkei, where he died three years later. MLANDELI, Moses Matsotso (23), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UM TATA, TRANSKEI,

on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six V l a k p l a s operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199). M L A N D E LWA, Sijumba, an I K O N G O m e m b e r, was abducted by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in F l a g s t a f f, Transkei, following his involvement in the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L T. He has never been seen again.

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Reference 239 - 0.01% Coverage

Sibongile Nomavangeli

(29), had her

house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, during F e b r u a r y 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MNCUBE, Thulani Abner (30), an Inkatha support e r, was shot and stabbed to death, by a named ANC s u p p o r t e r on 24 October 1989 in KwaMashu, Durban, during intensifying political conflict in the area. His body was mutilated and then burn t. M N C U L W A N E, Matata Gremma (60), an IFP support e r, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in June 1992 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal. M N C W A B E, Albert (50), a member of MAWU and a UDF support e r, was injured when members of the SAP f i r e d teargas into the bus in which he was travelling to a union meeting at Edendale, KwaZulu, near P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g, in July 1985. Police stopped the bus, sprayed teargas and assaulted the passengers as they w e r e trying to disembark. The incident occurred at the time of the S A R M C O L S T R I K E. M N C W A B E, Bakulumile (56), had her house burn t down by Inkatha supporters in Pieterm a r i t z b u r g, on 30 M a r c h 1990 during the S E V E N - D A Y W A R. M N C W A B E, Bekiziwe (55), was severely injured on 5 M a r c h 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pieterm a r i t z b u r g, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFPaligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Tw o perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See T A B L E M O U N T A I N B U S A T T A C K S. M N C W A B E, Betty Bhakisile (52), had her home burn t down by IFP supporters in Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 November 1992 during ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP s u p p o r t e r s in the area. Her daughter was shot dead in the attack; one granddaughter, aged 6, was burnt, and another shot and severely injure d. M N C W A B E, Bhékani (43), an IFP support e r, was stabbed and shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 28 March 1991. Mr Mncwabe was allegedly targeted because his sons were ANC s u p p o r t e r s. His brother was killed in the same attack. M N C W A B E, Celestina, was shot dead by Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s in Pieterm a r i t z b u r g on 30 March 1990, during the S E V E N - D A Y W A R. M N C W A B E, Clementina Badidile (47), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, had her house burnt down by IFP

P A G E 4

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MNGOMEZULU, Jameson Ngoloyi

, an MK

c o m m a n d e r, was abducted from his home in Swaziland on 1 June 1985 and taken to a farm near Jozini, Natal,

P A G E 4

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G E 4 7 5

MOFOKENG, Mbongeni (22), an ANCYL member, was detained and tortured in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, in June 1986. Mr Mofokeng was involved in organising protests and consumer boycotts. He was allegedly detained and tortured again at Brakpan police station, in 1987. MOFOKENG, Michael Dikotsi (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Gelukwaarts, Kroonstad, OFS, on 17 February 1991, while trying to escape from members of the THREE MILLION GANG. MOFOKENG, Mmathabang Alinah (48), was with his family when their home, in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, was destroyed by a petrol bomb on 13 November 1993 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. MOFOKENG, Moeketsi Sylvester (42), an NUM member and shopsteward, was detained by the SAP and assaulted in Welkom, OFS, on 30 April 1984, for his role in organising a strike in the Vaal Reef mines. Mr Mofokeng went into exile on 28 January 1986 and, according to the ANC, died in a UNITA ambush in Angola on 13 October 1988. MOFOKENG, Moloi (52), was shot dead by AWB supporters during an industrial action by workers in Heilbron, OFS, on 12 November 1992. White farmers and members of white right-wing organisations became involved in policing the strike action and opened fire, killing Mr Mofokeng. MOFOKENG, Nkele, was shot and killed by a member of the MUNCIPAL POLICE in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 June 1988. MOFOKENG, Ntongo (61), an IFP supporter, had his houses set alight by ANC supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1993. MOFOKENG, Oupa Daniel (35), was stabbed to death on 13 August 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, during intense conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents. MOFOKENG, Petrus (38), an AZAPO supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, on 18 May 1986. The incident took place during a joint AZAPO/UDF protest against restrictions on political activity. Police attacked protesters, sjambokking some and opening fire on others. Four other protesters were seriously injured in the attack. MOFOKENG, Piet (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 16 September 1990 in violence between two rival factions of the ANC-aligned Khutsong Youth Congress. MOFOKENG, Piet, was shot dead and his house was burnt down on 26 July 1993, in an arson attack allegedly carried out by IFP supporters during political conflict. MOFOKENG, Pule James (19), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Welkom, OFS, on 6 June 1986 and tortured with electric shocks while in detention. He was detained for four days, allegedly because he was thought to be harbouring an arms cache. Mr Mofokeng was detained again on 15 June 1986 and

V O L U M

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Tjhetane Makwanyane Harold
(17), a

UDF supporter, was detained by the SAP several times between 1986 and 1989 under emergency regulations in Bethlehem, OFS. On one occasion, he was held in solitary confinement for six months. In April 1993, he was severely beaten by SAP members after his arrest during protests over the death of Chris Hani. MOFOKENG, Tsietsi Ben, was shot and wounded by members of the SAP on 3 September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during a rent boycott and campaign against local councillors during the VALLURISING. MOFOKENG, Zacharia, was shot dead by a member of the SAP at Beltrim, Sasolburg, Tvl on 2 January 1991. The SAP member allegedly suspected Mr Mofokeng of being an APLA operative responsible for the death of a white farmer, and killed him on the pretext that he was escaping. The SAP member, who had been convicted of the killing, was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0299). MOFOLO, Naomi Khabonina (19), was

beaten on 18 May 1980 in KwaNdebele, as a result of violent conflict between supporters of rival chiefs. MOGAADILE, Gaokaiwa Tiny (35), an ANC member, was tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 25 October 1992. Mr Mogaadile was chairperson of the ANC in Motsweding at a time of growing resistance to President Mangope's regime. MOGADI, Isaac, an ANC member, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

played a leading role in Kirkvorsfontein resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. The warnings of the tribal authority against incorporation went unheeded, which resulted in political conflict in which hundreds of people died or were injured. MOGATA, Kabai, an ANC supporter, was abducted and tortured by named perpetrators in October 1986 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele. MOGATHE, Frans (30), an ANC supporter, was repeatedly tortured with electric shocks and by suffocation by named members of the Security Police on a farm near Bloemfontein, in October 1989, allegedly because he had information about ANC activities. Police allegedly made use of various farm locations in the province to interrogate and torture activists. MOGATSHANI, Takadimane Stephen (20), was abducted by four youths in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, and forced into a taxi heading for Boipatong. His body was found later on a rubbish dump on 18 May 1992. He had been stabbed and had a serious head injury. At the time of the incident the area was tense due to ongoing conflict between IFP-aligned hosteldwellers and ANC-supporting residents. MOGERI, Knox (24), was abducted by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, because he was mistaken for an ANC activist. His body was found with multiple gunshot wounds on 11 March 1992. MOGETHI, Vusi Alfred (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in front of his wife and children, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 11 September 1990. MOGOAI, Mamotuku Pauline, an ANC supporter, had her home damaged when it was torched by 'comrades' in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, in 1986. MOGOANENG, Lokishi Lazarus (47), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Lebowa Police in Nebo, Lebowa, on 23 June 1988. The beating resulted in a spinal cord injury. Mr Mogoaneng claims he was arrested because of his support for the UDF. MOGOBU, Ledile Moloko (38), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. MOGODI, Lincoln Lucky, a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZEROLE. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058). MOGOERANE, Thelle Simon (23), an MK operative, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, on 9 June 1983. Mr Mogoerane was arrested on 28 December 1981 and assaulted and severely tortured by named members of the SAP. He eventually signed a statement confessing to MK activities and was executed for treason. MOGOLHWANE, Thembeke Ethel (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and her body was partially

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MOLAPO, Komape Davidson (29), a COSATU member, was shot in the shoulder and hand by members of the SAP in Namakgale, Lebowa, on 27 February 1986. The Namakgale Youth Congress held a meeting at the Lutheran Church where a woman was killed by police. The students regrouped at the Marula Hotel. Mr Molapo was injured when police dispersed the group at the hotel. MOLAPO, Matsie Amelia (11), was shot and severely injured by members of the SADF in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. Matsie was placed under police guard in hospital and made to sign certain papers. As a result of her injuries, Matsie is now wheelchair bound. In 1988, she had spinal rods inserted to stabilise her vertebral column. MOLAPO, Nokuthula Patricia (14), was and injured by alleged SADF members at Lekazi Central High School in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane, during a school boycott on 7 May 1991. Pupils were protesting against the lack of science facilities at the school, when the SADF arrived and opened fire, injuring three pupils. MOLAPO, Rollen Zondi, an MK operative, was shot and killed by unidentified members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 26 July 1996. MOLAPO, S, a member of the Lesotho National Security Service and a Basotho citizen, was abducted from Lesotho by members of the Security Branch in Ladybrand, OFS, on 22 March 1989. He was then taken to a farm outside Ladybrand where he was detained for nine days, interrogated and beaten by named and other Security Branch members, allegedly because he was thought to have ANC sympathies. MOLAPO, Silas Molapo, an ANC supporter, was injured when he was stabbed and shot by members of the IFP-aligned TO A S T E R G A N G at his home in Tembisa, Tvl, on 7 June 1992. Tembisa, like many East Rand townships, was embroiled in conflict between the ANC and IFP in the early 1990s. MOLAPO, Tshebang Wines, an SAP member, was arrested and severely tortured by members of the SAP on 12 August 1986 in Springs, Tvl, following the death of his brother, an MK operative. Mr Molapo was summarily dismissed from the police force. M O L A T S E L I, Elias Enoch (63), was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1978. M O L A T U L I, Joyce (24), an ANCYL member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP on 15 December 1990 in Makwassie near Wolmaransstad, Tvl, for trying to attend the rally for ANC leader Oliver Tambo at the FNB stadium in Johannesburg. MOLAUTSI, Mashala Sugar (70), was severely beaten in Ga-Kibi, Lebowa, at a community meeting called to discuss grievances against self-appointed Chief Lebogo on 10 October 1986. The chief responded by using members of the police and SADF to disperse the meeting by sjambokking those attending. M O L E B A L W A, Sootho Macdonald, (24), was severely beaten by named members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, on 12 November 1990. There were stayaways and boycotts

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MOLETSANE, Pule (26), was detained in Quatro camp, Angola, in 1981 and was severely beaten and tortured by ANC security department members. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979. M O L E W A, Patricia Malebo (15), was sjambokked and tear-gassed by members of the SAP on 19 September 1985 in Nkowankowa, Tzaneen, Tvl, during a school protest march. Patricia was watching the march when police attacked her. She sought refuge in a nearby house. Police threw teargas into the house and while trying to get away she fell into a pit and broke her thigh. She was treated for four months in Letaba hospital. M O L E W A, Victor Thabo (42), an ANC peace worker, was shot dead while on his way to officiate at a civic meeting in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters. On 11 December 1993, his body was found near a hostel in Mngadi Section, Katlehong, Tvl. MOLIBOLA, Tsietsi Lazarus (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP when conflict broke out between the police and mourners who had attended a memorial service for Chris Hani in Bloemfontein on 14 April 1993. MOLIFI, Themba, was shot

dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from Valkepark were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276). MOLIFE, Thomas, was arrested, severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP near the Limpopo River, Tvl, in 1986. Mr Molife was a farm worker and he was arrested after informing his employer about limpet mines he and a friend found in the area. MOLISE, Abia Tshidiso Dyna (30), was severely beaten by AWB supporters during a student protest march in Bloemfontein in September 1990. Members of right-wing organisations, white farmers and police in the province carried out several attacks during this period. They accosted and assaulted ordinary members of the public as well as perceived political activists. MOLISE, Blou Johannes, was severely beaten and kicked by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960. MOLISE, Lucas Modise (43), was assaulted by Inkathasupporters on his way to work in Sebokeng, Tvl, in July 1988. MOLISIWA, Seun Jerry, was shot dead on 3 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by IFPsupporters, during political conflict in the area. MOLLO, Moses Rapetsoa (33), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991. The perpetrators were returning to Nancefield hostel from a rally at Jabulani stadium. Between 1990 and 1992, the conflict in Soweto between hostel-dwellers and residents led to the death of 517 people and the injury of 1322. MOLONOTSI, Bafana Clement, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Molapo, Tvl, on 1 June 1987.

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MOLOENA, Voeltjie (45) was stoned to death on 3 September 1985 while travelling home from work by bus in Orange Farm, Tvl, during political conflict in the Vaal Triangle. MOLOI, Aaron Kgosisile (32), was kicked and severely tortured by members of the mine security and the SAP, during a strike at Giegmam mine in Sasolburg, OFS, on 26 August 1990, allegedly because he refused to turn state witness in the investigation into violent conflict on the mine. MOLOI, Andries, was shot dead in August 1992, in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers which caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. MOLOI, Christopher Dube Matsamai, was abducted and assaulted by a member of the ANC's Security Department in Johannesburg in April 1994. The applicant suspected that Mr Khumalo and others had broken into his minibus and stolen sensitive ANC security-related documents and other goods, which were then handed to an IFP supporter. The applicant was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/066). MOLOI, Dimakatso Grace (29), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during a mass funeral of a 'comrade' on 13 July 1985. Several others were shot and injured when police opened fire on mourners. MOLOI, Eddie Mpho (11), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING. MOLOI, Elphus Jacob Motsamai (35), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with rifle butts in July 1992 in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the ISU. MOLOI, Jacob, an ANC member, was abducted and shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013). MOLOI, Jacob, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 20 May 1985. MOLOI, Johanna (27), was injured in an explosion in Rodenpoort, Tvl, on 14 July 1990. MOLOI, Joseph (28), was shot and severely injured on 13 November 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the ISU during ongoing political conflict in the area. MOLOI, Kebane Phineas (35), a Black Local Authority member, was detained in Nigel, Tvl, in 1986 during the state of emergency. Mr Moloi was mayor of Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in 1983. MOLOI, Lehlohonolo Lambert

Sekenku (aka 'A'), MK's Chief of Operations, and three others were twice targeted for killing, first at the Lion Park Motel and later at the Oasis Motel, Gaborone, during August and September 1987. Both operations, jointly conducted by SADF Special Forces and the Security Branch, failed. The divisional commander of the

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MOROMODI, Bonjani Annikie (49), lost her house on 6 March 1981 in Ellisras, Tvl, in an arson attack by a named perpetrator in the aftermath of a struggle between local chiefs. MOROPODI, Joseph Sidney, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 3 July 1992, in Sebokeng, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. MOROTSI, Ditshego, was assaulted by IMBOKODO vigilantes at his home in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. MORRIS, Simon, and five other scholars were interrogated, tortured and killed by AZAPO members in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 August 1986. The incident was sparked off by the burning of the house of an AZAPO leader for which the youths were believed to have been responsible. Three perpetrators were refused amnesty, and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/179 and AC/1999/230). MORTEN, Jacobus Johannes, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257). MORUDI, Lydia (4), was injured in a petrol bomb attack on her family home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1987. The attack was an attempt to intimidate her uncle who was a political activist. MORUDI, Mittah, lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by members of the Security Branch at Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 17 May 1987. MORUDI, Monica, was injured when her house was petrol-bombed by alleged members of the Security Branch at Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 17 May 1987. MORUDU, David, was assaulted, shot dead and then his body was burnt on 1 January 1986 in Kloppeville, Moutse, KwaNdebele, by residents who mistook him for a vigilante. The IMBOKODO, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, invaded Moutse immediately after the former government officially incorporated it into KwaNdebele. Between 200 and 360 individuals were assaulted or killed during this period. MORUDU, Moses, was abducted on 14 October 1986 by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives purporting to be MK operatives. He was held at a farm in Hammanskraal, Tvl, for approximately a week. The three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives who applied for amnesty for abducting Mr Morudu testified that they did not know his eventual fate, but suspected he had been killed by their colleagues. The applicants were granted amnesty for the abduction (AC/2000/010). MORUFE, Mmakola, was beaten on the head by IMBOKODO vigilantes in her home in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. Residents were attacked by vigilantes because they resisted forced INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. MORULANE, Abisia, was stoned in February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by unidentified perpetrators during a dispute over the Matlala chieftancy, relating to

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MSHUBA, Alzina (47), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 February 1994. Her son was killed in the attack. MSHUDULU, Ntsikelelo Justice (38), a PAC supporter, was detained under SECTION

N 2 9 in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 25 June 1985, and taken to Caledon S q u a re police station where he was severely tort u re d by named members of the SAP. He was held for thre e months and was later acquitted of various charg e s against him. MSIA, Nkosana Kingsley (20), was detained and t o r t u red by named members of the SAP in Prieska, Cape, in March 1986, after incidents of unrest in the t o w n . MSIBE, Jabulani Richard , an ANC support e r,, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at N d l o v u 's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the a rea. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010). MSIBI, (first name not given), a Phoyco member, was detained by named members of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, on 20 June 1986, during a protest to demand the release of political detainees. The police fired shots at the demonstrators, and arrested some Phoyco members. In detention, they were tort u re d . MSIBI, Alpheus , was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), in Ethandakukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, in 1992, during a period of conflict between the BL A C K CAT S and the ANC. Mr Msibi, the mayor of Ethandakukhanya, was suspected of being an IFP member. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/98/0121). MSIBI, Fanlo Goldem (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, in March 1994. MSIBI, Jabulani Joseph (31), was stabbed to death and t h rown from a train between Croesus and Langlaagte stations, Tvl, on 24 April 1992. See T R A I N V I O L E N C E. MSIBI, Jabulani Sidney , a senior member of MK intelligence, was abducted from Swaziland in June 1986 by V l a k p l a s operatives on the instructions of Security Branch Headquarters. He was assaulted near the Oshoek border post with Swaziland and again at Daisy farm, near Pretoria. A senior Security Branch H e a d q u a rters operative, the commander of V l a k p l a s , the divisional commander of the Eastern Tr a n s v a l Security Branch and six other operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/152). Mr Msibi was later released and shot dead in uncertain circ u m s t a n c e s on 5 July 1988 in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg . MSIBI, Jubilia Jabulile (31), an ANC support e r, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, b u r n t down by IFP supporters on 20 January 1994 during the run-up to the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. MSIBI, Kidibone Johana (33), was injured when the bus she was travelling in was petrol-bombed by an UWUSA on 28 September 1992 in Ratanda, near

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police, members of the SADF and Inkatha support e r s b e f o re the memorial service on 8 August 1985. MTHEMBU, Mfundo Siyanda (17), was severe l y i n j u red when a bomb planted by AWB support e r s exploded in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994. The explosion was part of attempts by rightwing parties to derail the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N. MTHEMBU, Mhlushwa Samuel (57), an IFP s u p p o r t e r, had his home at Malagazi, Umlazi, Durban, p e t r o l-bombed by ANC supporters on 16 June 1991. MTHEMBU, Moses (50), had his house in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP support e r s in continuing political conflict in December 1993. MTHEMBU, Msawenkosi John , a UDF support e r, was shot and killed when a group of Inkatha support e r s and CA P R I V I T R A I N E E S attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). MTHEMBU, Msebenzi John (61), died after being stabbed in Pieterm a r i t z b u r g, on 5 May 1989 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s in the area. He was allegedly targ e t e d because his son was a UDF support e r. MTHEMBU, Musawenkosi Amos (19), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was shot and severely injured in, Inkanyezi, P o r t Shepstone, Natal, when IFP supporters attacked the house in which he was staying on 6 May 1991. Two ANC supporters were killed in the attack; thre e others were injured. The victims were in hiding, as they had

heard of an impending attack. MTHEMBU, Mziwabantu (53), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters, allegedly in collusion with members of the SAP, in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 4 April 1990. MTHEMBU, Mzule Victor (16), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator, allegedly a member of the SAP, in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 13 March 1990 during political conflict following the UNBANING of political organisations in February. Three other UDF supporters were also killed in the incident. MTHEMBU, Ndabane Emmanuel, an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 August 1992. MTHEMBU, Nkosinathi Alpheus Raymond, an ANC member, was beaten to death in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Eshowe, Natal, on 15 December 1992. MTHEMBU, Nkosinathi Sonnyboy (24), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 April 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MTHEMBU, Nobambo Alicia (44), had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 18 June 1991 in ongoing political conflict. MTHEMBU, Nobayeni (48), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban,

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ANC supporter, was

stabbed to death in Odondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 April 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MTHULU, Mongameli (22), a UDF supporter, died after he was shot in the head by members of the SAP during political conflict in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 29 April 1985. Mr Mthulu had allegedly carried a toy gun, and police claimed they were shooting in self-defence. MTHUNYWA, Mnyaka (17), an ANC member, was assaulted and his property destroyed by members of the SAP in 1960 at Entsimbini, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. MTHUNZI, Joseph, was assaulted and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at a squatter camp on a chicken farm in Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 July 1991. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/1999/0212). MTHWA, Pololo Ezekiel, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 29 December 1991 in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MTIKITIKI, Zakhele (23), an ANC supporter was sjambokked and assaulted with a knobkerrie by members of the CDF during political unrest in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 28 February 1991. MTILA, Mlungisi Victor (21), a UDF supporter and President of the Middelburg Youth Congress, was detained, interrogated and tortured on several occasions

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7 Victim findings: Summaries

from 1984 to 1986 by members of the Security Branch in Middelburg, Cape. On 18 April 1986 he sustained severe burn wounds when his house was petrol-bombed. MTILANA, Fezekile, (40), an ANC SDU member, was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict in Port St Johns, Transkei, on 21 May 1993. MTIMKA, Noxolo (22), a UDF supporter, was injured when members of the SAP and SADF fired tear gas canisters into a group of mourners during a funeral procession at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 20 May 1986. MTIMKHULU, Lifa Alwin, was shot dead by IFP members who claimed to have recognised him as an ANC member and pursued him to a wedding in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 May 1992. A second person at the wedding was also shot dead and five were injured in the attack. One IFP

member was granted amnesty for the killing of Mr Mtimkhulu, but was refused amnesty for the other offences (AC/1999/0254). MTIMKHULU, Petrus, was a victim of an armed robbery by APLA operatives at the farm 'Panama' near Bloemfontein, during 1993. The victims were threatened and locked in a bathroom. One person was abducted and released later. See APLA AT TACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239). MTIMKULU, Alinah Ntombazana, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MTIMKULU, Daluxolo Dugmore (aka 'Mor

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MTOLO, Ellen (69), an ANC supporter, had her house in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1990. MTOLO, Funizwe (67), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in July 1992. See FOLWENI MASSACRE. MTOLO, Getrude Ntombifikile (19), an IFP Youth Brigade supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI AT TACKS. MTOLO, Hlazi (59), an ANC supporter, had his house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down in 1990 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area following an IFP membership recruitment drive. MTOLO, Hlengiwe, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 2 July 1993. The attackers suspected the family of giving refuge to ANC supporters. They barricaded the homestead to prevent any escapes, then hacked and shot family members. Eight people, including two children, died in the massacre. MTOLO, Kholwaphi (34), had her home in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 May 1990 in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February. MTOLO, Mafunze (54), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990, in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MTOLO, Maphumulo Ethel (71), had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in violent conflict with ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON AT TACKS. MTOLO, Mmiseni (20), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Creighton, Natal, on 17 September 1989. MTOLO, Nombulelo Annah (31), was arrested and beaten by members of the ISU in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. She was pregnant at the time. Ms Mtololo succeeded in a civil suit against the police for the assault. MTOLO, Ntombini, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, 2 July 1993. The attackers, who suspected the family of giving refuge to ANC supporters, barricaded the homestead to prevent any escapes, then hacked and shot family members. Eight people, including two children, died in the massacre. MTOLO, Ntozini (77), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 29 April 1992. Her granddaughter was also killed in the attack, and her home, which was in an IFP stronghold in Ndoleni, was burnt down. MTOLO, Philemon, a member of the KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC), was abducted, assaulted and hacked with pangas by named members of the 'Zim-zims' in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 20 November 1990 because he was a member of the rival 'Gadaffi' faction.

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P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g, in August 1989, in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. M T U N G W A, Mlindelwa (23), was one of five young ANC supporters shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Magoda, Richmond, Natal, on 14 July 1991. Residents accused the security forces of involvement, and a top-level police investigation was launched. The chief of Phatheni was arrested in connection with the massacre . MTUNZI, Moses Tholie (ANC), an ANC member, was shot dead on 15 April 1989 on an ANC farm near Lusaka, Zambia. Two members of the V l a k p l a s u n i t applied for amnesty for setting up the operation but the applications were refused on grounds of lack of full disclosure. A second ANC member was killed in the same attack. MTUSI, Dumisani Vincent (32), an ANC support e r, was killed in Tokoza, Tvl, in January 1994 during intense conflict in the area between IFP-supporting hosteldwellers and ANC-supporting residents. MTUSI, Mzikayise Sixtus (22), an ANC support e r, was killed in Tokoza, Tvl, in January 1994 during intense conflict in the area between IFP-supporting hosteldwellers and ANC-supporting residents. M T U T A, Manani , was killed by members of the SAP in Cofimvaba, Transkei, during the N T L O N Z E M A S S A C R E i n December 1962. M T U Y E D W A, Nkenke Eric (22), was shot and seriously i n j u r e d by members of the SAP while he was w a l k i n g home from work in Lawaakamp, George, Cape, in April 1986, during clashes between police and Lawaakamp residents who were opposing forced re m o v a l s . MTUZE, Mbuyiseli Botamani (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, on the day of the P O L L S M O O R M A R C H . He was one of nine people shot dead by police that day, after attempts by police to prevent the march sparked wider unre s t . MTUZELA, Dumisani (16), an ANC support e r, was killed on 18 Febru a r y 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Cre i g h t o n , Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the A P R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S . Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre . M T W A, Siyabulela Theo (22), an ANC support e r, was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC pro t e s t m a r c h to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirt y people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the B I S H O M A S S A C R E . Tw o members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). MTWISHA, Kumbula Remember (18), was shot and s e v e r e l y injured by a named member of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 18 August 1985, during student protests that erupted after the killing of the C R A D O C K F O U R .

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Mbhekeni Phumehlehla

(33), an ANC

s u p p o r t e r, was shot dead by IFP supporters in his home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 Febru a r y 1992. MZIMELA, Mbovane Emmanuel (aka 'Dion Cele') (27), an MK operative, was abducted from Manzini, Swaziland, by members of the Natal Security Branch in July 1989 and taken to the Elandskop farm, near P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g . He was interrogated and shot dead when he refused to become a police inform e r . His b o d y, buried in an unmarked grave, was exhumed by the Commission and reburied by his family. Five Natal Security Branch operatives and two from the Eastern Transvaal were granted amnesty (AC/2000/039). MZIMELA, Mildred (47), had her home in Mandini, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack on 5 December 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP s u p p o r t e r s in the are a . MZIMELA, Mngunikacandulwa (72), had his house burn t down by IFP supporters in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in June 1992 in continuing political violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the are

a . MZIMELA, Ms (first name not given), an ANC support er, was killed by IFP supporters in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area . MZIMELA, Mzobanzi Isaac , an ANC support e r, was shot dead in an attack in Mandini, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area . MZIMELA, Mzuzile (22), had his home at Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 April 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area . MZIMELA, Nkosingiphile Mhlongo (7), was hacked to death on 22 November 1992, when IFP support e r s attacked her family's home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP support e r s .

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Reference 255 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MZOLO, Nomonde (24), an ANC support e r, was stabbed and severely injured by a named Inkatha s u p p o r t e r in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 17 November 1987. MZOLO, Saleleni Mirriam (53), an Inkatha support e r, had her home at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMONDFARMARSON AT TACKS. MZOLO, Simon , was stabbed to death by Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in August 1987 in intensifying political conflict. Mr Mzolo had allegedly refused to attend Inkatha meetings during an Inkatha re c ruitment drive in the area . MZOLO, Solomon Nganencane (58), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was shot dead by named ANC support e r s at a peace meeting in Nhlalakahle township hall, Greytown, Natal, on 26 February 1994, in internal party conflict. Mr Mzolo was believed to have been associated with the killing of a prominent ANC leader. MZOMBA, Fildin Elvis (24), an ANCYL activist, was detained by members of the Security Branch in August 1992 and kept in solitary confinement at Louis le Grange prison, Port Elizabeth, allegedly because of his involvement in various political activities. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, of which he served three and a half years before being granted amnesty. MZOMBA, Somnandi , an ANC support e r, was fatally shot and stabbed by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. MZONDI, Fikiswa Pascalina (12), was raped re p e a t e d l y by two members of the SAP, one of whom is named, in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 25 February 1990, after failing to supply the perpetrators with information concerning the whereabouts of a political activist. MZONELI, Siyabonga Lionel (28), an ANC support e r, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Grootvlei, Stanger, Natal, on 14 January 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. MZOZOYIYANI, Nokupa Maria , a UDF support e r, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF s u p p o r t e r s and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). MZUKWA, Mzingisi (29), an APLA member, was left a paraplegic after being shot in Cape Town, on 4 July 1993. After he was hospitalised, Mr Mzukwa was arrested and interrogated at the Bellville police station by members of the SAP. MZULWINI, Augustine Bajabulile (59), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1992. She was allegedly targeted because her two sons were believed to be ANC support e r s . MZULWINI, Bhakamakhosi (40), an IFP support e r, was shot dead in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu,

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NAIDOO, Kamsilla (2), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294). NAIDOO, Murthie (26), was detained on his way to visit his brother on Robben Island, Cape, in 1965. He was taken to Pretoria Central prison, stripped naked, searched and held in solitary confinement for two weeks. Mr Naidoo was kept awake for two nights, interrogated, assaulted and was kept in solitary confinement for four months under the 180-day law. In 1980 he was detained under the General Law Amendment Act, assaulted and held in solitary confinement for two weeks. NAIDOO, Phyllis Vasendha Ruth (51), an ANC member from Durban, was injured in a letter bomb explosion on 5 July 1979 in Maseru, Lesotho. Five other persons were injured in the explosion. Her son, an ANC member, was later killed in Zambia in 1989. Ms Naidoo had previously been detained and house arrested in South Africa in the 1960s. NAIDOO, Prema, an ANC supporter and trade union activist, was detained at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in 1982 where he was kept in solitary confinement, tortured, severely assaulted and kept awake for six days and nights, allegedly by named members of the security forces. He was later sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for harbouring and assisting a prisoner who escaped from Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, to leave the country. NAIDOO, Ramnie, was forced to go into exile after being continually harassed and persecuted by alleged members of the Security Forces because of her political activities. NAIDOO, Saantha (23), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294). NAIDOO, Sahdhan (28), an ANC member, was shot dead on 15 April 1989 on an ANC farm near Lusaka, Zambia. Two members of the Valakpla unit applied for amnesty for setting up the operation but the applications failed on grounds of lack of full disclosure. A second ANC member was killed in the same attack (AC/2001/228). NAIDOO, Shanthavothie 'Shanti' (33), a member of the

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Ncane's son, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on the same day. The Ncane family was forced to flee the area. NCANE, Nomusa Beauty (44), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. NCANE, Nqunu Rose (58), lost her house in an arson attack at Margate, Natal, on 7 March 1994, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. NCANE, Palweni (73), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. On the same day, ANC supporters attacked a homestead in neighbouring Izingolweni, killing five IFP supporters and injuring four. NCANE, Sipho Petros (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. NCANI, Busisiwe Rose (37), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. NCANI, Thuleleni Berthina (59), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 January 1994. NCAPA, Sisa Mabuya Matshaya (28), a PAC

member, was arrested and severely tortured in Cape Town, in November and December 1964, for his participation in PAC activities. He was later acquitted of all charges. N C A PAYI, Kenneth, was shot dead in the informal settlement Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 23 August 1993, allegedly by members of the SAP on patrol who opened fire, killing and injuring several people. N C A PAYI, Tatise William, an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 1 2 2). N C A P H A Y I, Thozamile Samson (52), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 September 1990. N C A W E N I, Mahleka Wilson, was shot and injured by members of the IFP-aligned K H U M A L O G A N G during a series of attacks on residents in Tokoza, Tvl, on 24 October 1991. N C A Y I Y A N A, Mawani Elizabeth (60), an IFP supporter, lost her home and possessions in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1991. N C A Z E L A, Solomon, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN U M T A T A, T R A N S K E I, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six Vlakplaat

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members at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1989. NCUBE, Zinhle Georgina (39), lost her home in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 14 May 1989. N C W A N A, Mvelase Victor, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 2 0 9). N C W A N E, Ambrose Zibindoda (53), an ANC supporter, had his home and crops burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaZuba, Umkomaas, near Durban, in 1992. N C W A N E, Evidence Thulisile (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in August 1985, following the killing of UDF leader Victor Mxenge in neighbouring Umlazi on 1 August 1985. N C W A N E, Mbongeni Henry, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by an Inkatha supporter after being abducted from a party in Dambuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 23 August 1987. N C W A N E, Menziwa Ezra (27), was severely beaten and left partially paralysed by named perpetrators on 7 September 1992 in Sonkombo, N D W E D W E, KwaZulu, near Durban, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His father was an IFP member. N C W A N E, Nete Plastus (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead outside his home in Tshelimnyama, KwaZulu, near Mariannhill, Natal, on 19 June 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area. Three other ANC supporters were shot dead in the same incident. N C W A N E, Ntombilezi Jostina (61), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 2 February 1990, the day of the U N B A N N I N G of political organisations. N C W A N E, Phyllis Nokuthula (40), an ANC supporter, lost her house and property in an attack by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1992. N C W A N G O, Esau, had his house and possessions burnt in an arson attack in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, in March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. N C Y I Y A N E, Bhékani Petros (23), was shot and injured and his property was destroyed in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993. Mr Ncuyane lost the use of one eye as a result of the shooting. NDABA MAVUSO, Selina, was shot and injured at Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 and died a month later. The attack took place during conflict following

the assassination of SACP leader CH R I S H A N I. NDABA, Abigail Ndabayithwa , was shot dead by IFP s u p p o r t e r s in an attack on his home in KwaMashu,

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nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. T e n ANC security guards were granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 1 4 2) . N D AWONDE, Nonyaka Gasta (68), an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r , had his house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 19 January 1990. See R I C H M O N D F A R M A R S O N AT T A C K S. N D AWONDE, Ntombi Clementina (52), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 15 January 1991 and again on 19 January 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the are a . N D AWONDE, Sibongiseni (15), an Inkatha support e r , was killed in a car, which was then set alight, by ANC s u p p o r t e r s at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 Febru a r y 1990, the day of Nelson Mandela's release from prison. Sibongiseni's father and bro t h e r , who were with him, were also killed in this incident. N D AWONDE, Simon Thembinkosi , a member of the S A P , was injured in a hand grenade explosion at a Municipal Police training centre in Soweto, Johannesb u r g , on 21 April 1987. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195). N D AWONDE, Vi c t o r i a (42), lost her home in an arson attack in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 J a n u a r y 1988 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. Nine months later, her son, an Inkatha support e r , was shot and stabbed to death by UDF support e r s . NDEBELA, Dumisani Ber n a r d , was killed when members of the O r d e B o e r e v o l k opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 i n j u r e d in the attack. See P U T C O B U S AT T A C K . Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053). NDEBELE, Constance (36), an ANC support e r , had her house destroyed in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g , in 1990. NDEBELE, Ernest Mshiyeni (37), was killed in a petro l bomb attack on the house where he was sleeping in Katlehong, Tvl, on 13 May 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the are a . NDEBELE, Goodwin , was injured in a hand gre n a d e explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand gre n a d e at the building which bounced back into the cro w d , killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and A C / 2 0 0 0 / 2 4 1) . NDEBELE, Jabulani Phillip (24), was arrested on 22 April 1991 in Vo s l o o r u s , Tvl, detained for three days and repeatedly beaten and tort u r e d by members of the SAP. On 30 April, a day after he had identified his assailants in a line-up, a group of masked men came to his home and shot and severely injured both Mr

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Khipheni

(39), was shot dead

and her house was burnt down by ANC support e r s during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N AT T A C K S. NDULI, Ntani , was assaulted by Wi t w a t e r s r a n d Security Branch operatives on an unspecified date between 1989 and 1992 at the Alexandra Securirt y Branch offices, Johannesburg (AC/2001/249). NDULI,

Ntombiyesizwe (58), an ANC support e r, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N AT TA C K S. NDULINI, Thembakuphi (30), was shot and killed in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 September 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC s u p p o r t e r s in the are a . NDULULA, Vuyo Disco (24), a UDF activist, was s e v e r e l y assaulted by named members of the SAP while detained at Signorama police station, Aliwal N o r t h, Cape, in May 1986. NDUMBA, Hester Nongaith , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bekkersdal, near We s t o n a r i a , Tvl, on 5 May 1991. Bekkersdal was embroiled in intense conflict between ANC, IFP and Azapo s u p p o r t e r s at the time. NDUMO, Dingindawo (71), was shot dead during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF s u p p o r t e r s near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 12 May 1989. He was singled out and killed while travelling on a bus f r o m work. NDUMO, Doris , an ANC support e r, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1993. NDUMO, Evelyn , was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned 'KH E T I S I KH E S WA' G A N G on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand g renades and fired at the mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NA N G A L E M B E N I G H T V I G I L M A S S A C R E. NDUMO, Martha Hapile (20), was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) near Small Farm s , Tvl, on 15 August 1993. Another woman was killed in the same incident. The two were believed to have been IFP collaborators. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0346). NDUMO, Siphon Wellington (36), an IFP support e r, was stoned by ANC supporters on 15 January 1992

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during political conflict in Umlazi, Durban, in November 1989. She was allegedly attacked because her son and grandson refused to join the ANC. N D WANDWE, Fundakwezakhe , an employee of Rand Wa t e r, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 Febru a ry 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225). N D WANDWE, Mkhonzeni Anthony (30), a trade unionist, was shot and seriously injured when members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E ambushed his car in Eshowe, Natal, on 4 May 1991. The bullet is still lodged in his back. Mr Ndwandwe had been visiting relatives in hospital following an IFP arson attack on the family home. The car driver was killed and another passenger was seriously injured. N D WANDWE, Mzikayifani , an employee of Rand Wa t e r, was shot dead by members of an ANC selfdefence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in To k o z a , Tvl, on 26 Febru a ry 1992. Four people died and eight w e r e injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225). N D WANDWE, Mzuthini Obed , was killed when members of the O r d e Boere v o l k opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 i n j u r e d in the attack. See PU T C O B U S AT TA C K. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053). N D WANDWE, Phila Portia (aka 'Zandile' or 'Zandi') (23), acting head of MK's Natal military machinery in Swaziland, was abducted from Manzini, Swaziland, in October 1988 by members of the Port Natal and Natal Security Branches. She was taken first to Onverw a c h t , Tvl, then to the Elandskop farm, near Pieterm a r i t z b u r g , and interrogated at both places. After refusing to become an a s k a r i, Ms Ndwandwe was shot in the head and buried in an unmarked grave on the farm . Her fate remained unknown until amnesty applications w e r e filed by Port Natal Security Branch operatives. Her body was exhumed by the Commission and reburied by her family. Five Security Branch operatives w e

re granted amnesty for the abduction and killing (A C / 2 0 0 1 / 1 1 2) . N D WANDWE, Sibusiso Khonzise , had his home d e s t r o y e d in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Mandini, Natal, on 24 April 1991. His mother and grandfather were killed in the attack. Ten days later Mr Ndwandwe was shot and seriously injured when members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E ambushed his car in Eshowe as he was r e t u r n i n g f r o m visiting family members in hospital following the arson attack. The car driver was killed and another passenger was seriously injured in the attack. N D WANDWE, Simon Thamsanqa (31), a member of the SAP, was shot and wounded when MK operatives attacked the police station at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near

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an ANC support e r , was abducted and shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 24 Marc h 1990. His family were forced to move from their home in an IFP-dominated area to a safer place. NGCOBO, Sifiso (22), an ANC support e r , was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters on 5 April 1993 in the Lusaka informal settlement, Umlazi, Durban. Short l y b e f o r e his death, he and his bro t h e r , who was killed on the same day, had allegedly fled the Port Shepstone area to escape IFP attempts on their lives. NGCOBO, Sihlangu (51), an Inkatha support e r , lost his house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 Febru a r y 1990. See R I C H M O N D F A R M A R S O N AT TA C K S. NGCOBO, Siliya Bangiwe (53), an ANC support e r , lost her house in an arson attack in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 13 November 1991. Her son had been killed in political conflict shortly before the attack. NGCOBO, Simaku Nesta (68), an ANC support e r , had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP support e r s in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See S O N K O M B O A R S O N AT TA C K S. NGCOBO, Simon Bekisani , an IFP support e r , was shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 October 1992. His brother was also shot dead in the attack. NGCOBO, Simon , an ANC support e r , was hacked to death with bush knives by Inkatha supporters in Ganyaza, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in June 1990. Mr N g c o b o ' s family fled their house and slept in the bush in an attempt to escape from the violence. NGCOBO, Singangenkani Alfr e d , was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1989. He was perceived to have sympathies with the ANC. NGCOBO, Sithembiso Ndode (27), an ANC support e r , was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 December 1 9 8 6 . NGCOBO, Sithembiso Owen (23), an ANC support e r , had acid poured on his body and was subsequently shot and crippled in an attempt to escape from members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E during political conflict in Umlazi, Durban, on 22 September 1991. NGCOBO, Siyabonga Alpheus , a bodyguard and member of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E , was shot and injure d in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pieterm a r i t z b u r g , on 29 September 1992, when ANC members tried to assassinate the local IFP leader, whom he was guard i n g.

P A G E 6

Reference 263 - 0.01% Coverage

Aaron Sabelo

(27), an ANC

s u p p o r t e r , was shot dead while visiting a friend in Imbali, Pieterm a r i t z b u r g , in March 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the are a . N G O B E S E , Mfanekiso (42), an IFP supporter

and member of the local street committee, was stoned to death in Johannesburg, on 25 July 1993 during intense political conflict on the East Rand. NGOBESE, Namnam , was shot dead by members of the SADF who opened fire on mourners at a night vigil for a slain activist in Amanzimtoti, near Durban. NGOBESE, Nkosinathi Lucas (30), an ANC support e r, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 M a rch 1994. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N AT TA C K S. NGOBESE, Ntombifuthi (17), a UDF support e r, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter on 11 May 1993 in KwaMashu, Durban. NGOBESE, Phethemuphi Mar g a ret (56), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, had her house looted and vandalised by IFP s u p p o r t e r s at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 August 1992. NGOBESE, Sakhi (26), a UDF support e r, was detained without charge by named members of the Security Branch in Sibongile, Dundee, Natal, on 17 June 1986. He and fellow detainees were allegedly involved in organising a community rates boycott. NGOBESE, Samson Bekifa , a UDF support e r, was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter in KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 September 1985, allegedly because he worked closely with the UDF leadership. NGOBESE, Sibongile Philpinah (35), an IFP support e r, had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 F e b r u a r y 1990. See RI C H M O N D FA R M A R S O N AT TA C K S. NGOBESE, Sicelimpilo Celokwakhe , an active UDF s u p p o r t e r, was shot dead by members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E while attending a memorial service in Durban on 22 November 1978. About two months earlier he had been stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s in Durban. NGOBESE, Sithembiso Ernest (25), an ANC member, was detained in Durban on 7 December 1977 and held in solitary confinement for six months in terms of the Te rrorism Act. He was severely tort u red, and hospitalised as a result. The Supreme Court issued a restraining order prohibiting the Security Branch fro m continuing to assault him. In December 1979, he was

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UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 Febru a r y 1987. NGUBANE, Bani Gr e t t a (61), had her house near Hammarsdale, Natal, petrol-bombed during political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters on 4 M a rch 1990. Her son was shot dead while he was t r y i n g to escape. NGUBANE, Beauty (61), an ANC support e r, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 July 1993. NGUBANE, Bekuyise Amishaba (41), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 December 1988. NGUBANE, Bhekameva Alfr e d, an IFP support e r, was shot and wounded when ANC security guard s opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and a round 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142). NGUBANE, Bhekinduna (34), was severely injure d when she was stabbed and shot by named Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s at KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g, on 4 July 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha supporters and supporters of the UDF and ANC. NGUBANE, Bhululu Samuel (60), was shot at and had his house in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down in 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. He was allegedly targ e t e d because his sons were ANC support e r s . NGUBANE, Bizani (59), an ANC support e r, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pieterm a r i t z b u r g, in 1990. NGUBANE, Bongani Sabelo , was shot at by IFP members during political violence at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 7 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). NGUBANE, Bongis Sylvia (36), had her house in P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g burnt down during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in 1987. NGUBANE, Busili , was abducted and assaulted by a member of the ANC's Security Department in J o h a n n e s b u r g, in April 1994. The applicant suspected that Mr Ngubane

and others had broken into his minibus and stolen sensitive ANC security-related documents and other goods, which were then handed to an IFP supporter. The applicant was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/066). NGUBANE, Busisiwe Francina (34), had her home burnt down during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 June 1991. NGUBANE, Concert Zazi (39), an Inkatha supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1990.

NGUBANE, Daniel Mduduzi (18), an

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a UDF supporter,

was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 February 1989. NGUBO, Sindile Vincent Sira (16), had his house petrol-bombed by a group of youths in October 1977 in Cradock, Cape, allegedly because his brother was accused of being a collaborator in the area. NGUBO, Thembisile Lynnet (27), an Inkatha supporter, lost her houses in an arson attack by a named UDF supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 June 1989. NGUBO, Victor (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 September 1987. NGUBO, Xolani, was one of three men stabbed to death by ANC supporters and residents of the Botlebo informal settlement, Chatsworth, Durban, in ongoing political conflict on 26 December 1993. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0059). NGUBO, Ziyalile Baqiphile (50), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by fellow ANC supporters during serious internal conflict at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 January 1987. NGUDLE, Looksmart Khulile, an ANC member, allegedly hanged himself while in detention in Pretoria, on 5 September 1963. He was the first detainee to die under the 1963 Detention Law. Mr Ngudle was allegedly responsible for recruiting MK members for military training outside South Africa, was directly linked with the MK High Command in Johannesburg and was cited as a fellow conspirator in the Rivonia Trial. NGUNA, Andile Nobleman (27), a UDF supporter, was shot in the leg by a named member of the SAP on 14 July 1985 in Queenstown, Cape, allegedly while he was throwing stones at the perpetrator's house with others. He was arrested and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. NGUSE, Roslina Nozihlabo (44), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 June 1989 in intensifying political conflict. NGUTSHANE, Madoda (23), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Selby hostel in Johannesburg, on 21 July 1992. Hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into joining the IFP when Inkatha launched itself as a political party in 1990. Cordial relations between hosteldwellers were replaced with increasing conflict based on ethnicity, residential area and political affiliation. NGUZO, Kadefunwa (27), an ANC supporter, was beaten by police on his arrest in Robertson, Cape, in November 1985. On 18 June 1986 he was again beaten by police and detained for three months. NGWABE, Nonhlanzeko Maggie Hlomuka (65), had her house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMONDFARMARSON AT TACKS. NGWAMBA, Musa (15), was shot by a named perpetrator in the eMijindini Community Hall, Robertson, Tvl, during a celebration of the Freedom Charter on 26 June 1990.

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father and brother, and the perpetrators feared that he would identify them. NIKWE, Xolani Lawrence, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by named IFP supporters in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 March 1994. NINELA, Mabaso Blessing (28), was abducted on 13 June 1988 by Port Natal Security Branch operatives, who believed him to be an MK operative. He was shot dead on a railway line in Bulwer, Natal, and his body was then destroyed with a limpet mine to create the impression that he had blown himself up while laying the mine. Three Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their involvement in the incident. A fourth applicant died before the hearing (AC/2001/084). NINELA, Margaret Evelina (52), an IFP supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1991. NINI, Buyiswa Lydia (47), an ANC supporter, was shot in an ambush on the road between Ilitha and Berlin, Cape, in April 1993, while travelling in a car with her husband, Mr Lulama Nini. NINI, Lulama, an ANC supporter, was shot dead while opening his business in Ilitha, near Berlin, Cape, on 1 June 1993. NINI, Xoliswa Virginia (37), an ANC underground member, was assaulted, trampled and suffocated during torture in detention by named Ciskei Security Police at NU1 police station in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 July 1987. She was interrogated about MK operatives who were being harboured at her boyfriend's house. NJAKAZI, Mthunzi Velemseni (21), an ANC supporter

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N TANZI, Jabu Sibongile (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT TACKS. N TANZI, Jordan Sifiso (24), was shot dead on 25 March 1994 at Eshowe, Natal, during ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. N TANZI, Khephansi Charlie (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT TACKS. N TANZI, Khonelani (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT TACKS. N TANZI, Mkhetheni Sakhephi (40), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT TACKS. N TANZI, Mkholiseni Alpheus (40), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT TACKS. N TANZI, Mlungisi Terence, lost his house in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Mkhukhuze, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 1 February 1994. N TANZI, Moses (28), an IFP supporter, was shot in the leg by ANC supporters at Matimatolo, near Greytown, Natal, in April 1991. His house was burnt down in the same attack. N TANZI, Mphathiseni Thulani, an ANC supporter, was killed by two IFP members during political conflict at Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 25 September 1993. Two perpetrators (one being the brother of Mr. Ntanzu) were granted amnesty (AC/2000/087). N TANZI, Mtete (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON AT TACKS. N TANZI, Mthembeni Joseph (45), a local IFP chairperson, was axed to death by a named IFP member on 5 April 1991 in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in the course of a serious internal feud within the local party branch. N TANZI, Muzikhona (17), was beaten and shot at in 1994, when a group of men attacked his home in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. N TANZI, Mxolisi Cornelious (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Ngobheni in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 December 1993. He disappeared from his home during intense political conflict in the area, and his body was found four days later, with multiple stab wounds. N TANZI,

Mzikayifani Minias (40), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

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Elisa Tshifulufhelwi

(45), an ANC

supporter, was severely beaten with a sjambok on a bus and at the police station by a named member of the Venda Police in Vuwani, Venda, during 1986. The bus was stopped at a roadblock in Vleifontein by Venda Police and she was beaten because she could not produce documentation that she had paid the Venda tax. NTHELANG, Moses, an assassin, died while being severely assaulted and suffocated with a rubber tube at Vlakplaas during 1989, after he had allegedly been absent without leave and had lost his firearm. His body was buried in an unmarked grave at on the farm. Ten Vlakplaas operatives were granted amnesty for the assault and killing (AC/2000/085). NTHEMBULASENI, Robert M, a security guard, was shot and injured on the night of 31 May/1 June 1980 during a limpet mine attack on the Sasol 1/Natref Oil Refineries in Sasolburg, OFS. The attack was conducted by the Solomon Mahlangu unit, as part of Special Operations missions to target strategic economic and military targets. Four applicants were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/103). NTHETE, Meshack Letshabo, was shot dead when police opened fire on a protest march outside the municipal offices in Viljoenskrone, OFS, on 30 January

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47), was shot by members

of the KWAZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 March 1990, when police allegedly targeted ANC activists during violence between the ANC and IFP. NTULI, Tholakele Goodness (31), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed by named IFP supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990. NTULI, Tholithemba (34), was stabbed with a bush knife by an IFP supporter who attacked his home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during continuing political conflict in June 1993. His nephew was shot and injured in the attack. NTULI, Thomas Isaac, was severely injured in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 7 July 1986 when he was sjambokked by IMBOKODO vigilantes looking for his brother, an ANC supporter instrumental in mobilising residents against the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele. NTULI, Thulisizwe Grace (50), lost her house at Ntuzuma, near Durban, in an arson attack on 23 September 1989 during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. She was forced to flee the area. NTULI, Tsotsi Rothi, (39), lost her house, coal yard and vehicles when they were burnt down by alleged 'comrades' in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele. NTULI, Velaphi Ntombiyokwenziwa

(45), an ANC

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from hospital, he was arrested and charged with assaulting a police officer, and acquitted. NXUMALO, Dudu Gladys (26), lost her house in an arson attack during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Inchanga, Natal, on 15 November 1986. NXUMALO, Dumisani Mbozombozo (20), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by named members of the AMASINYO RA vigilantes on 2 March 1989 while driving his taxi in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. Shortly before his killing, Mr Nxumalo had resigned as secretary of the Inanda branch of Inkatha. One member of the gang was convicted and imprisoned for this killing. NXUMALO, Elizabeth (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 February 1993. Ms Nxumalo had fled the area shortly before the attack to escape the violence. NXUMALO, Fani (41), lost his home in an arson attack at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 May 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. NXUMALO, Fano Petros (35), an ANC member, was shot in the jaw by a named fellow ANC member at his home in Azalea, Plessislaer, Pietermaritzburg, in 1993, allegedly for exposing corruption in the ANC leadership. His close friends in the community were also attacked, and one of them killed. NXUMALO, Fanyana Thomas (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on 8 November 1990 when Inkatha - supporting hostel-dwellers attacked residents at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, following the killing of an Inkatha supporter. See BRUNTVILLE AT TACKS. NXUMALO, Fortunate, an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack by IFP supporters at her boyfriend's house in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 22 February 1992. NXUMALO, Gertrude Maxulu (55), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Ngidi farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 2 March 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Her son was killed by AMASINYO RA vigilantes one year later. NXUMALO, Girlie Lindiwe (25), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Mevamlhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 March 1993. NXUMALO, Hendrik Madoda (18), was shot when named members of the SADF visited his school in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 4 July 1986. After being pointed out as a 'trouble-maker' and ANC member, the perpetrators shot him in the stomach. He died in hospital on 8 August 1986. NXUMALO, Irene Bathobile (22), had her house burnt down by a named Inkatha leader and his supporters during political conflict at Umlazi, Durban, during political conflict in May 1990. Her father and brother were killed in the same attack. NXUMALO, Jabulani Elias (40) an ANC supporter, lost his house and possessions in an arson attack in

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N YAWO, Themba Clement Nhlanhla (34), was shot and had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in Empangeni, Natal, on 28 August 1991. N YAWO, Thembekile, an ANC supporter, was stabbed by named IFP supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 1 April 1994. N YAWOSE, Alsina (57), an IFP supporter, lost her home in an arson attack at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990 in violent conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON AT TACKS. N YAWOSE, Baba Ernest (24), an employee of a private company, was killed by IFP supporters while distributing IEC pamphlets in NDEDEWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994. Seven colleagues were killed with him. One IFP member was convicted for the attack. See NDEDEWE ELECTION AT TACKS. N YAWOSE, Fana Joshua (42), had his house completely destroyed by ANC supporters during ongoing political conflict at Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 March 1991. N YAWOSE, Jabulile (33), a SACTU representative, originally from Durban, who operated under the surname of 'NZIMA', was killed outside her flat in Matsapa near Manzini, Swaziland, when a car bomb planted by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch exploded on 4 June 1982. Her husband

was killed and two bodyguards injured in the explosion, which was witnessed by the couple's young children. Two members of the V l a k p l a s unit were granted amnesty for the reconnaissance phase of this operation. (AC/2001/279) N YAWOSE, Mbukelwa Petr o s, an employee of a private company, was killed by IFP supporters while distributing IEC pamphlets in ND W E D W E, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994. Seven colleagues were killed with him. One IFP member was convicted for the attack. See ND W E D W E E L E C T I O N AT TA C K. N YAWOSE, Ntombenhle Rebbeca , an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r, had her house at Umkomaas, near Durban, b u r n t down by UDF supporters on 10 October 1987. She was forced to flee the are a . N YAWOSE, Petros (37), ANC deputy chief re p r e s e n t a t i v e in Swaziland who operated under the s u r n a m e of 'NZIMA', was killed outside his flat in Matsapa near Manzini, Swaziland when a car bomb planted by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch exploded on 4 June 1982. His wife was killed and two b o d y g u a r d s injured in the explosion, which was witnessed by the couple's young children. Mr Nyawose was from Nottingham Road, near Pieterm a r i t z b u r g . Two members of the V l a k p l a s unit were granted amnesty for the reconnaissance phase of this operation. (AC/2001/279) N YAWOSE, Philane (3), survived an attempted killing when the car he was about to enter exploded in Matsapha, near Manzini, Swaziland on 4 June 1982. The explosion was caused by bombs placed on the car by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and killed her mother and father, both ANC officials. His t h r e e older sisters and two bodyguards, one a r e l a t i v e ,

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7 Vic tim findings: Summaries

NZAMA, Vusumuzi (19), an ANC support e r, was shot and killed by members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E d u r i n g political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 May 1993. NZAMA, Yona Pilisiwe (29), had her house b u r n t down by ANC supporters during political conflict at Emabhabathini, near Richmond Farm, KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1990. NZAMA, Za Jacolin Nakeni (36), lost his home and

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PHOLOTHO, Samuel Solomon (38), was arrested on 4 May 1969 in Pretoria, kept in solitary confinement and tort u red by named members of the SAP. He was c h a r g e d under The Suppression of Communism Act and later under the Te r r o r i s m Act for conspiracy with the ANC, a banned org a n i s a t i o n . P H O N G W A K O, Eliah Mmutla , (42), was shot and i n j u red by Bophuthatswana Police on 7 March 1990 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during a march by the Mabopane community to submit a memorandum about high rents to the Ga-Rankuwa magistrate's o f f i c e . PHONOSHE, Gushe (16), was shot and killed by members of the SAP while re t u r n i n g from a funeral in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 21 July 1985. PHOOKO, Mofere f e r e (Boiki) (17), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 25 Febru a r y 1990. The police officers ord e red Boiki Phooko and his 18-year-old cousin into the veld, where she was raped and he was assaulted. His cousin's mother was an active ANC supporter and member of the local civic org a n i s a t i o n . PHORA, Mothepa Joyce (16), was sjambokked all over her body by members of the SAP in May 1985 in Dennilton, TvI during conflict about the I N C O R P O R A T I O N of Dennilton into KwaNdebele. The warnings of the tribal authority against I N C O R P O R A T I O N went unheeded, resulting in violent conflict during which hundreds of people died or were injure d . PHOSA, Meshack Bandlelile , had his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, destro y e d by Inkatha supporters

on 11 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARMARSON AT TAC K S. PHOSA, Ms (first name not given), and UNKNOWN, Nomsa, one of whom is possibly also known as Shirley MASONDO, were assaulted during interrogation by Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg. Ms Masondo was detained in connection with a bomb blast at the Cafe Zurich on 4 October 1987 and was later sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/242). PHOSHOANE, Tilsho Walter (25), was detained by members of the SAP on 8 April 1986 in Vo l s l o o r u s , Tvl, during protests over the death of an MK operative killed by police in the area . PHOSISI, Papakwe Daniel (19), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the SH A R P E V I L L E M A S S A C R E on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl. P H O S I W A, Mbulaheni Phineas (33), an AZAPO s u p p o r t e r, was tort u red in detention by named members of the Venda Police in October 1981 in Sibasa, Ve n d a . Mr Phosiwa was a pastor who helped local youth fight against human rights' abuses. He was detained and t o r t u red again in 1982 and 1989. P H O S W A, Anna Bakhethile (43), an ANC support e r, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP s u p p o r t e r s at G E N G E S H E, Richmond, Natal, in April 1992 .

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PRETORIUS, JEA , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. A. PRETORIUS, JH , a brigadier in the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153). PRETORIUS, Johannes Didrick , a farmer, was shot and injured on 15 February 1990, when a group of UDF supporters attacked his farm, Spes Bona, in Stutterheim, Cape. Five UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277). PRETORIUS, Leonie , a civilian, was killed in an attack by APLA operatives on her family's farm, 'Danside', in Ficksburg, OFS, on 19 December 1992. See APLA AT TAC K S. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (A C / 1999 / 0182) . PRETORIUS, Louis Jacobus (21), was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. A. PRETORIUS, Machiel Andries Stephanus , a member of the SAP, was shot and injured when his SAP tracking unit ambushed an MK unit of seven members, in Ellisras, Tvl, on 8 August 1988. One SAP member was killed and three others were injured in the confrontation. An MK operative was also killed. One MK operative was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/2000/081). PRETORIUS, Susanna (44), was stabbed in the eye at Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, in May 1993. Ms Pretorius and her husband were attacked by a group of youths who smashed the car windows during political conflict in the area . PRINGANE, Gladys , an ANC supporter, lost her house, household possessions and a car, in an arson attack by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers over the Christmas 1976 period. PRINGANE, Mthozamo Theophilus (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF - s u p p o r t i n g squatter camps by WITDOEK E vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces . PRINS, Andre Peter (17), was arrested on 16 June 1986 in Vredenburg, Cape,

and accused of a petrol bomb attack at a primary school. In detention he was assaulted by members of the SAP and charged with being in possession of dangerous explosives.

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Ishmael

(68), was arrested and

tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 10 June 1989 at a farm near Zeerust, Tvl, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana. PULE, Nyanako Andronico (22), was arrested on 1 July 1989 and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Leeuwfontein, Tvl, when the Leeuwfontein community was resisting INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. PULE, Pontso Anna (51), a member of a UDF supporting family, had her house burnt down in a petrol bomb attack in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, in late 1983. PULE, Sadi, an MK operative, survived an attempt on her life when SADF Special Forces attacked a house near the Ramotswa River in Botswana on 31 December 1986/1 January 1987. One woman was killed and other unidentified persons were injured in the attack. Five Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their role in providing information (AC/2001/191). PULE, Simon (33), a UDF supporter, was detained in Bloemfontein in June 1986, under emergency regulations. He was held in custody for two months, during which he was severely assaulted by members of the SAP. See POLICE BRUTALITY. PUNGANE, Magageni, was assaulted in Bizana, Transkei, in 1971 while serving a two-year sentence for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. PUNGULWA, Mncedisi Eddie (19), was severely beaten by members of the SAP while travelling on a bus with other ANC supporters in Robertson, Cape, in 1986. He was then held for three months in Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. PURAVHATHY, Milandu Samuel (69), lost his home in an arson attack by named 'comrades' in February 1990 in Dzanani, Venda. Mr Puravhathy's wife had been labelled a witch at a meeting and stoned.

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RABULA, Michael (33), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' Factions. RACHEL, Edith Marillier, was shot and injured, and robbed of firearms during an attack by UDF supporters on her home at Bush View Farm, Stutterheim, Cape, on 7 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277). RADAMBA, Mubvathi Samuel (37), was detained for an unspecified period of time by named members of the Venda Police in November 1983 at Thohoyandou, Venda. Mr Radamba was accused of providing food and accommodation to MK operatives. RADEBE, Albert, was shot and injured by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natal, Tvl, on 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198). RADEBE, Alfred Molefi (19), was shot dead, allegedly by a named member of the SAP, in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 19 September 1989. Mr Radebe, a 'Gadaffi' supporter, was singing freedom songs with other supporters at the time. The perpetrator was reportedly suspended after an investigation into police violence in the area. See KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS. RADEBE, Alison, was shot dead by alleged IFP supporting hostel-dwellers during an attack on Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1992. Hosteldwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership,

which resulted in polarisation between residents from townships, hostels and squatter camps. Hundreds of people died in the intense violent conflict which followed between 1990 and 1993. RADEBE, Alpha Bonga (36), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhukhanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 January 1994 in continuing political conflict in the area. Two people were killed in political fighting and at least 14 homesteads were burnt down. RADEBE, Anna, was shot dead in Phiritona, Heilbron, OFS, on 12 March 1990, when SAP members opened fire on crowds celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. RADEBE, Annah, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in this incident. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers resulted in violent conflict from July to December 1992. RADEBE, Anthony Mdeni (28), a COSATU member, was stabbed to death by the leader of the local Inkatha Youth Brigade in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 22 March 1986. Union leaders were allegedly targeted for attack because they were perceived to share the ideological views of the UDF and ANC. RADEBE, Bathobile Princess (9), lost her home when her parents' house at Port Shepstone, Natal, was burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991. Her parents were ANC supporters.

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

RAJBANSI, Amichand, then a Minister in the House of Delegates in the Tricameral Parliament, had his house in Durban damaged in a limpet mine explosion on 4 August 1985. Six MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152). RAJOO, Sonny Jaffernath (53), a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, was beaten, tear-gassed and sjambokked by members of the SAP in September 1984 in Lenasia near Johannesburg during protests against the tricameral parliament. RAKATE, Israel Kabelo (30), was severely beaten and left for dead in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, on 8 February 1993. Mr Rakate, a school principal, was accused of being a member of the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party by a mob of students. RAKHETSI, John Khawanyana (10), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in 1984 in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, because he attended a student meeting about political violence in the area. RAKHETSI, Mamathakase Motswepi Belina, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). RAKITLA, Mtheriza Aaron (44), had his home burnt down on 20 November 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFPaligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this area from July to December 1992. RAKOBO, Thabiso Isaac, was in a unit of five MK operatives active in the Eastern Cape when he was caught in a police roadblock near Elliot, in August 1981, and shot dead. Three others were killed in the ambush and a survivor was arrested. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission in 1997. RAKOMANE, Daniel Mosete (28), a UDF supporter, was tortured by named members of the SAP on 8 June 1986 at Dwaalboom, Tvl. Police were reported trying to persuade him to become an informer. RAKOSA, Solomon Kgopi, a COSAS member, was killed in a parcel bomb explosion on 1 November 1989 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl. Solomon was given a parcel that exploded in his hands. The perpetrator is named. RAKUDA, David, was beaten to death by his employer in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 13 September 1990 after Mr Rakuda objected to his employer making racist remarks. RAKWENA, Masilo Ephraim (39), was assaulted and detained by members of the SAP in Letlhabile, near Brits, Tvl, in September 1992 at a protest march against the presence of a skaris in the area who were killing activists and raping women. RALANA, Merryman Anele (20), a student activist and East London

Youth Organisation member, was tortured while in detention by named members of the SAP at Cambridge police station, East London, in June 1986, during the state of emergency. He was

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OFS, on 13 June 1986. She suffered a miscarriage in the weeks following her detention. See POLICE BRUTALITY. RAMPELE, Thomas, was beaten by members of the SAP in Tzaneen, Tvl, during a SADTU protest march against salary deductions on 19 September 1991. RAMPHALILE, Jonas Raboshoanana, was shot dead by a member of the SAP during investigations into the activities of the THREEMILLION GANGLING in Kroonstad, OFS, on 15 June 1990. Mr Ramphalile, a suspect in a farm killing during the PAC's Operation Great Storm, was in custody at the time of the shooting. The SAP member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0299). RAMPHORE, Johannes Morapedi, was shot by a named member of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 9 September 1984. Police allegedly believed that Mr Ramphore was responsible for a politically motivated arson attack. RAMPONE, Mahase Pieter (21), an ANCYL supporter, was shot and severely beaten by alleged members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Brits, Tvl, on 6 March 1986 at a student meeting which was broken up by police. His leg was amputated as a result of the shooting. RAMPOTLA, J, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. RAMROCK, Johnny, was detained and tortured by members of the Security Branch in 1975 in Johannesburg, because they wanted to know about a new organisation, 'Brotherhood', which had been formed under the BCM. RANANJEE, Maigan, was detained by members of the Security Branch during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 28 February 1985. Charges of assault, public violence and malicious damage to property were laid against him, but withdrawn two months later. RANDZILANI, Mberegeni Patric (44), lost his home in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 7 December 1991 because he was accused of engaging in witchcraft. RANGASAMI, Mr (first name not given), died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at the Victoria Embankment, Durban, on 3 April 1984. The explosion killed three people, including Mr Rangasami and his wife, and injured 20 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175). RANGASAMI, Ms (first name not given), died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at the Victoria Embankment, Durban, on 3 April 1984. The explosion killed three people, including Ms Rangasami and her husband, and injured 20 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

SEFOLO, Harold Sello, was abducted from Witbank, Tvl, on 16 July 1987 by a Northern Transvaal Security Branch askari purporting to be an MK operative. He and two others were taken to the Portland Cement mine near Pienaarsrivier, where they were tortured during interrogation and then killed by electric shock. Their bodies were taken to an abandoned road in Bophuthatswana and blown up in a landmine explosion. Three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0030;

AC/1999/0032 and AC/2000/107). SEFULARO, Ntebang Nelly (39), was beaten and stabbed on 5 January 1991 at her home in Lehuru t s h e, Bophuthatswana, by ANC supporters because her son was a member of the Bophuthatswana Police and was re g a rded as a supporter of Chief Mangope. Ms S e f u l a r o 's daughter was killed in the attack. SEFULARO, Surprise (18), was killed in Zeerust, Tvl, in January 1991 during conflict over the government of B o p h u t h a t s w a n a . SEFULI, Mpho Stella (35), seriously injured when a bus crashed into a house in Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 April 1993. She died a week later. Youths had stoned the bus to enforce a stayaway two days after the death of CH R I S H A N I. The driver lost control and crashed into the h o u s e . SEFUME, Dorothy Dorcas Mankadimeng (26), an ANCWL member, was severely beaten and her f u r n i t u r e was broken, by a named SAP member, on 4 April 1992 in Sharpeville, Ve reeniging, Tvl. Police were allegedly looking for Mr Sefume when the attack took p l a c e . SEFUME, Oupa Daniel (37), died when he was 'necklaced' by 'comrades' on 17 December 1993 at Sharpeville, Ve reeniging, Tvl, because the perpetrators believed he was an inform e r. SEGAGE, (first name not given), (eight months old), was killed on 17 August 1986 when the car she was travelling in with her mother detonated a landmine set by MK operatives between Nelspruit and Karina in Tvl. Her mother, four other adults and one child died in this incident. The ANC's rural landmine campaign was aimed at the SADF and commandos but was called off as a result of the high rate of civilian casualties. SEGAGE, Lindiwe , was killed on 17 August 1986 when the car she was travelling in detonated a landmine set by MK operatives between Nelspruit and Karina in Tvl. Ms Segage, who was on her way to start working on a farm, died along with her daughter, four adults and one child. The ANC's rural landmine campaign was aimed at the SADF and commandos but was called off as a result of the high rate of civilian casualties. SEGALO, Wesi Eleazer (49), an SAP member, had his home burnt down by 'comrade' on 18 September 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl. Mr Segalo had complied with the demand by 'comrades' that he move out of the area as police were re g a rded as fuelling political conflict in the a rea, through assisting the IFP or condoning IFP attacks. SEGAMI, Ivan 'Squeens' , an ANC activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Galeshewe, Kimberley, Cape, on 22 July 1990. At the time of the shooting the

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SETLE, Mar t i n , was shot and injured, allegedly by IFPaligned KH E T I S I KH E S W A G A N G members, in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired at and threw hand g renades at mourners, killing a number and injuring several others. Police arrived at the scene but p rovided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NA N G A L E M B E N I G H T V I G I L M A S S A C R E. SETLE, Paul Jabulane (20), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP-aligned KH E T I S I KH E S W A G A N G members, in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired at and threw hand g renades at mourners, killing a number and injuring several others. Police arrived at the scene but pro v i d e d no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NA N G A L E M B E N I G H T V I G I L M A S S A C R E. SETLHAHUNO, Lazarus (20), was killed, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 5 Febru a ry 1994 in Taung, Bophuthatswana during clashes over the chieftainship of the area. His body was found on the bank of a nearby river. SETLHODI, Arms (30), died after he was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Vry b u r g , Cape, on 8 December 1988, when police opened fire on participants in a protest march at the tribal off i c e , killing about three people. SETLHOKE, Gabriel Phemelo (33), from Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, was repeatedly tort u r e d in October 1985 and January 1986 in Zambia, and at Nova Stella Sao prison and Quatro camp in Angola, by named ANC security members who falsely accused him of being an enemy agent. See ANC C A M P S.

SETSHEDI, Modise Daniel (64), an ANC support e r, was shot and injured when armed men opened fire on a taxi he was travelling in on 15 November 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl. The shooting occurred during a period of TA X I V I O L E N C E when conflict between ANC and IFP s u p p o r t e r s became linked to competition in the taxi i n d u s t r y. SETSHEDI, Phillemon Matetenene , (60), was arre s t e d and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police on 31 December 1990 in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana. At the time of the incident the community of Phokeng was resisting its I N C O R P O R A T I O N into Bophuthatswana. S E X WALE, Lesetsha Joseph , an MK operative deployed in the Transkei, was caught with four other operatives at a police roadblock near Elliot, Cape, on 11 August 1981. Three of the operatives were killed in a shoot-out while Mr Sexwale and one other escaped. They were corn e red and died fighting at Barkly Pass two days later. The four bodies were secretly buried on the farm, Lushof, in the magisterial district of Rouxville, near Aliwal North, Cape, and were exhumed by the Commission on 9 April 1997. S E X WALE, Mosima Gabriel 'T o k y o ' , an MK operative, was detained, interrogated and tort u red at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, by members of

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20), was severe l y

i n j u red when she was sexually assaulted and stabbed by UDF supporters who attacked her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 September 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF s u p p o r t e r s in the are a . SHANGASE, Dudu , was one of 11 people killed by SP E C I A L CO N S T A B L E S who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pieterm a r i t z b u r g , on 3 December 1988. See TR U S T F E E D S M A S S A C R E . The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011). SHANGASE, Fikile (53), an ANC support e r, was shot and severely injured in an attack by IFP supporters on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 M a r c h 1994. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N AT TA C K S . SHANGASE, Garazile Ger t r u d e (39), an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r, had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 19 January 1990. SHANGASE, Hansford Thabo (17), a COSAS m e m b e r, was assaulted by named Inkatha support e r s in Imbali, Pieterm a r i t z b u r g , on 17 July 1986. On 29 November 1987, Mr Shangase was paralysed when the same perpetrators shot him in the mouth and neck. SHANGASE, Hawukile (54), had her home at ND W E D W E , KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight in an arson attack on 12 Febru a r y 1994 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the are a . SHANGASE, Jabulane , was severely stabbed by U D F s u p p o r t e r s in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, o n 23 September 1988 in intense political conflict in the a re a . SHANGASE, Khalangani (53), an IFP support e r, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Mangangeni in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in May 1994, in conflict accompanying the AP R I L 1 9 9 4 E L E C T I O N S . SHANGASE, Khethiwe (21), an ANC support e r, was b u r n t to death when Inkatha supporters petro l - b o m b e d her home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 11 June 1990. She was six months pregnant at the time. Ms S h a n g a s e ' s three brothers, all ANC supporters, were killed in political conflict in the area at diff e r e n t times between 1987 and 1993. SHANGASE, Mabule Isaac , an ANC support e r, s u f f e r e d damage to pro p e r t y in political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in the late 1980s. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 0 5 4) . SHANGASE, Mar g a r e t (56), an Inkatha support e r, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, b u r n t down by UDF supporters in September 1987.

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erupted in February 1980 at Ga-Matlala village about Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. Residents who opposed independence were forcefully removed, their houses were burnt and their livestock taken to government farms. SHIBE, Jabu Adelaide (39), had her house set alight by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. SHIBE, Linda Elphas (28), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by KWAZULULENDE members at KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 December 1989. He had been operating underground for some years when he was attacked. He is now paralysed and confined to a wheelchair. SHIBE, Nomzindo Ida (46), had her house, which was located in an ANC-dominated area of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in March 1993. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi in March 1993, and 75 homes were burnt down. See 'REDA ND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. SHIBE, Vakushiwe Milton (45), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'REDA ND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993. SHIBE, Vusi Gunnet (25), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 April 1990 and held for over a month, allegedly because of his political activities. SHIBURI, Elias (25), disappeared while in police custody in 1978 and has not been seen since. He is presumed dead. He had been arrested after visiting an uncle in Mozambique, and appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court in early 1978, the last time he was seen by his family. The police claimed that Mr Shiburi was released on 8 February 1978. SHIKITA, Fuzile, an ANC member, was tortured while in detention in Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. SHIKOANE, Mokgoma (28), was severely beaten with sjamboks and tortured by members of the Lebowa Police on 1 January 1986 in Pietersburg, Tvl, because of his political activities and refusal to accept Chief Sekoane as chief of the area. SHIKWANE, Habakuk Magabutlane, an ANC activist, was assaulted and detained for six weeks by members of the SAP in 1959 in Pretoria. He was subsequently banned for five years. SHILLON, Craig, was injured in what became known as the MAGOOSBARBOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). SHILLON, Roger, in what became known as the MAGOOSBARBOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

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SHINGA, Bheki Bethlehem (42), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP supporters at the Glebelands hostel in Umlazi, Durban, on 3 August 1992, allegedly because he did not heed an IFP-organised stayaway. Another person was also killed in the hostel that day. SHINGA, Gilbert (38), was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter in the Tophet Reserve at Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 13 April 1990, allegedly because he refused to attend an Inkatha self-defence camp. SHINGA, Meshack (49), lost his house in an arson attack in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. SHINGA, Nana Michael (44), was one of 13

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SHOMANG, Labuang Amas (47), was arrested on 18 March 1977 in Moletsane, Soweto, Johannesburg . During his four-month detention in John Vorster Square, he was left naked in a cell and denied medical treatment . SHOMOLEKAE, Theboho Phillip (31), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Theunissen, OFS, on 23 November 1990. The water supply in the area had been cut off due to rate boycotts, and the shooting occurred when police fired at the residents who had gone to fetch water from a nearby farm . SHONAPHI, Xolo (63), had her house burnt down on 7 April 1994, when gunmen attacked a homestead in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Five people were killed and four injured in the attack. Between 1990 and 1994, about 2000 people in the Port Shepstone area fled their homes to escape the violence . SHONGOANE, Mamotsha Anna (67), had her house burnt down by a group of residents on 6 March 1981 at Ellisras, Tvl, during violent conflict over chieftainship in the village. SHONGOANE, William, was shot dead by a named perpetrator on 6 March 1981 in Ellisras, Tvl, during violent conflict between two brothers over the chieftainship in which one brother petrol-bombed the other's house, and was then shot dead by his brother. The villagers then split into two groups and attacked each other by burning houses. SHONGWANE, Paikie Meshack (32), lost his home in an arson attack on 6 March 1981 in Shongoane village, Ellisras, Tvl, during violent conflict by two brothers over chieftainship in the area. Mr Shongaone supported Chief Simon Shongoane. SHONGWANE, Samuel Masetla (44), died after he was assaulted with an axe by supporters of Chief William Shongoane, at Ga-Shongoane, Ellisras, Tvl, during clashes between supporters of rival chiefs William and Simon Shongoane. SHONGWE, Anna (32), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1986 during the state of emergency. SHONGWE, Arron Mdtshwa (33) was shot dead on 31 December 1992 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by SAP members and IFP supporters, during intense conflict on the East Rand. Police allegedly often exacerbated the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters by siding with the IFP. SHONGWE, David Bogelo, was shot dead in Brits, Tvl, in July 1990. His body was found in the veld and his taxi was discovered in a parking lot close to SAP headquarters, filled with explosives. An MK operative was indicted and later applied for indemnity for Mr Shongwe's murder and for the bomb he planted in the taxi. SHONGWE, Mabalane Fontwane (41), was beaten by members of the SAP and detained for two years on 11 January 1984 in Nelspruit, Tvl, because he opposed

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Silukazi

(24), had her home

damaged in an arson attack by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Mathyzensloop, KwaNdebele, on 27 June 1986 during violent conflict over KwaNdebele independence. SIMELANE, Miles Simon, an IFP supporter, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013). SIMELANE, Mpembe Amos (45), an IFP supporter, had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 19 June 1991. SIMELANE, Nokuthula Aurelia (aka 'Sibongile') (23), a courier for MK from Bethal, Tvl, was abducted from the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg by members of the Soweto Security Branch on 8 September 1983 and held initially at the Norwood Police flats. She was later taken to a farm near Thabazimbi, Tvl, and held for several weeks, during which time she was severely tortured. She

subsequently disappeared and is presumed dead. Eight Soweto Security Branch operatives applied for amnesty for the detention and torture only. Three applications were refused and five were granted (AC/2001/185). SIMELANE, Nonozana Anna (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

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One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103). SMITH, Elizabeth Mmaletsatsi (14), was severely beaten on 20 January 1986 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by named SAP members searching for her partner, a member of the Khutsong Students Congress. SMITH, EPM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. SMITH, Helena Dorthea, was injured when MK operatives detonated a limpet mine in a dustbin at the Vanderbijl Square bus terminus, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. Nineteen people were injured and a number of vehicles and buildings were damaged. Two MK Special Operations operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/056). A late application by a third operative was dismissed. SMITH, JM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. SMITH, John Bernard, was robbed and stabbed to death by APLA operatives on his farm in Wesselsdal, Vanstadensrus, OFS, on 25 July 1993. Mr Smith's wife was injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0020). SMITH, Jordana, (31), was shot dead by ANC supporters in May 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl. Several other family members, including his mother, were killed or injured in attacks at different times by ANC supporters because one of the family members was an IFP supporter. SMITH, Myrtle, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018). SMITH, Nanki Emily (19), was seriously injured when a hand grenade was thrown into her home in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 28 April 1992 by ANC supporters because one of the family members was an IFP supporter. Her mother was killed in the explosion and her aunt was seriously injured and subsequently died. SMITH, Ndleleni Thompson (29), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by fellow ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 January 1992, allegedly because he refused to attend an ANC

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night camp. His three-month-old son was burnt to death in the attack. SMITH, Norman Ned, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in

Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257). SMITH, Ntomboxole Phyllis (33), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. SMITH, Oupa Abram (20), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death by ANC supporters in July 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging. Tvl. Several other family members including his mother were killed or injured in attacks at different times by ANC supporters because of his political affiliation. SMITH, Rene, was injured in an attack by APLA operatives on her farm in Wesselsdal, Va n s t a d e n s r u s , OFS, on 25 July 1993. Ms Smith's husband was killed in the attack. See APLA AT TA C K S. Three perpetrators w e re granted amnesty (AC/1998/0020). SMITH, Sandile (3 months), was burnt to death in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 January 1992. The attack was allegedly directed against his father, an ANC s u p p o r t e r, who had refused to attend an ANC night camp. SMITH, Sanni Alina (52), was killed when a hand g renade was thrown into her house in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 28 April 1992 by ANC supporters because a family member was an IFP support e r. Her daughter was killed in the explosion and her sister was seriously i n j u red and subsequently died. SMITH, Stephanus Johannes (Fanie) , a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives opened fire on a vehicle travelling from Zastron to Sterkspruit in the OFS on 18 March 1992. Mr Smith was shot dead while he lay injured next to the car. Another person was severely injured. Two managed to escape unhurt . See APLA AT TA C K S. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/148). See ZA S T R O N R O A D A M B U S H. SMITH, Zibuko (29), a member of the SAP, lost his house when it was burnt down by ANC support e r s during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, in 1985. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0314). S N O W, Gillian , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Churc h S t reet, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people w e re killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of M K 's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives w e re granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G, PR E T O R I A. S N O W Y, Mr (first name not given), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 September 1991, during political conflict in the area . S N YAMN, WNP, was present when MK operatives attacked the SADF base at Letaba stadium, Nkowa Nkowa, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Five SADF

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1993. Her body was found on 24 November 1993 in the Ingwavuma area, KwaZulu, with bullet wounds to the head. Ms Stewart was working on a farm i n g p roject in the area, and both she and her project were allegedly unpopular with the IFP and the KWAZU L U P O L I C E. S T E W A R T, Sandra Mar g a re t , a Black Sash activist and UDF support e r, was detained by named members of the SAP in June 1986 in Port Elizabeth. She was released in October 1986 and restricted to Port Elizabeth district. STEYN, Annie (45), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Paarl, Cape, on 9 September 1976, after the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G s p read to the rural Cape towns. T h ree women were shot dead in Paarl that day. STEYN, Avril Rachewell (18), an ANC support e r, was a rrested and tort u red by named policemen in Wo rc e s t e r, Cape, on 13 June 1979. He was charg e d with terrorism and damage to pro p erty and held in Wo rcester prison for nine months. He received a suspended sentence. He was again detained and t o r t u red by the same policemen in 1982. STEYN, PJ , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Churc h S t reet, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people w e re killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of M K 's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives w e re granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G, PR E T O R I A. STIENEN, Cornelia (17), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives,

exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 2 9 4) . STIGLINGH, Roeline , a member of the SAP, was i n j u r e d when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for c o m m e r c i a l purposes, but also housed the Wi t b a n k Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 0 5 5) . STINA, Lungile (20), an ANC support e r, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nkululeko, near Barkly East, Cape, on 10 Febru a ry 1990 during a t o y i - t o y i demonstration celebrating the release of Nelson M a n d e l a . STOFIE, Mncebisi Cecil (13), was abducted, along with six other youths, by UDF supporters in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 October 1986. The youths w e r e all severely assaulted and tort u r e d. One was shot and killed. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0247). STOK, Ndoma Ndumisa (20), an ANC support e r, was a r r e s t e d in November 1986 in Jansenville, Cape. He was on trial for nine months during which time he was i n t e r r o g a t e d and had teargas sprayed into his face by

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S T RYDOM, WJ, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance of the Railway Police Radio h e a d q u a r t e r s, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1984. Four police officers and two civilians were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003). S T U A R T, Joy Elaine Nomvuyo (37), a UDF s u p p o r t e r, was detained and kept in solitary confinement d u r i n g p r o t e s t s in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in 1985. STUBBS, Julian (17), a UDF support e r, was detained and beaten by SAP members in Wy n b e r g, Cape To w n , on 15 October 1985. He was later sentenced to a twoyear prison sentence for public violence with six other teenagers, known as the WY N B E R G S E V E N. STUURMAN, Jacob Goli (29), was injured in a bomb blast on 28 November 1992 when a hand gre n a d e exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl. MK and APLA members had re t u r n e d from exile and were training members of the community to defend themselves against alleged attacks by the IFP and security forces. The perpetrator, allegedly an MK operative, threw the hand gre n a d e after becoming involved in an argument at a s t o k v e l. Six people were killed and four others injured in the explosion. Mr Stuurman lost his eyesight as a result of the incident. STUURMAN, John (19), was shot and severe l y i n j u r e d by members of the SAP in 1976 during unre s t in Ravensmead, Cape Town, after the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G had spread to the Cape. STUURMAN, Mlungisi W i l n a r d (27), a UDF support e r, was strangled and shot to death by members of the SAP at KwaTeyisi farm in Cradock, Cape, on 26 August 1986 while on his way to the funeral of a political activist in Lingelihle township, Cradock, Cape. STUURMAN, Nokwanda , was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a march to an IFP rally at the Siynaba stadium, Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991. STUURMAN, Sipiwo Ivin (19), chairperson of COSAS, was shot and severely injured by SP E C I A L CO N S T A B L E S i n Mandlekosi, near Bloemfontein in January 1988. F o r c e d into hiding as a result of police harassment, Mr S t u u r m a n instituted a civil claim for damages against the Minister of Law and Order and was award e d c o m p e n s a t i o n . STUURMAN, Xolani Kanneetjie (13), was shot and killed by members of the SAP, one of whom is named, during political conflict in Cradock, Cape, in November 1978. S T WAYI, Venvol Cofayishiye (38), was hacked and b u r n t to death in New Cro s s r o a d s, Cape Town, on 19 M a r c h 1986, during conflict between vigilantes known variously as the 'Fathers' or the W I T D O E K E, and UDF s u p p o r t e r s. Seven people died in the two-day clash. SUKANI, Mbuthuma , an ANC support e r, was s e v e r e l y beaten by members of the SAP in Marc h 1960 in Ezizityaneni, Bizana, Transkei, during the

PONDO LAND REVOLT. Mr Sukani allegedly died as a result of his injuries. SUKAZI, Alvinah Elizabeth (46), a councillor in Emjindini, Barberton, Tvl, lost her home when it was

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border, on 11 December 1988. An MK operative and a 15-year-old boy were killed and three homes were destroyed. The Vlakplaas commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/108). TABETE, Thembisile Mirriam (89), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON AT TACKS. TABETE, Vusumuzi Zamani (18), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in 1986 in violent conflict between pupils and AMABUTO members over school boycotts. IFP members were allegedly patrolling the township in open trucks and attacking school pupils, when Mr Tabete was shot. TABU, Lucky, a policeman, was one of two policemen shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in a tavern in Daveyton, Tvl, on 1 August 1993. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/227). TABU, Myenzeke (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP in New Tinis, near Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 16 June 1986 during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING. TABULENG, Jacob (58), was detained for two weeks and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1994. He was part of a spontaneous community march in support of the first democratic elections to be held in April 1994. Some of the marchers were assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police. A court case was later held and all the marchers were acquitted. TAFANE, Ritz Jeremia (23), an SAP member and ANC supporter, was shot dead by named colleagues in the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS, on 21 August 1993, allegedly because of his ANC sympathies. TAFENI, Menzi, an ANC supporter, was arrested on 1 September 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape, and tortured by members of the SAP in Burgersdorp prison. Mr Tafeni was sentenced to death for a politically motivated murder, but was released on appeal after two years' imprisonment at JC Steyn prison. TAIJE, Matsie Anna (38), general secretary of the ANCWL at Mqheleng, Ficksburg, OFS, was detained for five days from 30 March 1960 in Bloemfontein by a named SAP member and a named Security Branch member. She was released and then released, and remained in detention for 90 days without trial. TAJE, Florence Minor (35), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by named SAP Security Branch members in Kroonstad, OFS, in August 1991, allegedly because she had information about the activities of the THREE MILLION GANG, of which her brother was a leader. TAKALI, Siyabonga Maxwell, a UDF supporter

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on 9 February 1993 by unidentified perpetrators who allegedly drove off saying 'kill the boer, kill the farmer'. TAYLOR, Lucia (51), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and her home was destroyed when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, in December 1991. See BRUNTVILLE AT TACKS. TAYO, Mncedi Ambrose (44), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by ADM supporters and CDF members at Bulembu Airport, near King William's Town, Cape, on 21 October 1992 during violent political conflict. TCHULU, James Mzwandile (57), an ANC supporter, was injured in a bomb explosion in the Mangaung Provincial Administration Building in Bloemfontein on 1 February 1983. The bomb had been planted by an ANC sabotage group. TEBANE, Michael Tsimokwane (22), was shot and injured

j u r e d by a member of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg , Tvl, on 31 August 1985 as he r e t u r n e d from a mass funeral. He was arrested while being treated in hospital. TEBEILE, Mokgathi Frans (61), lost his home in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Pietersburg, Tvl, in January 1986. TEBEKANA, Thamsanqa Thompson (18), a UDF s u p p o r t e r, was detained at Jeff reys Bay police station, Cape, in September 1987 and severely beaten for t h r e e days by named members of the SAP who allegedly attempted to force him to confess to the b u r n i n g of a house. TEBOGO, Mr (first names not given), was assaulted by APLA members at a PAC camp in Tanzania during 1992 or 1993. He was allegedly assaulted because he disobeyed the code of conduct. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/247). TEFFO, Joel Malose (27), was shot and severe l y i n j u r e d by members of the Venda Police in M a h w e l e r e n g, Lebowa, on 7 March 1986. At the time youths were demonstrating in the street and stoning g o v e r n m e n t vehicles. TEFFO, Philemon Madimetja (27), had his home b u r n t down on 2 Febr u a r y 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Te ff o resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South A f r i c a . TEFU, Jabulani Michael (36), was shot dead by members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 May 1992, during political conflict in the a r e a . TEFU, Sarah , died when she was hit by a tear g a s cannister fired by members of the SADF in Mamelodi, P r e t o r i a, on 21 November 1985 while she was taking p a r t in a protest march against high r e n t s . TEKANA, Phaniel , a civilian travelling in a b r e a d d e l i v e r y truck, was shot at by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Rockville, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 5 Febr u a r y 1993. Mr Mabuya and his three colleagues disrupted an SDU attack on the police. The perpetrators fired at the vehicle, intending to scare them off. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/119).

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attack. See APLA AT T A C K S. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182). VAN DYK, Amina Elizabeth (24), was shot and i n j u r e d by members of the SAP in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985, during extensive u n r e s t that broke out following the P O L L S M O O R M A R C H held the previous day. Ms Van Dyk lost an eye in the shooting, in which two young boys were shot dead. VAN DYK, HC , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Churc h S t r e e t, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people w e r e killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of M K ' s Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives w e r e granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G, P R E T O R I A. VAN DYK, Otto Bousema , an employee of the South African Railway Services, was shot and injured by two MK operatives who were attempting to rob him of his vehicle at Cordelfos railway station, in Pretoria, on 9 J a n u a r y 1990. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/081). VAN ECK, Jacoba , was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC L A N D M I N E C A M P A I G N aimed at m i l i t a r y patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). VAN ECK, Johannes Frederick (36), was severe l y i n j u r e d when the vehicle in which he and his family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC L A N D M I N E C A M P A I G N aimed at military patrols in the rural b o r d e r regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 1 / 0 9 3) . VAN ECK, Johannes Frederick (Junior), was severe l y i n j u r e d when the vehicle in which he and his family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC L A N D M I N E C

A M P A I G N aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). VAN ECK, Michael Ignatius (2), was killed when the vehicle in which he and his family were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC L A N D M I N E C A M P A I G N aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093). VAN ECK, Nelmarie (8), was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what

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South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. VAN SCHALKWYK, Willem Johannes, a member of the SAP, was injured by a shot fired from the home of a COSATU official in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 2 September 1992. His colleague also came under fire. The COSATU official's bodyguard, a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), had opened fire because he believed the house was under attack. The SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0065). VAN STADEN, Cecil Roos Tamsanqa (22), was shot by a named member of the SAP in Worcester, Cape, on 2 November 1985, and died two days later. His funeral was disrupted by police when they beat the mourners and arrested over 30 youth, during the 1985 state of emergency. VAN TONDER, Andries Johannes Jacobus, a farmer, was attacked and seriously injured by two APLA members on his farm near Masselspoort, OFS, on 10 February 1991. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/140). VAN TONDER, Catharina Jacoba, a civilian, was attacked and seriously injured by two APLA members on her farm near Masselspoort, OFS, on 10 February 1991. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/140). VAN VUUREN, Magdeline Mmapholo

(87), lost her house in

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she was attending the funeral of an ex-Robben Island prisoner in Dimbaza, Ciskei, on 10 September 1985. VELLEM, Mbulelo, was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Four were burnt to death while Mr Vellem survived with serious injuries. Two perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049). VELLEM, Mkuseli, was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Mr Vellem and three others were burnt to death while one survived with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049). VENA, John Thembisile (29), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP at a time of protests in Aberdeen, Cape, in April 1991. VENA, May (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on

mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See L A N G A S H O O T I N G S. VENA, Mkhuseleli Wilmoti (33), was sjambokked and severely assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police while he was attending the funeral of an unrest victim in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in September 1985. VENA, Mxolisi Michael (22), a SEYCO member, was shot in the leg with live ammunition on 1 January 1985 while at a disco in Seymour, Cape. The perpetrator was an intoxicated member of the SAP who started shooting randomly in the hall. At the time, consumer boycotts and marches were frequent in the area. VENA, Sesman David (35), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by named supporters of Chief K D Matanzima in Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1960. VENA, Stanford Mpumelelo (30), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by named SAP members in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 February 1988. On 14 September 1988, Mr Vena was arrested with other activists and tortured by named members of the SAP at Volmoed Farm, Oudtshoorn. VENA, Victoria Nondzuzo (46), an ANCWL member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, on 1 July 1986 during the state of emergency. See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. VENA, Vuyisile (32), was subjected to severe interrogation and deprivation by members of the Transkei Police while he was in detention from 21 September 1985 until January 1986 at the Elliotdale prison, Cape. The police allegedly believed Mr Vena was harbouring MK operatives. VENA, Zalisile (32), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the Transkei Police in October 1985 at Idutywa, Transkei. The police allegedly wanted information on the whereabouts of his brother who was an MK operative. V E N G A D A S A M Y , Tyronne Garfield, an ANC supporter, was found dead in Lenasia, Johannesburg, on 11 July

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1992 after he been missing for a few days. He had been planning a consumer boycott. VENTER, (first name not given), was severely injured when the vehicle he was driving detonated a landmine at Stockpoort farm in Ellisras, Tvl, on 4 January 1986. Two people were killed and one was injured in the incident. The landmines were part of a campaign aimed at the SADF and commandos in rural areas and the ANC abandoned the campaign due to a high number of civilian casualties. VENTER, Barend Nicholaas, was severely traumatised when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161). VENTER, Hermanus Barendus, a member of the ISU, was shot dead during clashes between police and members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Daveyton, Tvl, on 26 July 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2001/075). VENTER, ME, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. VENTER, Petrus Albertus, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See R I G H T - W I N G A T T A C K S. VERHEEM, Johannes Jacobus, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055). VERMEULEN, H, a member of the SAP, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg

on 4 March 1986. The head of MK's Special Operations Unit was granted amnesty (AC/2001/003). V E RTAETE, (first name not given), suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued. Twelve Vlakplaas operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215). V E RWEY, Julie (29), was arrested in Murraysburg, Cape, on 18 May 1986, and then detained for over four

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on 13 April 1993. Three other passengers survived the attack, which followed the assassination of MK/ANC/SACP leader, Chris Hani. Four SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0249). W E A K L E Y, Glen Pearsall, and his brother were shot dead when ANC self-defence Unit (SDU) members opened fire on the vehicle in which they were travelling while on holiday near Port St Johns, Transkei, on 13 April 1993. Three other passengers survived the attack, which followed the assassination of MK/ANC/SACP leader, Chris Hani. Four SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0249). WEBER, Karl Andrew (37), was shot when members of APLA carried out an attack on the Highgate Hotel, East London, on 1 May 1993. Five people were killed and several others injured. See APLA AT TACKS. WEBSTER, David (43), a UDF supporter, was shot dead on 1 May 1989 outside his home in Troyeville, Johannesburg, by a CCB operative. The operative, later convicted of his killing, did not apply for amnesty. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for harassing Dr Webster and others during a political gathering in 1985 (AC/2001/0184). WEBSTER, Edward Frank (22), was shot, beaten and arrested by members of the SAP in Paarl, Cape, on 9 September 1976, while standing with a group of people during widespread unrest. Three women were shot dead in Paarl that day. WEIMERS, Chris, was detained and threatened by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, in 1975. Police wanted to know about a new organisation, 'Brotherhood', which had been formed under the Black Consciousness Movement. WEKENI, Joseph (48), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by a named IFP supporter in Chicken Farm, Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, because he stayed at home during an ANC stayaway during 1990. He died later in hospital. WELLER, Kevin, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161). WELLER, Robert Brian, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161). WELMAN, Robert, a member of the SAP, was killed when a limpet mine placed by MK operatives exploded at an electricity sub-station in Chamberlain, Jacobs, Durban, on 9 January 1986. Two of his colleagues and two workers were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/108).

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was one of three Inkatha supporters killed, including the son of a local IFP chairman. Four days later, UDF supporters petrol-bombed the vigil held for the three deceased, killing another 13 people (including nine children). Amnesty applications were received for the killings of 8 January. XULU, Nicholas (18), a UDF supporter and member of the Taylors Halt Youth Congress, was detained on 8 May 1988, along with four other people including his brother, by the police in Pietermaritzburg, and was tortured in detention. In 1991, Mr Xulu's brother was abducted, allegedly by members of the Security Police, and has never been seen again. XULU, Nicholas Ngo Bhekithemba, was shot and injured by an Inkatha member during a violent political conflict at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 31 December 1998. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334). XULU, Nokukhanya (Khanyisile) Goodness, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). XULU, Nqobizwe Anderson (42), an ANC supporter, had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, set alight by IFP supporters on 28 February 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. XULU, Ntombikile Nora (37), had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, looted and burnt by ANC supporters in November 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. XULU, Ruth (61), an Inkatha supporter, had her house set alight by ANC supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid Natal, in November 1989. XULU, Sibongile Constance Thandeka

(41), had her
home destroyed

Reference 298 - 0.01% Coverage

7 Victim findings: Summaries

local college because of political conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers in Bruntville, near Mooi River. They were attacked at the college. His brother was also killed in the attack; three other family members were shot and injured. ZACA, Nhlomla, an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters at Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, on 25 March 1991. ZACA, Nozihlele Nella, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by alleged IFP supporters at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, during political conflict in 1990. ZACA, Ntombilezi Irene (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, on 15 March 1991. ZACA, Phindile Pelegrin, was traumatised when her brothers were killed in her presence in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 29 August 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly IFP supporters. ZACA, Sonnyboy Ernest (30), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when he was stabbed and beaten by IFP supporters in Mooi River, Natal, in February 1991. ZACA, Thulani (20), died after being shot in the head with a pellet gun by members of the SAP in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 8 June 1990. ZADUNGE, Gavu Mkhize, an ANC member, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, in June 1960 for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. ZAHELA, Nomthetho Jeanette (32), was severely tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in Somerset East, Cape, during January 1986. ZAKHE, Khayaletu (22), an AMABUTHOSU supporter, was detained and assaulted with knobkerries on 8 June 1986 in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London. ZAKWE, Dumisani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Richards Bay, Natal, on 4 November 1992. ZAKWE, Kumakwakhe (31), a COSATU member, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 31 August 1991. ZAKWE, Ntombithini Patience (24), an IFP supporter, had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in March 1992. The attack occurred during conflict between residents of Richmond Farm, an IFP stronghold, and neighbouring KwaMashu, an ANC area. ZAKWE, Simon Zonke, an Inkatha supporter, was abducted from his home in Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, and stabbed to death by ANC supporters on 30 November 1988. ZAKWE, Thembinkosi, was shot and injured in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1988 in intensifying conflict

between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. ZALI, Monde Mendly (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 June 1986 in Port Elizabeth, during a commemoration of the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. ZAMA Zwelakhe Albert Mqgashiyo (31), an ANC supporter, had his house in Umkomaas, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1992.

P A G E 8

Reference 299 - 0.01% Coverage

7 Victim findings: Summaries

ZIKHALI, Daniel Simon, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 3 December 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. ZIKHALI, Gabisile Princess (29), had her home and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RE D' A N D 'GR E E N' F A C T I O N S during 1993. ZIKHALI, Muzi, was shot and injured in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 March 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. He was shot while trying to help his brother, who had been shot in the same incident. ZIKHALI, Sandile (20), was shot and injured in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 March 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His brother was also shot and injured in the incident. ZIKHALI, Sibongile (58), an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 11 February 1990 by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters. See R I C H M O N D F A R M A R S O N A T T A C K S. ZIKHUNDLA, Maradebe Bellina (60), had her home in Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 10 April 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area. ZIKODE, Buyiswa Josephine (18), was injured when she was run over by members of the SAP in a Hippo while she was returning from a night vigil in Port Elizabeth, on 5 April 1986. ZIKODE, Mfaniseni, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 1 4 2). ZIKODE, Mzweni Lungisani (17), was stabbed and severely injured when the Zikode family home in Ixopo, Natal, was attacked by IFP supporters in September 1993 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. One family member was killed in the attack and two were injured. ZIKODE, Thobezweni (22), was stabbed and severely injured when the Zikode family home in Ixopo, Natal, was attacked by IFP supporters, in September 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area. One family member was killed in the attack and two were injured. ZIKODE, Zibuki Alfred (40), had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area in August 1991. ZIMA, Emmerenica Benzani (33), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1992. See E K U T H U L E N I A T T A C K S. ZIMANDE, Cyprian (29), an IFP member, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Richmond, Natal, in September 1992. His brother was shot and injured in the incident.

P A G E 8

Reference 300 - 0.01% Coverage

house in a petrol

bomb attack by alleged members of both Inkatha and the KWAZULU POLICE in Mophela, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, during political conflict on 15 September 1989. Her brother and nephew were killed in the attack. During 1989 about 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in the violence that

devastated the area, leaving many dead and thousands homeless. Approximately 54 people died in political conflict between November to 10 December 1989. ZONDI, Sibusiso Emmanuel (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 July 1992. ZONDI, Sibusiso Shakespeare, a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). ZONDI, Sifiso, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters while attending a night vigil at Koffie Farm, Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 7 February 1990. ZONDI, Sihle Brian (16), was killed by Inkatha supporters on 25 March 1990 in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR. ZONDI, Sileni Sizani (46), a UDF supporter

Reference 301 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

ZULU, Ntombela Robson (36), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down during March 1993 in ongoing political conflict between the 'REDEANDEGREEFACTION'. ZULU, Ntombikayise (18), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 22 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. ZULU, Ntombo (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1992. ZULU, Ntombo Ellen (43), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1991. ZULU, Oscar, a member of the Sibongile Civic Association, was detained at Waterval and Newcastle prisons in Natal from June 1986. The Sibongile Civic Association was leading a rates boycott at the time. ZULU, Penuel, an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225). ZULU, Peter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 13 March 1993 because he was a member of the IFP-aligned TOASTRAG. ZULU, Phillip, died from multiple wounds in Hillbrow hospital, Johannesburg, after an attack in September 1979. ZULU, Phuzukwenaba Leonard (37), an Inkatha supporter, had his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, set alight on 11 February 1990 in intense political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area. See RICHMONDFARMARSON AT TACKS. ZULU, Prince Cyril Bonginkosi (28), an ANC supporter

Reference 302 - 0.01% Coverage

Simangele

(42), lost her home

in Empangeni, Natal, in an arson attack on 3 June 1993. Her husband was shot dead on the same day, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. ZUNGU, Mbongeni Absalom (42), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBOARSON AT TACKS. ZUNGU, Mfanomncane (17), was shot dead on 21 January 1993 in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. ZUNGU, Mhambiseni Jeremiah (52), was killed by IFP

supporters at KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 June 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area. ZUNGU, Mholeni Amon (36), an Inkatha supporter, had his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON AT TAC K S. ZUNGU, Mlungisi Russell (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietemarietburg, on 26 January 1990. Mr Zungu had fled his home in fear of his life, but was killed when he returned home to see his family. ZUNGU, Moses Sipho, a member of the SAP, was injured when MK operatives opened fire on and threw hand grenades at the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195). ZUNGU, Msizi (5), was severely burnt when IFP supporters poured boiling water over him during an attack on his family home in Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area. ZUNGU, Mtukabongwa Sikhendle

(59), was shot
dead in

Reference 303 - 0.01% Coverage

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Z WANE, Njabulo Sbekezelo (3), was severely burnt when his family home was set alight by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, the late 1980s. The Zwane family were UDF supporters. Z WANE, Ntombifikile Pretty (22), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 21 February 1991. Z WANE, Obed (25), was tear-gassed and shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 November 1992 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC supporters. Both his parents, two siblings and a young relative were killed in the attack. Z WANE, Patrick Emmanuel, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 February 1990 by members of the RASTAGANG, a vigilante group allegedly opposed to the ANC. Mr Zwane was on his way home from an ANC meeting at the time. Z WANE, Patrick Mandlakayise (28), was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 3 April 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Z WANE, Philane (10), was killed by a train guard while singing a freedom song in KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 December 1978. Z WANE, Philisiwe Elsie (28), had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by a named ANC supporter on 25 February 1990 in intense political conflict following the UNBANING of political organisations on 2 February. See also RICHMOND FARM ARSON AT TAC K S. Z WANE, Regina Jabulile (33), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 27 April 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Z WANE, Shadrack, an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225). Z WANE, Shongani Nonhlanhla

(17), was shot and

i

Reference 304 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

of MK, had control over residential centres and the Angolan camps, including 'Camp 32' or the Morris Seabelo Rehabilitation Centre (popularly known as 'Quatro'), Panga, Viana and the Nova Catengue camp. Following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979, there was an atmosphere of paranoia about

infiltration by South African agents. A number of ANC members were detained and tortured; some died as a result of assaults and some were executed. Dissatisfaction in MK training camps in Angola led to mutinies at the Viana and Pango camps during 1984. Both mutinies were put down with loss of lives on both sides. Many MK members were detained in connection with the uprisings, and some were tortured. Two groups of mutineers were tried by military tribunals and seven were executed. ANC landmine campaign : The ANC's landmine campaign from 1985 to 1987 targeted military patrols in the mainly northern and eastern areas of the Transvaal. A number of civilians – white farmers, their families, and black farm labourers – were killed when these explosives were detonated. The campaign was called off in the light of its high civilian casualty rate. APLA: Azanian People's Liberation army, military wing of the PAC, formed in 1967 APLA attacks : During the early 1990s, the PAC proclaimed a military strategy of a 'protracted people's war', which involved the infiltration of APLA guerrillas into the country to conduct rural guerrilla warfare. The initial targets of such attacks were members of the security forces and white farmers who were perceived to be the frontline of defence for the former apartheid government. A 'repossession unit' was also set up, in which APLA cells conducted armed robberies on the instructions of the APLA High Command to raise funds and/or obtain weapons and vehicles to enable APLA to carry out its military strategy. Civilians were killed or injured in many of these robberies. In 1993, attacks on civilians increased sharply with a series of high-profile attacks by APLA cadres on public places, including restaurants, hotels and bars, in urban areas. These were usually, but not always, places frequented by white civilians. The PAC/APLA claimed that the attacks were not racist in character, but directed against the apartheid government as all whites, according to the PAC, were complicit in the policy of apartheid. The 1993 attack on the St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, produced the highest number of casualties, with 11 people dead and 58 injured. April 1994 elections : South Africa's first democratic elections began on 27 April 1994 and continued for three days. In some areas of Natal, polling was extended into a fourth day. The elections brought to a conclusion a four-year process of constitutional negotiations and brought about a dramatic reduction in political conflict and violence around the country. The ANC won 62,6% of the vote, and a Government of National Unity was constituted. The elections were followed by the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President on 10 May 1994.

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Green' factions , Bhambayi: During 1993, competition for resources and political dominance in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, led to intense political conflict between the ANC-aligned 'Red' faction and the increasingly IFP-aligned 'Green' faction. The latter was alleged to have the support of members of the ISU. Monitors estimated that as many as 200 Bhambayi residents died violently between May and July 1993. When an IFP branch was launched in the area in August 1993, nine people were killed and 11 injured, and 18 houses were burnt down. About 22 deaths and 19 injuries in 14 incidents were recorded in September 1993. The death toll for the year was more than 300, and hundreds of homes were burnt down. Richmond attacks : At least 16 people from ANC supporting families were killed at Ndleni, Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991 when IFP supporters, allegedly transported by the police, carried out attacks on ANC supporters in the Ndleni, Magoda, Esimozomeni and Townlands townships of Richmond. Two IFP supporters were granted amnesty for their role in the attacks. Richmond Farm arson attacks : A series of arson attacks that took place between 11 and 15 February 1990 at Richmond Farm, KwaMashu, Durban, in violent political conflict between UDF supporters and AMASINYORA vigilantes. The Amasinyora launched attacks on two areas in KwaMashu, destroying about 30 homes on the first day, most of them belonging to ANC supporters. ANC supporters retaliated by attacking Siyanda and Richmond Farm. The conflict erupted shortly after the release from

prison of Nelson Mandela, and retaliatory attacks between the two groups continued for about six days, setting fire to between 200 and 300 homes. More than ten people were killed, including a member of the KZP. Thousands of residents were forced to flee the area. right-wing attacks : Prior to February 1990, violations committed by members of right-wing organisations took the form of isolated attacks with a strong racist character. During the early 1990s, members of right-wing organisations, perceiving themselves to be placed under siege by the process of constitutional negotiations for a democratic dispensation, carried out a large number of attacks aimed at securing the political interests of conservative Afrikaners. Isolated racist attacks on individuals were replaced by mass demonstrations and orchestrated bombing and sabotage campaigns. Between April 1993 and May 1994, right-wing groups engaged in a range of activities to disrupt the negotiations process then underway, and later to destabilise the electoral process. Many of these acts were directed against persons perceived to be supporters and leaders of the ANC, the SACP, the UDF, the PAC and the National Party, and resulted in gross violations of human rights. Violations of a purely racial character were also carried out against black people.

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on policemen and for other

incidents in the area. 'Uppington 26' : Twenty-six people were charged with participation in the crowd killing of Municipal Policeman Lucas 'Jetta' Sethwala in Paballelo, Uppington, on 13 November 1985. Of the 25 convicted of murder on the basis of common purpose, 14 were sentenced to death. The twenty-sixth person was convicted of attempted murder. The death sentences were later overturned on appeal and most were given prison terms instead. Those serving prison terms were later released as political prisoners. U W U S A: an Inkatha-dominated trade union Vaal uprising : a popular revolt in townships around the Vaal Triangle, Tvl, sparked by a rent increase in September 1984. Homes of policemen and councillors were burnt down and residents protested against the increase in public demonstrations and boycotts. Clashes between residents and police led to the deaths of 14 people and the injury of at least eight policemen. In response, the government launched a joint army and police operation, 'Operation Palmiet' to suppress internal unrest in the area. Over the next four months, approximately 142 people died in street battles. Vark Squad : an anti-UDF gang, supported by the Bophuthatswana government, which conducted attacks on activists in the Oukasie community, Bophuthatswana. Verulam attack : On 12 January 1990, UDF supporters attacked mourners at the funeral vigil for the slain son of the local Inkatha chairman in Cottonlands, Verulam, Durban. Thirteen people, including nine children, were killed in the attack. This was the second UDF attack that month on Inkatha supporters. In an earlier attack, three people were killed, including the son of the local Inkatha chairman. Victoria Mxenge memorial service attack : A memorial service for slain UDF leader Victoria Mxenge was held in the Umlazi cinema on 8 August 1985. Seventeen people were killed and 20 injured when members of the AMABUTHO, an Inkatha-based 'community guard force', launched an attack on the mourners. Vlakplaas: a farm near Pretoria used as a base for police hit squads volkstaat: (Afrikaans; 'nation state') a 'state' or area set aside for Afrikaners to pursue their quest for selfdetermination

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Name: References to Farmer in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 89 references coded [0.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

fall within the Commission's mandate.

128 Cases which were interpreted as falling inside the Commission's mandate included instances where racism was used to mobilise people through a political organisation as part of their commitment to a political struggle, or where racism was used by a political organisation to incite others to violence. Examples of these were instances when white 'settlers' or farmers were killed by supporters of the PAC or the ANC, or where black people were killed by supporters of white right-wing organisations.

Criminality

129 These included cases

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Concepts and Principles

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example, that: the practice of torture by state security forces was not systematic and widespread; that only a few 'rotten eggs' or 'bad apples' committed gross violations of human rights; that the state was not directly and indirectly involved in 'black-on-black violence'; that the chemical and biological warfare programme was only of a defensive nature; that slogans by sections of the liberation movement did not contribute to killings of 'settlers' or farmers; and that the accounts of gross human rights violations in the African National Congress (ANC) camps were the consequence of state disinformation. Thus, disinformation about the past that had been accepted as truth by some members of society lost much of its credibility.

Personal and narrative truth

35

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

following event hearings took place:

a The 1976 Soweto student uprising. b The 1986 Alexandra six-day war that followed attacks on councillors. c The KwaNdebele/Moutse homeland incorporation conflict. d The killing of farmers in the former Transvaal.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 6 Methodology

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

specific incidents. These latter included:

a The 1976 Soweto student uprising. b The 1986 Alexandra six-day war that followed attacks on councillors. c The KwaNdebele/Moutse homeland incorporation conflict. d The killing of farmers in the former Transvaal. e The 1985 Trojan Horse ambush by the security forces in the Western Cape.

f The 1986 killing of

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

or are self- or unemployed.

11 The West Coast is dominated by agriculture, which focuses mainly on the production of wheat, wine and citrus fruit. While white farmers have flourished, African and coloured seasonal farm workers are locked into impoverished dependence, earning an average of forty-seven rand a week. Coastal towns like Saldanha Bay and Lamberts Bay are dominated by the fishing industry and provide 80 per cent of South Africa's fishing catch. Large national companies have decimated independent fishing communities through the quota system, resulting in wide-scale poverty in the area. The unionisation of the fishing industry in turn led to an intensification of industrial and political conflict.

12 The Karoo is predominantly

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

of her son in Angola.

o Messina, Louis Trichardt and Tzaneen (8-10 April 1997). Situated in the far north of the country, many farmers in these districts had been the victims of landmines laid by the liberation movements. However, although the

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 12 Johannesburg

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

infiltration resulted in civilian deaths.

145 The second type of military operation was the 'landmine campaign' of 1985-86 in the northern and eastern Transvaal. The thinking behind this campaign was that these areas were defined by the South African security forces as being part of a 'military zone', and the white farmers were conscripted into a commando. The ANC halted this campaign when it became clear that most victims of such explosions were civilians, including black farm labourers and the wives and children of farmers.

146 The third type of

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

the security police in Zeerust.

c Sympathisers amongst the residents of neighbouring states who were prepared to share information with and otherwise assist South African security. This applied, for example, to some white expatriates. A number of amnesty applicants from the South African security police have talked of help in the form of free accommodation at hotels and free meals at restaurants. They have told, too, of farmers whose properties abutted South African territory and who allowed security operatives through their fences. In an amnesty hearing, an eastern Cape security policeman, Colonel Barend du Plessis [AM4384/96] testified how their work in relation to Lesotho was facilitated by an informer network in the Maseru office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Further, there were police members in the BLS states who worked with South African security operatives for payment.

The extent of the above

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

deaths of some sixteen people.

340 On 11 September 1987, one person was shot and two escaped in an incident at Renaissance Farm in the Waterpoort District. The two who had escaped were shot by a named farmer on 12 September. The investigating officer was CJH Bressler. The victims were Mr Nicolaas Moio, Mr Stanley Mehlahe, and Mr Frans Mgoasheng.

341 On 3 August 1998

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

this and the Alldays incident.

342 On 23 September 1998, a further three people were killed by a farmer near Pondrift, Alldays. One person was arrested, and later became an askari. The victims were Mr Mzikayise Mgzangxeni, Mr Mkhathshane Johannes Shangaan and Mr Mark Mkoto; the investigating officer was Barend van der Merwe.

Stephen Bogacu

343 Mr Stephen

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

IN THESE INSTANCES.

Landmine campaign

38 From late 1985 to mid-1987, some MK units were tasked with laying anti-tank mines in the rural areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, targeting military patrols. A number of civilians – both white farmers, their families, and black farm labourers – were killed when these explosives were detonated. The ANC estimates that thirty landmine explosions took place in this period, resulting in some twenty-three deaths, including those of two MK members killed in the course of laying a mine.

39 According to a submission

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Mavundla [KZN/MR/425/PS].

THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THE ANC'S ARGUMENT THAT, BY THE MID-1980S, THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD ITSELF BLURRED THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN 'MILITARY' AND 'SOFT' TARGETS BY DECLARING BORDERS AS AREAS WHERE FARMERS WERE TRAINED AND EQUIPPED TO OPERATE AS AN EXTENSION OF MILITARY STRUCTURES.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 4 The

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

comrades preferred to be at.

209 The Commission received amnesty applications from Mr Barowsky Phumelele Masilela [AM3146/96] for an armed robbery in Springs in 1988 in which one person was injured; from Mr Lucky Clement Luthuli [AM3435/96] for the killing and robbing of Mr Lucas Botha in April 1987 in Durban with the intention of

obtaining firearms and money and from Mr Lefu John Molati [AM2092/96] for an attack in February 1989 in which Mr Johannes Hermanus Boonzaaier was shot and killed, his wife Ms Mercia Maureen Boonzaaier assaulted and the couple robbed of their bakkie. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TARGETING OF CIVILIANS FOR KILLING WAS NOT ONLY A GROSS VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THOSE AFFECTED BUT A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW. THE COMMISSION NOTES BUT REJECTS THE PAC'S EXPLANATION THAT ITS KILLING OF WHITE FARMERS CONSTITUTED ACTS OF WAR FOR WHICH IT HAS NO REGRETS AND APOLOGIES. TO THE CONTRARY, THE COMMISSION FINDS PAC ACTION DIRECTED TOWARDS BOTH CIVILIANS AND WHITES TO HAVE BEEN A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE PAC AND APLA LEADERSHIP ARE HELD TO BE MORALLY AND POLITICALLY RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE.

Violations committed by the PAC

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

marks from a cutting torch.

8 It was found that members of the Nylstroom, Pietersburg, Messina, Louis Trichardt and Tzaneen security police in the Transvaal joined with local farmers to form a group that 'specialised' in capturing, torturing and then killing ANC members who infiltrated the country.

■ EXHUMATION PROCESS

9 Methods of

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Alexandra townships in March 1991.

14 This was also APLA's most active period. A wave of military attacks was visited on largely civilian targets, primarily in the western and eastern Cape, as well as attacks on farmers in the Orange Free State.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 7 Political

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

some business and church groupings.

278 General Groenewald convinced the CP's Dries Bruwer and the AWB to join the AVF. More militant groups like the BWB and the BRL also later became de facto members of the AVF. Simultaneously, the former Boere Krisis Aksie was reactivated through the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) for the establishment of a 'volksleër' (people's army), consisting mostly of farmers. Its numbers were thought to be around 10 000, of whom 3 000 could be mobilised at short notice. The volksleër allegedly later became the military arm of the AVF. It was for some time under the command of Colonel Jan Breytenbach, formerly from Special Forces and commander of 32 Battalion.

279 The various groupings developed

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

as required by the Act.

323 During June 1992, Mr Fox Buys [KZN/BEN/08/FS] was brutally stoned to death by an AWB farmer near Bloemfontein for allegedly assaulting an employee of the farmer.

324 In 1992, two friends

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

violations attributed to the organisation.

462 The targets of APLA attacks were twofold: Firstly, a series of attacks on white farmers took place, in which weapons were often seized. Secondly, there was a relatively small number of armed attacks on public places in urban areas, usually but not always frequented by white civilians.

463 APLA attacks increased during

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

and sentenced for the offence."

Attacks on white farmers (rural 'soft targets')

494 Part of the strategy behind the PAC's 'Year of the Great Storm' of 1993 was to drive white farmers off the land so that it could be reclaimed by the African people. A number of attacks were carried out on farms in this period, claiming the lives of many civilians died; weapons and vehicles were stolen. Attacks centred on the Orange Free State, the Eastern Cape and in areas bordering on the Transkei.

495 The Commission heard at

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Transition 1990-94 PAGE 691

WHILE THE PAC PROCLAIMED A MILITARY STRATEGY OF A PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR WHICH INVOLVED THE INFILTRATION OF GUERRILLAS INTO THE COUNTRY TO CONDUCT RURAL GUERRILLA WARFARE AND ATTACKS IN THE TOWNSHIPS, THE PRIMARY TARGET OF ITS OPERATIONS WERE CIVILIANS. THIS WAS ESPECIALLY SO AFTER 1990 WHEN, IN TERMS OF THE 'YEAR OF THE GREAT STORM' CAMPAIGN, THE PAC/APLA TARGETED WHITES AT RANDOM AND WHITE FARMERS IN PARTICULAR.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TARGETING OF CIVILIANS FOR KILLING WAS NOT ONLY A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THOSE AFFECTED BUT A VIOLATION OF INTERNAL HUMANITARIAN LAW. THE COMMISSION NOTES BUT REJECTS THE PAC'S EXPLANATION THAT ITS KILLING OF WHITE FARMERS CONSTITUTED ACTS OF WAR FOR WHICH IT HAS NO REGRETS AND APOLOGIES. TO THE CONTRARY, THE COMMISSION FINDS PAC ACTION DIRECTED TOWARDS BOTH CIVILIANS AND WHITES TO HAVE BEEN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE PAC AND APLA LEADERSHIP ARE HELD TO BE MORALLY AND POLITICALLY RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE.

■ THE 'THIRD FORCE'

497 This

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Appendix: National Chronology PAGE 31

APLA attacks the King William's Town golf club in the Eastern Cape in October, killing four and injuring seventeen. The first major attack by APLA, it is followed by other attacks resulting in at least ten deaths in Eastern Cape bars, restaurants and churches. A Goldstone Commission raid in November uncovers a campaign waged by the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) to discredit the ANC. General Pierre Steyn is appointed to investigate Military Intelligence structures and functions. Project Echo and Operation Thunderstorm, two extensive SADF projects aimed at undermining the ANC, are exposed. The Internal Stability Unit is created by the SAP to relieve ordinary police of riot duties. The KwaZulu legislative assembly adopts a constitution for a future state of KwaZulu-Natal as an autonomous state within a federation. APLA continues armed attacks, including the killing of white farmers.

1993

An APLA commander declares

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Eastern Cape PAGE 46

I together with my brother Qawukeni Sigwinta was taken by helicopter to somewhere in the Northern Transvaal which I think was Bethal. We were taken to farms where we were distributed to various farmers where I was subjected to hard labour and corporal punishment. That was the last I saw of my brother until I heard of his death in 1976 because we were not on the same farm ...

We were planting and harvesting

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

4am until about after 7pm.

I escaped in January 1974 and had to find my way, avoiding contact with police and farmers. I came back home in 1977.

60 Those who were jailed

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

and a councillor were firebombed.

204 In late May, five more youths were shot dead by security forces — including farmers who appear to have been part of the local SADF commando at the time. A witness later told an inquest they were shot while attempting to attack a councillor's house. A councillor told the Commission he had fired shots when a group tried to petrolbomb his home; he later heard a youth had died. Those killed were Mr Vuyo Gladman Kato Ndleleni [EC0085/96TSI], Mr Sipho Edward Boy Siziba [EC0086/96TSI], Mr

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 2 Regional

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

attackers died (amnesty applications received).

405 All the amnesty applicants in these matters said they had acted on behalf of the APLA. Some of the attackers were linked to the 1993 attacks on the St James Church and Heidelberg Tavern in Cape Town and some were linked to various attacks on farmers and police in the Free State.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Natal and KwaZulu PAGE 293

further fuelled by a 'third force', said to include local right-wing farmers and certain members of the Richmond SAP. This 'third force' not only fuelled the conflict between the two parties but split the organisations internally, pitting former allies against each another.

347 The IFP-ANC conflict

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

OF THE REGION Historical background

1 In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, much of what is now the Free State was inhabited by Sotho-speaking people. The first white settlers began crossing the Orange River in the south around the turn of the eighteenth century. This movement increased after 1836, when many Boer farmers moved north with the Great Trek, in search of freedom from British rule in the Cape Colony. However, the territory was annexed by the British in 1848 and remained under British rule as the Orange River Sovereignty until 1854, when it became the Boer-dominated independent Orange Free State. The territory continued to be highly contested by the Basotho, leading to many skirmishes until part of the Sotho-held territory was finally annexed to the Orange Free State. In 1900, the Orange Free State was again annexed by Britain and became known as the Orange River Colony. Boer self-government was restored in 1907, and three years later the colony became the Orange Free State province of the Union of South Africa. It remained so after 1961 when the country became a republic. Since 1994, the province has become known simply as the Free State.

2 Throughout this report, the

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

clashes with the security forces.

27 Many deponents from the Orange Free State told the Commission that they had been victims of assault and attack, including social and economic deprivation, purely on the basis of race. The Commission was not always able to make a positive finding in respect of such cases, particularly when no clear-cut political motive was identifiable. There was a substantial number of reports and allegations of the frequent eruption of conflict between white farmers, white political organisations and the security forces on the one hand, and ordinary black farm workers and township residents on the other. This supports the impression that race relations in the province were particularly strained and social conditions deeply repressive in the province. It is against this background of racial tension, inequality and polarisation that the Commission has considered the submissions received from victims of violations in all spheres of social life in the province.

28 VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 4

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

assault, torture, shooting and arson.

78 For this period also, the Commission received reports of violations allegedly perpetrated by political organisations, including members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the UDF/ANC and members of the DNP. Reports were also received of violations perpetrated by white farmers acting in concert with members of the police force and of the civilian right wing.

79 The first reports of

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 371

adjustments to their perception of the 'enemy'. Despite this, the Commission heard evidence that members of the SAP continued to target liberation organisations. There is also evidence of extra-judicial executions having taken place with the knowledge and approval of senior police officers. Amnesty applicants told the Commission that most criminal events were regarded as political and that the more brutal and shocking events were likely to be seen as politically motivated. Members of the security forces, along with white farmers and members of civilian right-wing organisations, perceived themselves to be more than ever under siege by resistance and liberation organisations, particularly APLA. APLA, indeed, had publicly identified these groups as the enemy.

154 The PAC and its

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

four and thirteen years respectively.

165 De Ru told the Committee that he believed that his actions fell within the ambit of his police duties at the time. Although he did not know the political affiliations of his victims at the time of the killings, he heard later that they were members of APLA. He said he believed that, at the time, APLA was targeting aged persons and farmers in their 'One Settler, One Bullet' campaign. He believed the killings must have been politically motivated because, in his opinion, the age of the victims and the particular cruelty of the killings distinguished them from common criminal acts.

Public order policing

166 The

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

State

PAGE 379

APLA attacks

176 In 1989, the PAC and its military component, APLA, designated 1990 as the 'Year of the People's Offensive' and launched the so-called 'One Settler One Bullet' campaign. PAC leader and APLA Commander Sabelo Phama ordered the military exercise known as 'Operation Great Storm' to reclaim the land from white farmers and return it to the African people. Instructions were given to attack farmers and to appropriate items, such as firearms and clothes, which could be used to further the aims of the movement or to assist disadvantaged people. The operation was said to be a joint venture of PAC and a special APLA task force.

177 In some instances, APLA

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

OFFICE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES.

Civilian right wing, white farmers and the police

190 Among the identifiable right

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

strike at Vryheid [AM9974/96].

192 Right-wing attacks reported to the Commission included racial incidents, attacks by the AWB, by white farmers and by the police. The latter were sometimes alleged to be AWB members themselves, or colluding with AWB members and white farmers. The AWB announced that it would mobilise its ranks in retaliation for the 'One Settler, One Bullet' campaign. Random racial attacks were reported to the Commission in which, for example, ordinary members of the public were accosted on the street and assaulted. The Thaba'Nchu road, in particular, was alleged to be the scene of random attacks on blacks.

193 Mr Samuel Chobane Papala

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

194 The head of the Free State Agricultural Union, Mr Pieter Jakobus Gouws, told the Amnesty Committee that the farming community perceived themselves to be the targets of APLA and MK, which had intentions of driving them off their farms. He said that they felt under attack as the liberation forces wanted to destroy their economic power and political influence. This perception was derived from acts of aggression on farmers. Farmers had to live with the perceptions, rumours, and the utterances made by these organisations.

195 In response to this, the Union appealed to the farming community to protect themselves, to unite with the police and security forces, to form farm watches and to take on security matters themselves. Farmers became actively involved in policing and patrolling their areas in vehicles. The farm watches bound the police, security and defence forces and the farming community together in a direct working relationship. Many farmers enlisted as police reservists (described by Gouws as 'special constables') who dealt not only with security matters but with ordinary criminal matters such as the theft, for example, of copper wire or cattle.

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 4 Regional

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 387

196 An atmosphere of siege prevailed, characterised by what Gouws described as a "general psychosis of fear, distrust, aggressiveness". Gouws said that farmers and police found it difficult at the time to distinguish between acts of a criminal nature and acts of political intention. He believed that the level of brutality witnessed in the attacks set them apart from ordinary criminal activities. He noted that their aim was to instil fear and that the perpetrators were usually very well armed, planned their attacks well and went mainly for firearms.

197 Little villages like Vierfontein and possibly Kragbron were bought up by the farming community as safe settlements for elderly Afrikaners, often retired farmers. Security arrangements were tight, with residents and police taking special safety measures. Even these communities were targeted for attack. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INJURIES AND DEATHS CAUSED BY APLA MEMBERS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE PROVINCE BETWEEN 1990 AND APRIL 1994 WERE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DELIBERATE ACTIONS OF APLA MEMBERS ACTING WITHIN THE MANDATE OF THE PAC'S POLICIES. APLA AND THE PAC ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

198 It would appear from the evidence available that white farmers enjoyed close working relations with police officers and would often turn to the police for assistance in dealing with 'troublemakers'. In the Northern Free State area, poor whites would often aspire to be police officers because this was considered prestigious and was a means of improving their lot in life. Many security force members therefore came from local farming families. In smaller, more conservative communities, police were very much members of the community and more subject to pressure than in larger areas.

199 Police appear to have had free reign to deal with 'troublemakers' on farms. However, farmers also declared that unless the police dealt with the situation first, they would deal with the criminals themselves. Offenders would be punished, tortured and assaulted, sometimes fatally.

200 Reports were received of white farmers in the Orange Free State who assaulted farm workers severely when disputes arose on farms or when workers were thought to be involved with political organisations.

The case of Jonas Mathe

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 388

The victim was taken to hospital but is today confined to a wheelchair, paralysed and mentally disturbed as a result of the incident. His parents said that they did not take any action against the police or the farmer for fear that they would be expelled from the farm [KZN/LMR/001/FS].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT VIOLATIONS

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

of several deaths per week.

121 Mr Ebrahim Carelse (31), father of three, was shot in the head and neck in Salt River in the wake of the Pollsmoor march fracas and died a week later on 10 September. At his funeral in Salt River on 11 September, plain-clothes police constable JJ Farmer (23) was recognised as a policeman and was stabbed to death by the crowd. While under attack he fired a shot, seriously injuring a mourner.

122 October 1985 was an

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

burnt with petrol and tyres.

166 That evening, police and farmer reservists swept through Lukhanyisweni, beating and arresting residents. Several people were charged with murder, including Mr Nelson Sinxoshe [CT01518], who had found his sister Sophie Butele dying outside the Tshemese house and was allegedly involved in the axe attack. Nelson Sinxoshe has stated that he was severely tortured while in police custody. Along with several others, he was sentenced to thirty-five years in prison. No one was charged for the death of Sophie Butele.

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Western Cape PAGE 478

296 On 26 May, local police with support from surrounding towns and local farmers as reservists launched a mass raid on the township and detained seventy-three youths, the majority between the ages of twelve and seventeen. During the arson trial of the eleven youths the former vice-chairperson of the community council, Mr Enoch Manong, testified in court, that he had been abused and threatened with death by the accused. This was the background to the second attack on the Manong home. Daniel Manong described the death of his mother:

She came back the 4

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

The Killing of Amy Biehl

422 In August 1993, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) was engaged in a joint campaign of street protest with COSAS. Student actions involved the widespread stoning of vehicles. ANC condemnation of the campaign was ignored. There were also, at that time, calls for an end to the use of the slogans, 'One settler, One bullet' and 'Kill the farmer, Kill the boer' associated with the PAC and ANC respectively.

423 On 25 August 1993

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

attacks on small police stations.

205 The Commission received a number of statements from residents of Venda who were detained and tortured after helping insurgents to re-enter the country in 1980 and 1983. Local residents, particularly black subsistence farmers who owned orchards, played a crucial role in facilitating the work of insurgents by allowing them to hide arms caches on their land and providing essential resources such as food. By these means, political activists would also pass on essential intelligence information to insurgents, such as details affecting their movement into the country – for example, details about the movements of Venda and South African security forces and the levels of the Limpopo River.

206 Residents who assisted insurgents

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

suspected of assisting the insurgents.

209 In November 1983, the Venda police arrested and detained Mr Mufhungo Alfred Denga, Mr Samuel Radamba, Mr Tshikhudo Tshivase Samuel Mugivhela, Mr Robert Ratshitanga, Mr Peter Mudzielwana and Mr Wilson Sinyebwe, some of whom were subsistence farmers. Some of them were part of the underground operational network, with whom political activists negotiated clandestinely for assistance in transporting and harbouring guerrillas. Political activists also bought these farmers' products to sell to farmers in the former Rhodesia and Botswana, creating a cover for communication with the liberation movement, informing them about political developments inside the country and bringing in banned literature. The

detainees were accused of assisting ANC 'terrorists'. Some were charged under section 3 of the Terrorism Act and others under the Internal Security Act of 1982. Some were found guilty of treason.

The case of Mufhungo Alfred

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

ANC's armed actions were black.

502 From late 1985 to mid-1987, certain MK units were tasked with the laying of antitank landmines in the rural areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, the aim being to target military patrols. A number of civilians – farmers, farm labourers and members of their families – were killed in approximately thirty landmine explosions. According to the ANC, twenty-three people died, two of whom were MK members laying a mine. However, other sources give a death toll of thirty-seven: twentyfive civilians, nine MK members and three security force members. Some of the victims of these landmine explosions have testified to the Commission. Most of the casualties appeared to have been women and small children.

503 On 16 December 1985

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

government had 'unjustly given away'.

770 In the period after 2 February 1990, right-wing violence took on a much more organised and orchestrated form. Isolated racist attacks on individuals were quickly eclipsed by mass right-wing confrontations. Two thousand AWB and Boerestaat Party members marched to protest the unbanning of the ANC. In Klerksdorp, 5 000 AWB supporters marched in support of police action. Farmers blockaded the city of Pretoria in 1991. An NP meeting in Ventersdorp was violently disrupted in 1991 leading to the death of three people and the injury of more than fifty others. The World Trade Centre where negotiations were taking place was occupied by members of the right-wing in 1993. Members of the AWB invaded Bophuthatswana in support of the homeland administration in 1994, and launched a pre-election election bombing campaign immediately before the 1994 elections.

771 According to the HRC

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

Business and Labour PAGE 28

South Africans were prohibited from owning land in most areas of the country. Although it is certainly true that white farmers represented a spectrum of political views, it seems safe to conclude that this legislative prohibition retained the strong support of the majority of farmers throughout the apartheid years.

44 This means that, at the very least, representatives of commercial agriculture need to acknowledge (not least to themselves) the extent to which white farmers and their families have benefited (irrespective of their political views) from their privileged access to the land, which excluded virtually all other potential farmers.

45 Along with control of the land, white farmers also benefited from control over the movement of people by means of pass laws, which placed enormous power in the hands of farmers with respect to living and working conditions, wages and the lives of black workers and their families living on the farms.

46 Similarly, it is evident that the state's policy of forcibly resettling into the impoverished homelands hundreds of thousands of black South Africans no longer needed on the increasingly mechanised, commercial farms was done, if not at the explicit request of the agricultural sector, certainly with its implicit

support. Indeed, the nature of the precise link between commercial agriculture, the apartheid state and the infamous policies of resettlement as they were experienced by millions of South Africans during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s is one that requires recognition and acknowledgement.⁵ Likewise, many farmers took advantage of the farm prison system, which provided them with free labour and resulted in many human rights abuses.⁶

47 Another critical area requiring deeper reflection by white farmers relates to the extent to which they failed – either by simple omission or through active hostility – to ensure better education for the children (other than their own) living on their farms. Education of farm children has long lagged notoriously behind even that education that was available for African and coloured children, either in the former ‘homelands’ or in the towns. This failure to educate children in a modern economy is itself a human rights abuse, for which the commercial farming sector must take at least some of the responsibility.

5 See Platsky, L. & Walker

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

combat Jewish racism.”¹

Hinduism

24 Seventy percent of the one million South African Indians are Hindu. The first Indians came to South Africa in 1860 to work as indentured labour, mainly on sugar plantations in Natal. After the term of their indenture ended, many stayed on as farmers - despite government attempts to repatriate them in the 1920s. The so-called ‘free’ or ‘passenger Indians’ arrived towards the end of the nineteenth century and set up trade and merchant businesses. Indians in South Africa are a very diverse group. They include four major language groups with distinctive (though sometimes overlapping) worship practices, religious rites, customs and dress.

25 From the turn of

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

on the judiciary.

Farm prisons⁵

16 Another gap was the notorious farm prisons system about which nobody came forward to give evidence. The farm prisons system ensured that farmers were supplied with a cheap supply of labour. African people who failed to produce their passes were, in theory, offered the option of ‘volunteering’ as farm labour in exchange for having charges dropped against them. Arrests for failure to produce a pass became a rich source of labour for the farms. The General Circular 23 of 1954, issued by the Department of Native Affairs stated:

It is common knowledge that

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

purposes of interrogation and torture.

69 The Department of Prisons created the ‘farm prison’ system as a basis for providing cheap labour for white farmers. Africans arrested for pass law offences were frequently used to provide this form of labour. Although the Commission was not presented with evidence of this, it has been recorded elsewhere that the system resulted in numerous instances of gross human rights violations, some of which resulted in death.

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

LOSS OF LIVES OF CIVILIANS.

WHILE THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THE ANC'S SUBMISSION THAT THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD ITSELF BY THE MID-1980S BLURRED THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MILITARY AND 'SOFT' TARGETS BY DECLARING BORDER AREAS 'MILITARY ZONES' WHERE FARMERS WERE TRAINED AND EQUIPPED TO OPERATE AS AN EXTENSION OF MILITARY STRUCTURES, IT FINDS THAT THE ANC'S LANDMINE CAMPAIGN IN THE PERIOD 1985-87 IN THE RURAL AREAS OF THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN TRANSVAAL CANNOT BE CONDONED, IN THAT IT RESULTED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF CIVILIANS, INCLUDING FARM LABOURERS AND CHILDREN, WHO WERE KILLED OR INJURED. THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

INDIVIDUALS WHO DEFECTED TO THE

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Findings and Conclusions PAGE 244

and attacks in the townships, in actuality the primary target of its operations were civilians. This was especially so after 1990 when, in terms of its 'Year of the Great Storm' campaign, the PAC/APLA targeted whites at random, and white farmers in particular. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TARGETING OF CIVILIANS FOR KILLING WAS NOT ONLY A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THOSE AFFECTED BUT A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW. THE COMMISSION NOTES BUT REJECTS THE PAC'S EXPLANATION THAT ITS KILLING OF WHITE FARMERS CONSTITUTED ACTS OF WAR FOR WHICH IT HAS NO REGRETS AND APOLOGIES. TO THE CONTRARY, THE COMMISSION FINDS PAC ACTION DIRECTED TOWARDS BOTH CIVILIANS AND WHITES TO HAVE BEEN A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE PAC AND APLA LEADERSHIP ARE HELD TO BE MORALLY AND POLITICALLY RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE.

Gross violations of human rights

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

while not irrelevant, are secondary.

62 None of this means, however, that there were no atrocities beforehand. Historical circumstances build over a long period and, in South Africa, conflict goes back to the initial appearance of invader-settlers. Nor does it mean that atrocities decline entirely following a change in political dispensation. There have, indeed, been isolated incidents of violence from far-right-wing groups and ominous recent attacks against farmers. Violence continues in KwaZulu-Natal and, of course, criminal violence and violence against women have not abated.

63 Yet the pattern is

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

dignity is restored and protected.

108 In concluding this section, it is important to highlight, once again, the historical and moral basis for the above-mentioned demands for widespread reparations beyond the limited group of victims on which the Commission was required to focus. At the business sector hearing in Johannesburg on 11 November 1997, Professor of Economics, Sampie Terreblanche, listed the following seven reasons why "political supremacy and racial capitalism impoverished Africans and enriched whites undeservedly": Firstly, the Africans were deprived of a large part of land on which they conducted successful traditional farming for centuries. White farmers on the other hand had the privilege of property rights and access to very cheap and docile African labour, my father included.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 2 8 2

units made up of farmers in the militarised border zones near Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The landmines were placed mainly in the border areas by operatives sent in via these countries.

73. The campaign was halted

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

and Bonakele Bhayi [AM2770/96].

120. In their applications, they sketched the turbulent political history of the township since 1985, including serious clashes with security forces. They testified that local farmers served as police reservists and had played a role in other forms of political repression. As a consequence, groups of up to forty youths, including the applicants, had embarked on raids and robberies on white farmers. In most instances, the motive was to acquire weapons and ammunition. In some of the attacks, farmers or farm workers were shot and injured. Amnesty was granted for four of the attacks and refused for one.

121. In a similar case

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO).

2. PAC/ APLA members applied for amnesty for a range of offences. These included violations arising from attacks on the security forces, attacks on white farmers and civilians and armed robberies and sabotage operations. Individuals generally applied for amnesty for several acts. These included the execution of the operation; the possession of arms, ammunition and/or explosives; casualties and injuries arising out of the operation, and violations committed while retreating from the operation (for example during a shoot-out with the police).

3.

In all, 138 individual

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

and i Other matters.

9.

It should be noted, however, that these are not discrete categories. In some instances, for example, APLA attacks on security forces were motivated by the intention to strip the victims of their firearms and could therefore also be described as armed robberies. Many attacks on farmers and farms were also intended as armed robberies.

200 Trans

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

es Attacks on civilians

Attacks on farmers Sabotage

Arms possession

60 % 5

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

February 1992.211

204. The Committee heard testimony that, during 1991, the PAC and APLA launched their 'Operation Great Storm', in terms of which APLA operatives were instructed to attack and to instil fear in farmers. The applicants testified that the purpose was to drive the white farming community from their farms in order 'to get the land back'. During November 1991, APLA Commander Jan Shoba (now

211 Volume Three

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

GE418

deceased) instructed the applicants to carry out attacks on farmers in the vicinity of Botshabelo, Tweespruit and Verkeerdvlei. He supplied them with a .38 special revolver for this purpose.

205. The farm of Mr

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

off in the deceased's car.

207. The Amnesty Committee received a submission from Mrs Margot Penstone, who stated that the deceased was not involved in party politics and was a progressive farmer who had assisted his farm workers to improve their stock, housed them in brick houses with running hot and cold water, built a school for their children on the farm and provided them with a soccer field. She added that she believed the murder to have been a purely criminal act. In this, she was supported by Mrs May, who stated in an affidavit that the applicants had repeatedly asked her where the money was kept and said that they were only interested in valuable articles. Mrs May and Mrs Penstone did not give evidence before the Committee, so the applicants' counsel did not have the opportunity to cross-examine them on these claims.

208. The applicants testified that

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

the attack outweighed the personal.

210. The Amnesty Committee further accepted that, in both their submissions and oral evidence to the Commission, the PAC and APLA had stated that 'Operation Great Storm' involved the killing of farmers and the stealing of weapons. It also noted that, while the PAC had stated that it was opposed to armed robbery, it had also referred to 'repossession' and to the existence of 'repossession units'. The Committee felt that it was by no means clear about the distinction between 'robbery' and 'repossession', save that in the case of repossession the proceeds would be handed over to the Commander to be used to further APLA's goals.

No distinction was drawn between

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

GE421

217. The applicants called Mr Lerato Abel Kotle, the regional commander of APLA in Bloemfontein, to give evidence about 'Operation Great Storm'. Kotle explained that 'Operation Storm' was intended as a means of intensifying the armed struggle and was decided upon by APLA's military commission, which included the political leadership of the PAC and the military leadership of APLA. He described the attacks on farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PAC believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that farmers were beneficiaries of the land taken away from the Africans.

218. The Amnesty Committee accepted

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

travelling in a passing taxi.

229. Mr Dolo also gave evidence of his involvement in a further attack in which he and two others threw a hand grenade and opened fire on a farmstead in the Danside area on 19 December 1992. One person, Mrs Leone Pretorius, died in the attack. Once again, the farm was attacked because it was believed that white farmers belonged to the commando structures. APLA cadres wanted to drive them out of the area in order to create a wider operational platform for themselves. Dolo was granted amnesty for this incident [AC/1999/0182].

VOLUME

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

the ground.

301. Applicant Phila Martin Dolo [AM 3485/96] told the Committee that the 'bastions and minions of the ... erstwhile regime' were, from the APLA perspective, members of the SADF, members of the SAP, reservists, and farmers, as they belonged to commando structures and occupied farms and white homes described as 'garrisons of apartheid'.

302. The aim of attacking white farmers, Dolo testified, was to drive them away in order 'to widen our territorial operational base which was aimed at eventually consolidating the liberated and repossessed land'.

My general instruction was to

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

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organisations, white civilians or white farmers. Yet many expressed remorse for the consequences of their actions, and the desire to be reconciled with the surviving victims of attacks or the families of deceased victims.

CONCLUSION

311. The Commission gave

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

1991 as one of the

most radical and potentially most violent groupings. Led by Mr Andrew Ford, a farmer from the Rustenburg area, the BWB was strongly influenced by the ideas of Mr Robert van To n d e r ' s Boerestaart Party^{2 2 7}

Its organisation was based on

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

farm in the Hobhouse district.

119. The applicants testified that they had committed the offence as an organised group of AWB members pursuant to a decision that was made by the AWB at regional level. The motivation behind the theft was to arm farmers on the eastern border of the then Orange Free State in order to enable them to protect themselves from attacks by members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) who were operating from Lesotho. They testified that this was necessary as the government of the day was unable to maintain law and order in that region. None of the applicants derived any personal gain from the theft of the weapons and equipment.

120. The Committee was satisfied

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30. With respect to the actions of MK during the armed struggle, the Commission found that: Whilst it was ANC policy that the loss of civilian life should be avoided, there were instances where members of MK perpetrated gross violations of human rights in that the distinction between military and civilian targets was blurred in certain armed actions, such as the 1983 Church street bombing of the SAAF headquarters, resulting in gross violations of human rights through civilian injury and loss of life. In the course of the armed struggle there were instances where members of MK conducted unplanned military operations using their own discretion, and, without adequate control and supervision at an operational level, determined targets for attack outside of official policy guidelines. While recognising that such operations were frequently undertaken in retaliation for raids by the former South African Government into neighbouring countries, such unplanned operations nonetheless often resulted in loss of life, amounting to gross violations of human rights. The 1985 Amanzimtoti shopping centre bombing is regarded by the Commission in this light. In the course of the armed struggle the ANC through MK planned and undertook military operations which, though intended for military or security force targets sometimes went awry for a variety

of reasons, including poor intelligence and reconnaissance. The consequences in these cases, such as the Magoo Bar incident and the Durban esplanade bombings were gross violations of human rights in respect of the injuries to and loss of lives of civilians. While the Commission acknowledges the ANC's submission that the former South African government had itself by the mid-1980's blurred the distinction between military and 'soft' targets by declaring border areas 'military zones' where farmers were trained and equipped to operate as an extension of military structures, it finds that the ANC's landmine campaigns in the period 1985 –1987 in the rural areas of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal cannot be condoned, in that it resulted in gross violations of the human rights of civilians including farm labourers and children, who were killed or injured. The ANC is held accountable for such gross human rights violations. Individuals who defected to the state and became informers and/or members who became state witnesses in political trials and/or became Askaris were often labelled by the ANC as collaborators and regarded as legitimate targets to be killed. The Commission does not condone the legitimisation of such individuals as military targets and finds that the extra-judicial killings of such individuals constituted gross violations of human rights.

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29. The Commission stated that:

[w]hile the PAC proclaimed a military strategy of a protracted people's war, which involved the infiltration of guerrillas into the country to conduct rural guerrilla warfare and attacks in the township, in actuality, the primary target of its operations were civilians. This was especially so after 1990 when, in terms of its 'Year of the Great Storm' campaign, the PAC/Apla targeted whites at random and white farmers in particular.

30. The Commission noted but rejected the PAC's explanation that the killing of white farmers constituted acts of war. To the contrary, the Commission found PAC actions against civilians and whites to have constituted gross violations of human rights for which the PAC and APLA leadership was held morally and politically responsible and accountable.

31. The Commission found that

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

be understood but not condoned.

Civilians and farmers as 'legitimate' targets

66. In its second submission

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

attacks on civilians must stand.

Farmers as 'legitimate' targets

78. The Commission made findings against the PAC and APLA for their indiscriminate attacks on farmers. The second submission made by the PAC is curious in this respect, suggesting that, in making this finding, the Commission is biased in favour of white people. The rest of the PAC's argument is fairly spurious.

79. The Commission received a

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

of these applications were granted.

80. APLA and PAC operatives testified that it was part of their strategy and policy in terms of 'Operation Great Storm' that farmers would be attacked in order to drive white farmers from their farms in order to get their land back.

V O L U M

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

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81. These operations involved the deliberate targeting of white farmers and are quite unlike the ANC's landmine operations in farming areas. Whilst it is true that farmers in many of the border areas were trained and issued with weapons so that they could take part in commandos patrolling the area, not all of the farmers so targeted were an extension of the apartheid system.

Specific amnesty applications dealing with attacks on white farmers

82. One of the incidents for which amnesty was applied involved an attack on Mr RJ Fourie on the farm 'Stormberg'. Mr Fourie was attacked from behind, ambush style, and killed. A witness made a submission to the amnesty committee to the effect that the deceased was not interested in politics and was known to be a pro gressive farmer in the area. He had assisted his workers to impro v e their stock, housed them in brick houses with running hot and cold water and built a school for their children on the farm, as well as a soccer club.

83. In another incident, the amnesty application involved the killing of Mr John B e rn a rd Smith, also a farmer. Mr Oliphant, one of the applicants, testified that it was the objective of the PAC to wage the struggle for the re t u rn of land to the African people, which was why he had become involved in that operation. Another applicant testified that it was part of PAC policy to intensify the armed struggle in order to strengthen the hands of the PAC in the negotiating process. He described the attacks on the farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PA C believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that they were beneficiaries of the land taken away fro m the Africans.

84. None of the reasons advanced in any of the amnesty applications can condone the fact that, in most of the attacks, the farmers targeted and killed were ord i n a r y civilians, in no way linked to diff e rent commando groups. They cannot there f o re be seen as an extension of the security forces. In terms of the Conventions, they do not, there f o re, constitute a legitimate target. Nor are they considered combatants.

85. The finding made in respect of findings of accountability for gross human rights violations committed against farmers by the PAC and APLA must there f o re stand. They were responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations. In most instances the nature of the attack was almost that of an ambush.

V O L U M

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

C I K WAYO, Babo Caiphas (42), an IFP support e r, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991. C I K WAYO, Mdu Mvalelwa (66), an IFP support e r, was burnt to death when he was thrown into a b u rning house by ANC supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 May 1991. CILIZA, Balungile Vi rginia (42), a UDF

supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988. CILIZA, Madiya Florence (63), an IFP supporter, fled her home when it was attacked by ANC supporters at KwaBotha, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1990. CILIZA, Maliyezwe (41), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by other IFP supporters on 11 November 1991 near Port Shepstone, Natal, because of his active role in trying to resolve the conflict between the IFP and ANC. CILIZA, Zithobile Livingstone, a municipal policeman, was robbed of his firearm and then shot dead by UDF/ANC supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 14 April 1990. Two UDF/ANC supporters applied for and were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0280). CILIZA, Zwelake Phinas (49), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 24 July 1992 in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban. Mr Ciliza had been involved in a cross-community sports project that brought ANC and IFP youth together but was allegedly frowned on in certain IFP quarters. CILIZA, Zwelibanzi Alpheus (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP-supporting farmers in Ixopo, Natal, on 19 September 1993. The perpetrators were allegedly carrying out a campaign against ANC supporters in the area. CINDI, Eleas Nala Stanley Sipho (30), a FAW Union member, was injured in a hand grenade attack on a bus he was travelling on by named members of the rival UWUSA union at Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Johannesburg, on 28 September 1992. One passenger died and many others were injured in this incident. CINDI, Johannes Sepule (25), was stabbed in his stomach by state-sponsored vigilantes in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 27 May 1986 during the government's attempt to declare the area a 'black spot'. CINDI, Thembinkosi Reuben (48), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down on 16 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBORSONATTA CKS. CINDI, Trevor Themba (1), suffered injuries when his family's house was attacked and burnt by a group of youths at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths targeted another person who was not present at the time of the attack. Four persons died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

GCANGA, Nosiphiwo, was severely beaten on 1 January 1990 during political conflict at Sterkspruit, Transkei. GCANGA, Solani (19), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP and Special Branch in Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985, after he was arrested during a day of widespread protest. GCAYIYA, Mpendalelwa, was detained at the Bizana police station, Transkei, in 1960, on suspicion of harbouring terrorists in his home. During his detention, Mr Gcayiya was assaulted. See PONDOLANDREVOLT. GCINA, Cikizwa Ivy (49), PEWO chairperson and ANC supporter, was severely tortured by beating and suffocation by named members of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth during the state of emergency in July 1985. She was again detained from June 1986 to June 1987. A former Security Police agent was refused amnesty for the petrol-bombing of her home during the 1980s (AC/2000/239). See POLICEBUTALITY. GCINA, Sibiya, was made to lie on the ground and was then killed 'execution style' with two others on 19 June 1992 in Umlazi, Durban, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. GCINISA, Richard (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the head with rubber bullets by members of the SAP during protests in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WALNORTHS HOTTING S. GCOLOTELA, Gcinikhaya Samson (19), was arrested during student protests in Worcester, Cape, in May 1980, and was beaten by police while in custody for two weeks. Later that month he was shot and seriously injured by a named private farmer who served in the SADF, while fleeing a clash between students and police in Zolani, Ashton, Cape. G C O T YANA, Sakhumzi 'Zintsi' (20), was arrested in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 16 June 1986, and detained for three months under emergency regulations. Mr Gcotyana had allegedly been assaulted the previous month at Da Gamas Kop police

station. See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. GCUMISA, Khetiwe Annatoria (49), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Wa rt b u rg, Natal, on 26 November 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. GCUMISA, Mandlakayise (61), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Wa rt b u rg, Natal, on 26 November 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. In the attack his home was also burnt down. GCUMISA, Zipathe, an ANC support e r, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pieterm a r i t z b u rg, on 29 October 1991. GCWENSA, Alzinah (47), an ANC support e r, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP support e r s in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area. GEBASHE, Vusi Emmanuel (29), a SAYCO member, was repeatedly detained under emergency re g u l a t i o n s in 1989 and incarcerated in the CR Swart Square and Brighton Beach police stations in Durban. During his detention he was severely beaten and tort u red by

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

to discuss social and political grievances was followed by police shootings and youth attacks on security f o r c e s and perceived collaborators. ISAAKS, David, a local Labour Party leader known for challenging discriminatory practices in the area, was shot dead by a named farmer in Upington, Cape, on 29 Febru a ry 1988. Mr Isaaks had intervened after the f a rmer had shot at some childre n . ISHAPIN, Gord o n, was injured in a hand gre n a d e explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand gre n a d e at the building which bounced back into the cro w d , killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and A C / 2 0 0 0 / 2 4 1) . ISSEL, James Victor (45), an ANC support e r, was held in custody for 11 months from 1 May 1979 in Wo rcester prison, Cape. He was arrested for alleged involvement in an arson attack in Wo rc e s t e r, but was acquitted. He was again detained in June 1980 and August 1985 for one month. ISSMAN, Irn g a rd Herna Maria, a passenger on a Translux bus, was injured when APLA operatives fire d at a Translux bus at the Gamka River Bridge, Beaufort West, Cape, on the 27 August 1993. Eight people w e re injured in the attack. See APLA AT TA C K S. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/167). ITUMELENG, Thapelo (18), was beaten to death in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in June 1990 following a split in the ANC- aligned KH U T S O N G Y O U T H C O N G R E S S (KYC). The KYC split into

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S i l v e r t o n, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives w e re granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257). L E FAKANE, Tshehla Simon (62), an ANC support e r, was stabbed in the eye by IFP supporters on a train between Jeppe and Benrose stations, Tvl, on 13 September 1990. See T R A I N V I O L E N C E. LEFHEIDI, Justinah (19), was raped and shot dead in her home by IFP supporters in Sharpeville, Ve re e n i g i n g , Tvl, on 19 April 1992. The perpetrators raped thre e women and then killed seven people. The house was attacked because the Lefheidi family were ANC s u p p o r t e r s. Ms Lefhiedi's brother was an MK operative and had recently been killed by members of the SAP. LEFHEIDI, Zacharia, was shot dead by IFP support e r s on 19 April 1992 in his home in Sharpeville, Ve re e n i g i n g , Tvl. The perpetrators raped three women before killing seven people. The home was attacked because the Lefheidi family were ANC supporters. Mr Lefhiedi's b rother was an MK operative who had recently been killed by members of the SAP. LEFHIEDE,

Khabi Elias (22), an MK operative, was shot and killed in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 27 February 1994 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. LEFHIEDI, Elias Rangoane (22), an MK operative, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 24 January 1992. Police were searching for arms and ammunition allegedly belonging to Mr Lefhiedi. Mr Lefhiedi was in a safe house with a fellow operative when they were killed. LEFHIEDI, Lekhooa Elias (47), was shot dead, by IFP supporters in his home in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992. The perpetrators raped two women before killing seven people. Mr Lefhiedi's home was targeted because his son was an MK operative. LEFHIEDI, Matshediso Johanna, was shot dead by IFP supporters in her home in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992. The perpetrators raped three women before killing a total of seven people. The home was attacked because the Lefhiedi family were ANC supporters. Ms Lefhiedi's brother was an MK operative and had recently been killed by members of the SAP. LEFHIEDI, Wesi (6), was shot dead by IFP supporters in his home in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992 along with other family members. The perpetrators raped three women before killing a total of seven people. The home was attacked because the Lefhiedi family were ANC supporters. Wesi's brother was an MK operative who had recently been killed by members of the SAP. LEFOKA, Tshivhidzo Frank (18), was beaten and severely burnt by a named perpetrator in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 8 December 1989, apparently in retaliation for a series of attacks on farmers in the area. LEGARE, Mkhokho Simon (51), an ANC supporter, was subjected to a number of house searches and beatings by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, in 1988. LEGETHO, Adeline Puleng (40), was beaten with knobbies by supporters of a local chief in her home in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in August 1976.

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

Nkowa Nkowa, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Five SADF members were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/98). LUDIDI, Abraham, was detained and interrogated at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, in June 1986 and held for several months under emergency regulations. LUDIDI, Goodman Dumisani, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATACKS. LUDUBE, Mnyamana, an ANC supporter, was detained on 1 September 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape. LUDZIYA Magangana (41), was shot and injured, allegedly by self-defence unit members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 3 October 1993 during political conflict in the area. LUFUNDO, Catherine Thokozani, was severely injured when members of the Orange Boerevolk opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCOBUSTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053). LUKAS Michael (20), an ANC member, was executed in Pretoria, on 25 March 1988 for his alleged involvement in the killing of a named bus inspector during unrest in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape. LUKAS, John Johannes (13), was shot and injured in George, Cape, on 21 March 1990. John was shot by a named farmer when he and other residents were returning from a march to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville Victims Act. LUKAS, Xolani, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 18 March 1985 in Port Elizabeth. The perpetrator accused the victim of throwing stones at a police Hippo. LUKE, Mzamo Nelson (26), was stripped naked, tied up and shot dead by Zulu-speaking inmates of Merafe Hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 April 1991 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. LUKHELE, Brian Siphosiphiso (26), was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in May 1987 in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. He had been accused of instigating a school strike. LUKHELE, Clarence, a member of

the Daveyton Youth Congress, was burnt to death at Springs, Tvl, on 12 December 1989. LUKHELE, David Mabaleke, a politician involved in the controversial proposed incorporation of KaNgwane into Swaziland, was shot dead by MK operatives at his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 6 June 1986. His sister was also killed and his wife was injured in the attack. Four MK operatives who belonged to an MK Elimination Unit were granted amnesty for the incident (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 2 5 7) . LUKHELE, Elizabeth Mosawaila, was shot and wounded at her home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 6 June 1986 by MK operatives belonging to an MK Elimination Unit. The attack was targeted at her husband who was involved in the controversial proposed incorpo-

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Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

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KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993. Ms Mamkeli lived in an ANC stro n g h o l d . MAMOGALE, Maralena January (44), was severe l y beaten with a sjambok by members of the SAP in B u r g e r s f o r t, Tvl, on 17 March 1986 at a meeting to discuss the water crisis in the are a . MAMOGALE, W i l l i a m , was arrested by members of the SAP in B u r g e r s f o r t, Tvl, on 17 March 1986 at a meeting to discuss the water crisis in the are a . MAMOROBELA, Lazarus (19), an ANC support e r, was arrested and severely beaten by named members of the Lebowa Police in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, on 17 October 1985 during a protest march. He was forc e d to walk to the police station with his hands in the air and was sjambokked there because he was re g a r d e d as an instigator of political activity. MAMOSADI, Sengange John , was shot dead by a member of the SADF in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in April 1986 during protest action against farmers in the a re a .

M A M PANE, (first

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Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes d e s t r o y e d in the attacks. MAXELA, Nontobeko Fancy (27), an ANCWL m e m b e r, was tear-gassed by members of the SAP in December 1986 while on his way to the funeral of an u n r e s t victim in Zwide, Port Elizabeth. MAXENGANA, Mbuyiseli (18), an ANC support e r, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 11 April 1985, in a confrontation between community residents and the police. He had been sent to the shop but did not re t u r n, and his mother found his body in a pool of blood with a bullet wound in the head. M A X H E G WANA, Eric Sindile (37), was detained on 22 October 1987 by members of the Ciskei Police in East London. While in detention, he was severe l y beaten and tort u r e d by suff o c a t i o n . MAXITI, Lumkile (49), was shot dead by members of a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack was aimed at a local ANC Wo m e n ' s League activist and left three people dead, t h r e e wounded and 40 houses burn t . MAXITI, Nonikile (38), was shot and injured by members of a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack was aimed at a local ANC Wo m e n ' s League activist and left thre e people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burn t . MAXONGO, Amos Vabantu (26), an MK operative f r o m New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, was detained at Nova Stella Sao prison in Luanda, in 1983, where he was assaulted. In 1984, he was again detained and held at Quatro for five years, during which time he was repeatedly tort u r e d. See ANC C A M P S. MAXONGO, Cecilia Nozipho , a UDF branch tre a s u r e r, was detained under emergency regulations on 16 June 1986 in Wi l l o w m o r e, Cape. While

in detention, she was tortured. MAXWELE, Bubele (28), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UM TATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six Vlakplaas operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199). MAXWELL, Gavin (24), was severely injured in what became known as the MARGO O'SBARBOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). MAY, Alicia Thembakazi (14), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP on her arrest in Robertson, Cape, on 24 December 1985. She was also tear-gassed in the police van and in her cell while being held in custody for a week. MAY, Audrey Catherine, a civilian, was assaulted and severely ill-treated during an attack on a farmer at

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7 Victim findings: Summaries

Stromberg, Verkeerdelei, OFS, on 12 February 1992. The farmer was killed in the attack. See APLA AT TACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0297). MAY, Danile Wilberforce (25), a Civic Organisation member, was the victim of an attempted 'necklacing' by ANC supporters in July 1980 in Port Elizabeth. He was allegedly accused of being a collaborator. MAY, Mlandeli Mickey (27), a PAC supporter, was shot in the left leg and in the stomach by a named perpetrator during conflict between AM AFRIKA and UDF supporters in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 30 June 1987. MAY, Simphiwe Hantjie, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP while he was returning home from a protest march on 26 July 1989 at Lingeletu, Adelaide, Cape. MAY, Stanford, was stabbed to death on 25 October 1991 in Volsloos, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area. MAY, Zenzele (30), a PAC member, was executed in Pretoria, on 9 May 1963 after being found guilty of killing a headman in Cofimvaba during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. MAY, Zenzile Eric, a COSAS member (20), was detained in solitary confinement for nine months from June 1980 in Queenstown, Cape. MAYA, John Gert (14), was beaten to death by AM AFRIKAS supporters during conflict between AmaAfrika and UDF supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 January 1987. MAYA, Nhlanhla Johannes (22), was shot by named ANC-aligned self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 December 1993 when the SDU members opened fire on him, allegedly because he disagreed with some of their policies. MAYABA, (first name not given), suffered damage to property when his house was burnt down by ANC members in political conflict in Heidelberg, Tvl, during 1992 or 1993. Mr Mayaba and two other suspected IFP supporters were on an ANC hit list and were therefore targeted. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/064). MAYABA, Bhekisisa Stanley (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at the Brakpan taxi rank, Tvl, on 10 September 1991. Mr Mayaba fled Mooi River in Natal after he was accused of being involved in the killing of an IFP supporter in Mooi River. MAYABA, Henry Mduduzi (24), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when ANC supporters attacked a taxi on 21 January 1993 during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and nonstriking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers which caused violent conflict in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl. MAYABA, Mongameli, a member of Wembezi Crisis Committee, was shot dead by named IFP supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1990. MAYABA, Ntombeningi Albertina (68), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 24 September 1992.

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 4 9 8

MOLETSANE, Pule (26), was detained in Quatro camp, Angola, in 1981 and was severely beaten and tortured by ANC security department members. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979. MOLEWA, Patricia Malebo (15), was sjambokked and tear-gassed by members of the SAP on 19 September 1985 in Nkowankowa, Tzaneen, Tvl, during a school protest march. Patricia was watching the march when police attacked her. She sought refuge in a nearby house. Police threw teargas into the house and while trying to get away she fell into a pit and broke her thigh. She was treated for four months in Letaba hospital. MOLEWA, Victor Thabo (42), an ANC peace worker, was shot dead while on his way to officiate at a civic meeting in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters. On 11 December 1993, his body was found near a hostel in Mngadi Section, Katlehong, Tvl. MOLIBOLA, Tsietzi Lazarus (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP when conflict broke out between the police and mourners who had attended a memorial service for Chris Hani in Bloemfontein on 14 April 1993. MOLIFI, Themba, was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from Valparaiso were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276). MOLIFE, Thomas, was arrested, severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP near the Limpopo River, Tvl, in 1986. Mr Molife was a farm worker and he was arrested after informing his employer about limpet mines he and a friend found in the area. MOLISE, Abia Tshidiso Dyna (30), was severely beaten by AWB supporters during a student protest march in Bloemfontein in September 1990. Members of right-wing organisations, white farmers and police in the province carried out several attacks during this period. They accosted and assaulted ordinary members of the public as well as perceived political activists. MOLISE, Blou Johannes, was severely beaten and kicked by members of the SAP during the SHARPVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960. MOLISE, Lucas Modise (43), was assaulted by Inkathasupporters on his way to work in Sebokeng, Tvl, in July 1988. MOLISIWA, Seun Jerry, was shot dead on 3 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by IFPsupporters, during political conflict in the area. MOLLO, Moses Rapetsoa (33), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991. The perpetrators were returning to Nancefield hostel from a rally at Jabulani stadium. Between 1990 and 1992, the conflict in Soweto between hostel-dwellers and residents led to the death of 517 people and the injury of 1322. MOLOATSI, Bafana Clement, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Molapo, Tvl, on 1 June 1987.

V O L U M

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

a PAC supporter

and Rastafarian, was severely tortured by SAP members while in detention in Goodwood and Bishop Lavis police stations, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986. The police thought he had information about the GUGULETU SEVEN. He was charged, but the case was later dismissed. NDZUMO, Kolisile Saul, a former Transkei cabinet minister, died of excessive bleeding after he was detained by the Transkei Police in 1980 in Idutywa, Transkei. NDZUNGA, Tembisa (2), was stabbed and injured by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, in political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers during the Christmas 1976 period. Twenty-nine people died in the clashes and many more were injured. NDZUNGU, Elvis Ngajuse (29), disappeared from Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale,

Natal, in March 1988, during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. NDZUZO, Lulamile Dani (17), was abducted and shot dead by a member of the SAP in Stutterheim, Cape, on 28 August 1988 during the state of emergency. Police claimed that Mr Ndzuze had been trying to escape from the charge office when he was shot. See POLICE BRUTALITY. NEBE, Wandile (20), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). NEDE, Phillemon Nqaba (75), was severely beaten by a named farmer in March 1990 in Elliot, Cape, allegedly because he attended an ANC march to register grievances and demands at the magistrate's office. He later died of the injuries sustained during the beating. NEELS, Hendrik (19) was arrested with ten other friends in Carnarvon, Cape, on 16 June 1986, for wearing black ties commemorating those who died in the SOWETO UPRISING. He was repeatedly beaten by named members of the SAP at the police station and detained for 72 days under emergency regulations at Carnarvon and then at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY. NEELS, Phillip Peter (17), was arrested with ten other friends in Carnarvon, Cape, on 16 June 1986, for wearing black ties commemorating those who died in the SOWETO UPRISING. He was repeatedly beaten by named members of the SAP at the police station and

PAGE 6

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

Maureen Nozibi

(29), had her

house burnt down on 24 July 1992 when IFP supporters carried out attacks on residents in the ANC stronghold of Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. RADEBE, Nomusa Constance (38), an ANC supporter, had her house vandalised by Inkatha supporters, allegedly accompanied by named members of the KWAZULU POLICE, in February 1990, at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, in political conflict following the UNBANING of political organisations. RADEBE, Nonhlanhla, was assaulted by members of the SAP at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 February 1990. Police allegedly assaulted Ms Radebe when they could not find her brother. RADEBE, Nontsokolo Lilly (48), was severely beaten by members of the SAP and local farmers in Klipplaat, Cape, in June 1985. Ms Radebe was seven months' pregnant at the time and had a miscarriage as a result. RADEBE, Ntombi Ella, 38, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993. RADEBE, Obusitsoe Isaac, was severely tortured by members of the SAP at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in 1980 after he returned from Lesotho, where he sought refuge in 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. RADEBE, Patricia, was shot dead by IFP supporters travelling by bus to a funeral in Evaton, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 20 June 1993. RADEBE, Patrick Pakiso (16), a COSAS supporter, was shot dead on 15 October 1985 in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, allegedly by members of the SADF, one of whom is named. He was walking with a friend

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RAMANC WANA, Edith Myrtle Thulisiwe (47), was arrested in Noupoort, Cape, and held in solitary confinement in Middelburg prison, Cape, for 14 days in September 1985. Her husband and two sons had

also previously been detained. R A M N C WANA, Elias Masebenza , was arrested and s e v e rely beaten by members of the SAP at the police station in Noupoort, Cape, on 25 April 1985, after attending a meeting organised by schoolchildren to discuss why their school had not been built. R A M N C WANA, Luzoko (19), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992, during an ANC protest march to demand fre e political activity in Ciskei. See BI S H O M A S S A C R E. Tw o members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). R A M N C WANA, Velile Willie (39), a PAC support e r, was arrested with 55 others in Steynsburg, Cape, on 16 October 1965, for alleged Poqo activities. He was se v e rely tort u red while under interrogation in Colesberg, Cape, and was later sentenced to three years' impriso n m e n t . R A M N C WANA, Zanamawonga (16), was arre s t e d and severely beaten by members of the SAP and white farmers serving as police re s e rvists at the N o u p o o r t police station, Cape, on 25 April 1985, after attending a meeting organised by schoolchildren to discuss why their school had not been built. RAMOELETSI, Maria , was killed during the BO I PAT O N G M A S S A C R E by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirt e e n perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further thre e applications were refused (AC/2000/209). RAMOELETSI, Simon Ntshimong , was killed during the BO I PAT O N G M A S S A C R E by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirt e e n perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further thre e applications were refused (AC/2000/209). RAMOGOGANE, George Gaborone (16), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Huhudi, Vry b u rg, Cape, during a protest against the intro d u c t i o n of Bophuthatswana Tr a n s p o r t Holding buses on 14 July 1985. He was subsequently arrested and subjected to electric shock tort u re by a named member of the SAP. RAMOGOLA, Aar o n, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesb u rg, on 26 March 1991. Fifteen people died in this incident. Alexandra was tense due to clashes between I F P - s u p p o r t i n g hostel-dwellers and ANC- support i n g re s i d e n t s . RAMOGOLA, Betty , was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesb u rg, on 26 March 1991. Fifteen people died in this incident. Alexandra was tense due to conflict between I F P - s u p p o r t i n g hostel-dwellers and ANC-support i n g re s i d e n t s . RAMOGOLA, Ti m o t h y , was shot dead by IFP s u p p o r t e r s in Alexandra, Johannesburg, at a night vigil

V O L U M

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

Mokgwadi
(17), a PA C

m e m b e r, was arrested on 8 August 1986 in Daveyton, Tvl. During his detention he was tort u red and beaten by members of the SAP. SACCO, Robert , an ANC support e r, lost his home in an arson attack by named members of the Security Police on 19 December 1981 in Rhodes, Cape. Rightwing residents and farmers re p o r t e d l y tried to discourage the influx of predominantly left-wing young people to the are a . SACHS, Albert 'Albie' Louis , an ANC member, was s e v e rely injured and lost his arm in a car bomb explosion in Maputo, Mozambique, on 7 April 1986. The bomb was planted by CCB operatives. One member of SADF Military Intelligence was granted

P A G E 7

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

SINXOSHE, Nelson (36), a UDF supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP on 22 December 1985 in Philipstown, Cape. Earlier that day his sister had been shot dead by a M U N I C I P A L P O L I C E M A N. Residents then hacked and burnt the policeman's father to death. Mr Sinxoshe was then arrested for this killing and later sentenced to 35 years imprisonment for murder. He was released as a political prisoner in 1991. SINYEMFU, Luxolile Ben (21), a UDF supporter and secretary of the Rosmead Youth Congress, was detained for four months on June 1986 in Rosmead, Cape. SIOBO, Tshibili Elisa, suffered psychological and mental distress in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in October 1993 when a white farmer repeatedly subjected her to racist verbal abuse. Previously the same perpetrator had allegedly dragged her behind a tractor, injuring her chest, waist and left leg. SIPHIKA, Gladys Mbagem, had her home destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990. She was allegedly targeted because she was believed to be an ANC supporter. SIPHIKA, Mziwandile Ruben (18), was severely beaten by named IFP supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990. He was allegedly attacked because he was believed to be an ANC supporter. S I P H O, (other details unknown), an MK operative, and three others were twice targeted for killing, firstly at the Lion Park Motel, and later at the Oasis Motel, Gaberone, during August and September 1987. Both operations, jointly conducted by SADF Special Forces and the Security Branch, were unsuccessful. The divisional commander of the Western Transvaal Security Branch and five Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their role in the operations (AC/1999/0308). SIPIKA, Ntamehlo, an IKONGOMEBER, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLANDREVOLT. SIPIKA, Silo, an IKONGOMEBER, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, during the PONDOLANDREVOLT. SIPOLO, Ngwazi (42), an IKONGOSUPPORTER, was severely beaten while in detention on 6 June 1960 at MKAMBATIFOREST police station, Lusikisiki, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLANDREVOLT. SIPOYA, Busang, was forcefully abducted and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 23 February 1986 during political conflict. SIPOYA, Jarius Mokotedi, was abducted and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 23 February 1986 during political conflict. SIPOYA, Samuel (57), had his home petrol-bombed in April 1986 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, allegedly by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, because his sons were political activists. S I P U T A, Lanki, was beaten with sjamboks and batons by members of the SAP in 1985 during political

P A G E 8

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

of MK, had control over residential centres and the Angolan camps, including 'Camp 32' or the Morris Seabelo Rehabilitation Centre (popularly known as 'Quatro'), Panga, Viana and the Nova Catengue camp. Following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979, there was an atmosphere of paranoia about infiltration by South African agents. A number of ANC members were detained and tortured; some died as a result of assaults and some were executed. Dissatisfaction in MK training camps in Angola led to mutinies at the Viana and Pango camps during 1984. Both mutinies were put down with loss of lives on both sides. Many MK members were detained in connection with the uprisings, and some were tortured. Two groups of mutineers were tried by military tribunals and seven were executed. ANC landmine campaign : The ANC's landmine campaign from 1985 to 1987 targeted military patrols in the mainly northern and eastern areas of the Transvaal. A number of civilians – white farmers, their families, and black farm labourers – were killed when these explosives were detonated. The campaign was called off in the light of its high civilian casualty rate. A P L A: Azanian People's Liberation army, military wing of the PAC, formed in 1967 APLA attacks : During the early 1990s, the PAC proclaimed a military strategy of a 'protracted

people's war', which involved the infiltration of APLA guerrillas into the country to conduct rural guerrilla warfare. The initial targets of such attacks were members of the security forces and white farmers who were perceived to be the frontline of defence for the former apartheid government. A 'repossession unit' was also set up, in which APLA cells conducted armed robberies on the instructions of the APLA High Command to raise funds and/or obtain weapons and vehicles to enable APLA to carry out its military strategy. Civilians were killed or injured in many of these robberies. In 1993, attacks on civilians increased sharply with a series of high-profile attacks by APLA cadres on public places, including restaurants, hotels and bars, in urban areas. These were usually, but not always, places frequented by white civilians. The PAC/APLA claimed that the attacks were not racist in character, but directed against the apartheid government as all whites, according to the PAC, were complicit in the policy of apartheid. The 1993 attack on the St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, produced the highest number of casualties, with 11 people dead and 58 injured. April 1994 elections: South Africa's first democratic elections began on 27 April 1994 and continued for three days. In some areas of Natal, polling was extended into a fourth day. The elections brought to a conclusion a four-year process of constitutional negotiations and brought about a dramatic reduction in political conflict and violence around the country. The ANC won 62,6% of the vote, and a Government of National Unity was constituted. The elections were followed by the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President on 10 May 1994.

Name: References to Labour in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 291 references coded [0.97% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

discussed later in this chapter.

40 These eight pieces of legislation laid the foundation of the new apartheid order in South Africa. However, other important pieces of legislation passed in the first decade of apartheid rule stripped coloured male voters of their common-roll franchise rights, further limited the rights of African workers to strike and bargain collectively and, by extending pass laws to African women, further restricted the rights of Africans to move from the reserves to the cities and to sell their labour to the highest bidder.⁸

The effects of apartheid legislation

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

dying of plain starvation.⁶

46 Apartheid redrew the map of South Africa. The wealth, the cities, the mines, parks and the best beaches became part of white South Africa. A meagre thirteen per cent of largely barren land was parcelled out in a series of homelands in which African people were forced to live, while the able-bodied were driven to seek a living as migrant labourers in the cities. And, as legislation formalised the divide between African, Indian, coloured and white, so the apartheid government sought, too, to divide African people on the basis of ethnicity.

47 'Separate development' was the

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

freedom of speech become meaningless.

58 Thus, a strong argument can be made that the violations of human rights caused by 'separate development' – for example, by migrant labour, forced removals, bantustans, Bantu education and so on – had, and continue to have, the most negative possible impact on the lives of the majority of South Africans. The

9 SA Constitution, section 11

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

cases of the following types:

Labour conflicts

126 In the case of gross violations of human rights primarily related to labour conflicts (and not to the more narrowly defined political conflicts of the past), it was possible to differentiate further between:

a those which fell outside

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

the abuse of farm workers;

b those that fell inside the mandate because a deeper probe revealed that the context was clearly political. For example, where a labour union linked to a specific political organisation was used to attack workers from a union linked

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 4 The

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

4 The Mandate PAGE 83

to another political organisation (as in the Durnacol coal mine conflicts in Northern KwaZulu-Natal in 1990), or where a labour-related conflict became the basis for clear political protest (as in Saldanha in 1987), or many actions in the course of trade union activity. The banning of political organisations often made trade unions the vehicles through which political struggles were waged.

Racism

127 There were cases

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

as Judge Mahomed has said:

take many years of strong commitment, sensitivity and labour to 'reconstruct our society'...developing for the benefit of the entire nation the latent human potential and resources of every person who has directly or indirectly been burdened with the heritage of the shame and the pain of our racist past.¹⁹

78 Through the Committee on

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

conflicts to legislated Commission benefits.

12 Industrial relations policies and procedures were used to resolve disputes, some of which were referred for resolution to the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration and to the Department of Labour.

13 As the Commission approached

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

evidence at section 29 hearings;

g handling legal aspects of human resources up to and including representing the Commission at the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration at the Labour Court;

h responding to all legal

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

to cope with the demand.

16 By October 1996, the emphasis had changed. During this period, requests were received from potential amnesty applicants who feared reprisals when testifying at public hearings. The protection of persons at hearings was labour intensive and involved bringing together security officers from various regions. This process led to further public exposure of the programme. These ventures could not have succeeded but for additional assistance provided by the South African Police Services (SAPS) Special Task Force and public order policing units.

17 By this stage, the

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

and national demands were met.

2 The office did extensive work on the widespread repression that had occurred in towns in the Boland, Southern Cape, Karoo and Northern Cape. However, many rural communities (particularly farm workers) expressed disappointment that the Commission's mandate did not extend, except in exceptional circumstances, to human rights violations relating to land and labour. This was of particular concern in Namaqualand and other areas of the Northern Cape.

3 An issue of particular

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

IDENTITY AND EXTENT OF REGION

5 A number of features distinguish the political and social terrain of the Northern and Western Cape provinces from the rest of the country. The demographic profile is unique: the majority of the population is coloured and only a minority is African. This was partly a reflection of the declaration of the Western Cape as a 'coloured labour preference area' with very restricted opportunities for African people. The region also experienced extreme social and spatial engineering through the Group Areas Act, with significant cleavages developing between coloured and African communities, as well as between rural migrants and urban residents. As a result, the Western Cape developed historically distinct political groupings and ideological approaches, which often differed from developments in the rest of the country.

6 The Western Cape province

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

extreme social and economic inequalities.

10 There is little heavy industry in the Cape Metropolitan Area, which supports instead light industries such as garment and textile manufacturing and small factory food processing. Over half a million people are employed in the textile industry, which is the largest single employer in the Western Cape. However, the textile industry is currently declining and experiencing job losses. Only 57 per cent of the labour force are engaged in the formal sector; the remainder work in the informal sector or are self- or unemployed.

11 The West Coast is

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

population decline in Karoo towns.

13 The major city in the Northern Cape is Kimberley. The main economic activities in this area are the mining of diamonds, asbestos and copper and agriculture, mainly cattle and maize. Industrial and commercial activity in the Northern Cape is limited to areas around Kimberley, Kuruman, Sishen and Postmasburg. Migrant labour comes mainly from the former independent homelands of Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei.

Languages

14 The major languages

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

in English, Xhosa and Afrikaans.

30 The Commission's narrow mandate was disappointing to some, especially in the rural areas, where many people had to be turned away from making statements on matters that fell outside the Commission's mandate. Issues such as the abuse of farm labourers, loss of land rights, police thuggery and racial beatings were raised, and it was difficult for statement takers to explain to the victims of these experiences that, in most cases, they could not take their statements.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 12 Cape

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

capital of South Africa.

Population

5 KwaZulu-Natal has a population of just over eight million people. The Durban area has the largest population of Asians outside of the Indian sub-continent, many of whom came to South Africa as labourers to work on the sugar plantations during the last century. In terms of the categories created by apartheid legislation, 81 per cent of the population of the province is African, 9.6 per cent Asian, 6.2 per cent white and 3.2 per cent coloured.

6 The Free State is

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Durban Office Report PAGE 412

10 The Free State has an average annual per capita income of R4 416 and an unemployment rate of approximately 30 per cent. Many of the inhabitants of this province work as farm labourers under very poor conditions of employment or as contract labourers or migrant workers on the mines in other provinces.

■ METHOD OF WORK Commissioners allocated

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

and Gazankulu.

Income/poverty profile

5 Poverty and deprivation take various forms in the region. In urban and peri-urban areas, nearly two million people came to live in approximately one hundred informal settlements in the central Witwatersrand region, with an estimated 2 500 homeless people in central Johannesburg alone. In rural areas, between 1.5 million

and 2.5 million farm labourers and their families live in great poverty in the former Transvaal Province, vulnerable to stark hunger as a result of drought. The Northern Transvaal had the highest dependency ratio in the country (the number of people supported by one economically active person) at 4.8:1 in 1990.

Languages 6 All of South

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

race groups. The workplace (W):

Laws which determined racially based job reservation, employment practices and labour relations. Security legislation (S):

The history of security legislation

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Amendment Act No 54: U

The 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act was amended to specify that all black persons, men and women, over the age of sixteen were to carry passes and that no black person was to be allowed to stay in the urban areas longer than seventy-two hours unless they had permission to do so. Section 10, which governed who could stay in the urban areas, stated that black people who had been born in the urban areas and had lived there continuously since then, and those who had been in continuous employment for ten years or continuous residence in the urban areas for fifteen years, were the only categories of black people legally entitled to stay in urban areas (Dugard 1978: 74; Horrell 1978: 173). Powers of authorities were widened to include the ordering of the removal of blacks deemed to be 'idle or undesirable' even though they were lawfully in an urban area (s 29 of the 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act). If found guilty, a person could be sent to her/his homeland, to a rehabilitation centre or to a farm colony for a period not exceeding two years. Section 29 of the 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act permitted the arrest, without a warrant, of any black person believed to be 'idle or undesirable'. In 1956, a new section was added to s 29, (i.e. s 29 bis) allowing for 'the removal of an African from an urban area ... where his presence was detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order in any such area' (Dugard 1978: 77). Because the purpose of this new s 29 was 'to confer upon local authorities arbitrary powers to rid themselves of "agitators";' this new provision (unlike s 29 of Act 25 of 1945) did not 'provide for an appeal against a banishment order' (Dugard 1978: 77). (The provisions under this Act are extremely complicated. For a full description see Horrell 1978: 171-95.) Commenced: 27 June 1952 Sections 1-17 repealed by s 33(1) of the Black Labour Act No 67 of 1964, s 18 repealed by s 1(g) of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991; ss 27-32 by s 17 of the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986; and ss 33-8 by s 69(1) of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 13 Apartheid

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 90 of 1979

1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation Act (Black Labour and Settlement of Disputes Act) No 48:

W

Amended the 1937 Industrial

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

281). Commenced: 1 May 1954

Repealed by s 63 of the Labour Relations Amendment Act No 57 of 1981 VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 13 Apartheid Legislation PAGE 455

1954 Riotous Assemblies and Suppression

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 4 of 1984

1955 Black Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Act No 59: W

Amended the 1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation Act. Provided for separate industrial conciliation machinery which applied to black workers other than those employed in farming operations, in domestic service, governmental or educational services or coal and gold mining industries (Horrell 1978: 288). Repealed by s 63 of the Labour Relations Amendment Act No 57 of 1981

1955 Criminal Procedure Act No

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

1959): MINES, WORKS AND FACTORIES

1956 Industrial Conciliation Act (Labour Relations Act) No 28: W

Replaced the 1924 and 1937

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

281). Commenced: 1 January 1957

Repealed by the Labour Relations Act No 66 of 1995

1956 Separate Representation of Voters

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 66 of 1988

1964 Black Labour Act No 67: U

Consolidated the laws regulating the recruiting, employment, accommodation, feeding and health conditions of black labourers. Commenced: 1 January 1965

Repealed by s 69 of

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Amendment Act No 61: W

Repealed by Labour Relations Act No 66 of 1995

1966 General Law Amendment Act

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 108 of 1991

1973 Black Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act 70: W

This Act was passed in

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

been completely prohibited from striking.

Repealed by s 63 of the Labour Relation Amendment Act No 57 of 1981. 1974 QwaQwa proclaimed a self-governing territory

1974 Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

No 86 of 1995.

1976

Inter-Cabinet Council formed by the Prime Minister with members drawn from the Coloured Persons Council and the Indian Council and the white cabinet. First meeting boycotted by the Coloured Labour Party (Dugard 1978: 101).

1976 1977

2 October: Republic

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

282). Commenced: 1 October 1979

Repealed by the Labour Relations Act No 66 of 1995 Between 1980 and 1983 important amendments were made to the 1979 Industrial

Conciliation Amendment Act, but by

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Amendment Act No 95: W

Commenced: 1 August 1980 Repealed by the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995

1980 Republic of South African

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

self-governing territory Ciskei independence

1981 Labour Relations Amendment Act No 57: W

Redefined 'employee' to cover all black workers, including local and foreign migrants and commuters (SRR 1981: 202). The Act deleted the 1956 provision which prohibited the establishment of new unions (SRR 1981: 203). It gave black workers the right to organise and abolished job reservation. However, it clamped down on unions' involvement in politics by, for example, prohibiting any union, federation or employers' organisation from giving financial assistance to a person involved in an illegal strike (SRR 1981: 203-4). Union headquarters could not be established in independent states (SRR 1981: 203). This Act repealed the 1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation Act which provided for works and liaison committees, and replaced these with works councils (SRR 1981: 203). Commenced: 1 November 1981, excluding the provisions of s 21(b): 1 November 1982 and s 63(1): 1 March 1982 Repealed by the Labour Relations Act No 66 of 1995
1982 Intimidation Act No 72

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

Citizenship Act No 73: P

Granted South African citizenship to TBVC citizens who were born in South Africa prior to their homeland's independence or who resided in South Africa permanently. TBVC citizens who remained in South Africa temporarily while seeking employment, working, studying or visiting and whose permanent home was one of the TBVC areas remained 'aliens' (RRS 1986: 94-5). Citizenship was restored to about 1 751 400 TBVC citizens, but eight to nine million still remained subject to the provisions of the 1937 Aliens Act. There was, however, according to Budlender (1989: 4), no official attempt to enforce this new migrant labour system. Commenced: 1 July 1985
Repealed by s 7 of

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

IN FORCE: CENSUS AND STATISTICS

1995 Labour Relations Act No 66: W Repealed the 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act and all its amendments. Commenced: 11 November 1996.
1995 State of Emergency Act

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

mechanisms. Commenced: 6 January 1967

1967 Labour Laws Amendment Act No 4: Amended South African labour laws for Transkei. Commenced: 1 September 1967
1972 Marriage Act No 4

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Transkei becomes an independent homeland

1977 Labour Relations Act: Transkei's equivalent of the Labour Relations Act [SA]. Commenced: 1 October 1977
1977 Labour Act No 14: Set out further requirements for labour in Transkei. Commenced: 1 October 1977
1977 Wage Act No 15

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

policy. Commenced: 9 March 1982

1982 Labour Act No 18:

Enacted labour legislation similar to that of South Africa. Commenced: 29 April 1983

1983 National Security Intelligence and

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

5: Commenced: 1 January 1984

1986 Labour Regulations Repeal Act No 4: Commenced: 6 February 1987

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 13 Apartheid

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

proclaimed a self-governing territory

1986 Labour Relations Repeal Act No 6: Commenced: 25 June 1987

1988 Police Act No 4

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

3: Commenced: 1 July 1981

1986 Labour Regulations Repeal Act No 3: Commenced: 5 September 1986

1986 Police Act No 11

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

7: Commenced: 1 April 1990

1991 Labour Relations Act No 19: Commenced: 10 January 1992

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Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

8: Commenced: 20 September 1974

1974 Labour Amendment Act No 11: Commenced: 1 September 1975

1975 Public Services Act No

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

7: Commenced: 15 February 1980

1980 Labour Amendment Act No 9: Commenced: 28 November 1980
1980 Divorce Act No 10

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

committed a crime. Commenced: 1987
1991 Labour Relations Amendment Act No 13: Commenced: 19 November 1991
1992 Land Affairs Act No

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

10: (Commencement date not found)
1986 Labour Regulations Repeal Act No 7: Commenced: 1 September 1986
1987 Education Act No 7

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

7: Commenced: 1 July 1988
1988 Labour Regulations Act No 13: Commenced: 13 June 1989
1988 Local Authorities Act No

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

Population: W.P.S./'76]
1979-90 Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation Mandate: To inquire into, report on and make recommendations in connection with the following matters: a) Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956 b) Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act, 1953 c) Wage Act, 1957 d) Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act, 1941 e) Shops and Offices Act, 1964 f) Apprenticeship Act, 1944 g) Training of Artisans Act, 1951 h) Bantu Building Workers Act, 1951 i) Electrical Wiremen and Contractors' Act, 1939 j) Workmen's Compensation Act, 1941 k) Unemployment Insurance Act, 1966 l) Registration for Employment Act, 1945 The mandate was extended to include: m) Mines and Works Act, 1956 or any other act administered by the Department of Mines.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 13 Commissions

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

1973: The regionalisation of conflict
50 Prior to the 1960s, the South African government saw the southern African region as an exploitable resource, a source of cheap labour and a ready market for the country's products. The continued subordination of the region could be ensured and was achieved through institutions like the Southern African Customs and Monetary Union which came into existence in the early twentieth century.
51 This attitude began to

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

by cabinet in March 1980.

123 The establishment of the NSMS was followed by a related restructuring of the intelligence services – an outcome of the Klapperkop Conference and an accompanying initiative, the Coetzee Committee. A conference held at Simonstown in January 1981 focused, inter alia, on the establishment of a co-ordinating intelligence body known by its Afrikaans acronym as KIK (the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee). The conference also looked at the areas of responsibility of the various structures. The result was a division of labour between the police and the military. In regard to extra-South African territories, Swaziland was assigned to the SAP while the rest of the world, but more particularly the region, became an SADF responsibility. The agreement also made provision for joint SAP–SADF operations. As a consequence, the powers of the NIS (the reconstituted BOSS) were considerably reduced, while those of the SADF substantially increased.

4 Book 1/ Policy: The

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

infiltration resulted in civilian deaths.

145 The second type of military operation was the 'landmine campaign' of 1985–86 in the northern and eastern Transvaal. The thinking behind this campaign was that these areas were defined by the South African security forces as being part of a 'military zone', and the white farmers were conscripted into a commando. The ANC halted this campaign when it became clear that most victims of such explosions were civilians, including black farm labourers and the wives and children of farmers.

146 The third type of

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

1990 PAGE 62

1960–1966

78 During this period, there was little organised resistance to South Africa's occupation and no armed struggle. Even so, the apartheid system was enforced with even more rigidity in South West Africa than in South Africa itself and the human rights of the people of South West Africa were constantly and systematically violated, in particular through the system of contract migrant labour. During the 1960s and 1970s, up to two-thirds of South West African workers were subjected to this form of labour control and coercion. Contract workers were required to leave their families in the 'homelands' and to sign contracts that rendered them powerless to choose their employer or to negotiate a wage. Those who resigned from their jobs or broke their contracts were liable to deportation back to the 'homeland'. This was a systematic violation of basic human rights which established a system of quasi-slavery. It also served to depress wages and prevent labour organisation. While modifications were made to the system after the 1971–72 contract workers' strike, the system remained in place until 1977.

1966–1971

79 The second

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

negotiations and other diplomatic purposes).

The plight of these detainees was raised by the International Red Cross in 1980 which resulted a short while later in the release of a few of the prisoners – a full two years after their forcible abduction. However, in the case of the other 124, the status quo persisted for another five and a half years. Eventually, in 1984, three South West African bishops, supported by relatives of the detainees, brought an urgent application in the Windhoek Supreme Court for the detainees to be released. The court hearing was prohibited by the South African State President PW Botha, using powers under the Defence Act (section 103 ter (4)). They were, nonetheless, released in two batches in May and October 1984. They reported having being tortured and assaulted and forced to carry out hard labour. For close on seven years, they had been denied family visits and access to lawyers.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 2 The

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990 PAGE 67

THE ABDUCTION OF ANGOLAN CITIZENS AND SOUTH WEST AFRICAN REFUGEES FROM ANGOLAN SOIL, THEIR TORTURE AT THE OSHAKATI MILITARY BASE AND THEIR FORCIBLE DETENTION AT MARIENTAL WHERE THEY WERE DENIED BASIC RIGHTS AND FORCED TO UNDERTAKE HARD LABOUR AMOUNT, IN THE COMMISSION'S VIEW, TO ILL TREATMENT AND DEPORTATION TO SLAVE LABOUR AND, AS SUCH, TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR THIS, THE COMMISSION FINDS PRIME MINISTER BJ VORSTER, MINISTER OF DEFENCE, PW BOTHA, AND THE CHIEF OF THE SADF, GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN, TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE CASE OF THE MARIENTAL DETAINEES. IT ALSO REGARDS AS INDIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE (DOLUS EVENTUALIS) ALL THOSE PRESENT AT THE SSC MEETING OF 23 APRIL 1979.

95 The extent of the

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

in Botswana at this time.

323 On 15 April 1989, nearly ten years after a parcel bomb attack on Ms Phyllis Naidoo and others (see earlier), her son Mr Sadhan Naidoo and a fellow ANC member, Mr Moss Mthunzi, were killed in Lusaka, Zambia. They were shot while watching television on an ANC farm outside Lusaka where Naidoo was the manager and Mthunzi a labourer.

324 According to information supplied

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

Eleven had died in banishment.

6 Banished people were sent to isolated farms on Native Trust land, where they were usually given work as labourers. Some went alone; others were sent to camps built for groups of six or more. Both they and those who visited them speak of their extreme poverty and near-starvation. Those who were not given work were entitled to an allowance of about R4 per month, though not all received this. A banishment order was indefinite and remained in force until the government gave permission for the banished person to return home.

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

2 The removal of intimidators

In the latter case specific thought is given to schools and labour situations. The feeling here is that when ringleaders are removed, they also need to be restricted physically, to such an extent that they are removed from circulation and kept away. [Commission translation.]

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990 PAGE 179

laws introduced under the Black Local Authorities Act (1982) were used by state authorities to restrict protest, including the use of pickets during labour disputes. Various city councils passed by-laws requiring, in addition to magisterial permission, council permission (frequently requiring punitive warrants of indemnity) for marches and gatherings.

59 The Public Safety Act

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990 PAGE 293

534 An attack on the home of Labour Party MP Allan Hendrickse originated from the Security Branch headquarters in the eastern Cape. According to amnesty applicant Abraham Christoffel Kendall [AM3757/96], a named general at Security Branch headquarters instructed him, in September or October 1998, to consult with the branch commanders of Port Elizabeth and Oudtshoorn to plan hand grenade attacks on the homes of Hendrickse and another Labour Party leader, a Mr April. Kendall said that the reason offered for the attacks was that Hendrickse and April were unwilling to vote on certain legislative changes. Kendall conveyed this instruction to the Port Elizabeth and Oudtshoorn Security Branches. On his return to Johannesburg from the eastern Cape, Kendall heard on the news that Hendrickse's house had been attacked with a hand grenade.

535 The Security Branch in

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

IN THESE INSTANCES.

Landmine campaign

38 From late 1985 to mid-1987, some MK units were tasked with laying anti-tank mines in the rural areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, targeting military patrols. A number of civilians – both white farmers, their families, and black farm labourers – were killed when these explosives were detonated. The ANC estimates that thirty landmine explosions took place in this period, resulting in some twenty-three deaths, including those of two MK members killed in the course of laying a mine.

39 According to a submission

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

killed and seventy-six injured".

40 In its second submission, the ANC expressed its "sincere regret" for the civilian deaths and injuries in this campaign. The ANC stressed that it had ordered its operatives to carry out careful surveillance and to use anti-tank rather than antipersonnel mines so that individual labourers on foot would not detonate the explosives. In its first submission it noted that:

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 4 The

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

these areas as military zones.

41 In its second submission, the ANC explained that the high rate of civilian casualties – especially the deaths of black labourers – had led to the MK headquarters halting the laying of anti-tank mines.

42 In a landmine explosion

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 to 1990 PAGE 334

THE COMMISSION FINDS, HOWEVER, THAT THE ANC'S LANDMINE CAMPAIGN IN THE RURAL AREAS OF THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN TRANSVAAL IN THE PERIOD 1985-87 CANNOT BE CONDONED IN THAT IT RESULTED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS – CAUSING INJURIES TO AND LOSS OF LIVES OF CIVILIANS, INCLUDING FARM LABOURERS AND CHILDREN. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE USE OF LANDMINES INEVITABLY LEADS TO CIVILIAN CASUALTIES AS IT DOES NOT DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN TARGETS AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE CONTROLLED. THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS. THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THAT, TO ITS CREDIT, THE ANC ABANDONED THE LANDMINE CAMPAIGN IN THE LIGHT OF THE HIGH CIVILIAN CASUALTY RATE.

Killing of individual 'enemies' and

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

as a means of punishment.

114 The Skweyiya Commission found that maltreatment at Quatro detention centre in Angola was persistent and brutal, and included discipline and denigration, hard labour, assault and punishment. Before internment at Quatro, detainees were tortured to extract confessions. The Skweyiya Commission found that conditions at other places of detention in Angola, Tanzania, Zambia and Uganda were also unacceptable. It found that the circumstances surrounding the execution of some of the mutineers were unclear.

115 The Skweyiya Commission report

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

in 1987 after these threats.

178 Mr Gregory Camp [CT0294/OUT] was detained in 1980 and taken to Quatro where he was held without trial for seven years. He had to perform forced labour such as cutting logs, carrying water, washing security clothes and digging trenches. He was deprived of sun, food, and water for drinking and washing. He was tortured by being whipped with electrical cord, stripped naked and beaten with sticks, beaten with the butt of an automatic rifle, and punched and kicked. He was held in solitary confinement for 117 days. He was insulted and humiliated.

179 Ms Ntombentsha Jeanette Makanda

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

the Berg River in Paarl.

197 The Snyman Commission appointed to investigate the Paarl violence highlighted corruption and bad management in the Bantu Administration offices in Paarl and the inhuman treatment meted out to the so-called "Bantus". The PAC told the Commission that the violence in Paarl was directed against "the self-enrichment of a Mr Le Roux who hoarded migrant workers from Eastern Cape in his farm, using them as cheap labour, only giving them food".

198 The only PAC victim

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

Senokoanyane

■ PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC)

National Executive at PAC's Founding in 1959 PRESIDENT: Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe NATIONAL SECRETARY: Potlako Kitchener Leballo TREASURER-GENERAL: Abednego Bhekabantu Ngcobo NATIONAL ORGANISER: Elliot Mfafa ADDITIONAL MEMBER: Gordon Mabhoza ADDITIONAL MEMBER: CJ Fazzie ADDITIONAL MEMBER: Howard Ngcobo. NATIONAL SECRETARIAT: SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION: Peter Nkutsou Raboroko FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Peter Hlaole Molotsi JUDICIAL AFFAIRS: Zephania Lekoape Mothopeng INFORMATION/PUBLICITY: Zacharius Bohloko Molete LABOUR: Jacob Dum-Dum Nyaoase ECONOMIC AFFAIRS: Hughes Hlatshwayo CULTURE/YOUTH: Nana Mahomo Regional Chairpersons were theoretically ipso factom members of the NEC. This was put into effect when the Presidential Council was formed in Maseru in 1962. An interim ad hoc structure under ZB Molete as Acting President operated in the underground period until the formation of the Presidential Council in Maseru under Leballo in 1962.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 4 The

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

Templeton Ntantala TRANSKEI: Tsepo Letlaka

National Executive Committee in Tanzania (1964-1967) ACTING PRESIDENT/NATIONAL SECRETARY: PK Leballo TREASURER-GENERAL: AB Ngcobo EDUCATION: Peter Raboroko PUBLICITY/INFORMATION: ZB Molete LABOUR: JD Nyaoase CULTURE/YOUTH/CHIEF REP(London/Europe): Nana Mahomo PAN AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND CHIEF REP IN GHANA/WEST AFRICA: PH Molotsi ADDITIONAL MEMBER: TT Letlaka ADDITIONAL MEMBER: Mfanasekhaya Gqobose

National Executive Committee (1967-68) ACTING PRESIDENT: PK Leballo TREASURER-GENERAL: AB Ngcobo LABOUR: JD Nyaoase PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION: ZB Molete EDUCATION: Peter Raboroko

CULTURE/YOUTH ETC: Nana Mahomo (Commander of APLA): TM Ntantala: Cardiff Marney, Kenny Jordan, Barney Desai, MP Gqobose, JN Pokela, TT Letlaka
Revolutionary Command (1968-1971) CHAIRPERSON

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

and Elias Ntloedibe as members

Central Committee after David Sibeko's assassination (1979) CHAIRPERSON: Vus Make ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY: DDD Mantshontsho PUBLICITY/INFORMATION: EL Ntloedibe FOREIGN AFFAIRS/PERMANENT REP.UN/AMERICAS: Henry Isaacs FINANCE: EV Radebe DEFENCE: Edwin Makoti FIELD COMMANDER, APLA: Enoch Zulu EDUCATION/MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT: Count Pietersen WELFARE: Elizabeth Sibeko LABOUR: Mike Muendane

Central Committee in 1981- 86 under Pokela CHAIRPERSON: JN Pokela DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON: Vus Make ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY: Joe Mkhwanazi SECRETARY OF DEFENCE AND COMMANDER OF APLA: Sabelo Gqwetha FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Gora Ebrahim TREASURER: Macdonald Mgweba MP Gqobose LABOUR: Michael Muendane PUBLICITY/INFORMATION: Edwin Makoti Johnson Mlambo

Central Committee (1986-1990) under

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

work for change from within.

8 Arguments against the homeland system were based on different philosophical and political beliefs, although a number of common threads run through the various critiques. First, some observers outside of the NP believed that economic constraints would inhibit the potential for the full realisation of the homeland concept. Second, many South Africans rejected the apartheid notion that ethnic ties naturally separated the country's population into different nations. This school of thought regarded the homelands as an extension of the central government's policy of 'divide and rule'. Finally, more radical analyses concluded that the homelands were being used as vast dumping grounds where labour superfluous to the (white) capitalist economy could be effectively contained and controlled.

9 Rural resistance to the

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

be granted self-government status.

20 Following the successful clampdown on internal opposition, there was a period of marked economic growth. In the wake of these developments, the NP was provided with an opportunity to consolidate its control over the state. In this period of 'grand apartheid', the South African government embarked on a project of profound and widespread social engineering. From the 1960s onwards, millions of individuals were uprooted and relocated – generally to the homelands – in the process of 'consolidating' South Africa's ethnic map. Direct physical violence, accompanied by the structural violence inherent in the system of migrant labour, resulted in violations of human rights that defy easy calculation.

21 In this period of

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

its programme of homeland development.

35 While the homeland governments reached the height of their political powers in this period, the economic weakness of the supposed national states belied their independence. Where the 'reserves' had traditionally served to support and reproduce labour for the urban capitalist economy, under apartheid the growing homeland population was increasingly supported by remittances from relatives working in distant industries. Central government subsidies and loans supported

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 5 The

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

defence against the Communist onslaught.

52 In 1982, this programme was scaled down to multilateral co-operation agreements between South Africa and the TBVC states. The agreements covered a range of issues, but security matters were at their core. When eventually finalised, the arrangement explicitly linked defence co-operation with the co-ordination of labour mobility, development initiatives and monetary stability. Multilateral agreements were supplemented by the signing of extradition treaties and South Africa's erection of fences on the borders of homelands adjoining neighbouring African countries. The agreements were founded on two fundamental provisions: first, that the South African and homeland governments would not use armed force to challenge each other's political or territorial sovereignty, and second, that neither party would allow its territory to be used as a staging ground for attacks on the other by third parties.

53 From their establishment in

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

to block ANC crossborder raids.

Riekert and Wiehahn labour 'reforms' are introduced. The State Security Council adopts guidelines for cross-border raids, marking a shift to proactive defence and security policies.

The National Security Management System

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

the SADF on 10 February.

A one-month stay of execution is granted in March, in the Pretoria Supreme Court to six Sharpville residents, sentenced to death for being part of a crowd that killed a black councillor. Sentences are later commuted to life imprisonment following a local and international outcry against their 'common purpose' conviction. ANC representative Dulcie September is killed in Paris in March, allegedly by the CCB. Four unarmed ANC members are shot dead in June by a Vlakplaas hit squad and members of the Piet Retief security branch. Massive strike in protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Act in June. Stanza Bopape dies in police custody on 12 June, after being tortured. Police state that he 'escaped from police custody' and disappeared. A concert at Wembley Stadium in London in July to celebrate Mandela's seventieth birthday and protest his continuing imprisonment is televised worldwide. The ANC publishes its constitutional guidelines in July. The security forces bomb Khotso House, Johannesburg, on 1 September, causing extensive damage. In October, Khanya House (the offices of SA Bishops Conference) is destroyed in an arson and limpet mine attack. The ECC wins a successful interdict against the SADF 'dirty tricks' campaign in October. Municipal elections in

October meet with widespread national resistance and violence. Former police officer Barend Strydom, AWB and Witvolwe member, shoots randomly at black people in Pretoria in November, killing seven and injuring sixteen. In what becomes known as the Trust Feed killings, eleven people are killed by SAP members and special constables who storm and fire on an all-night prayer vigil near New Hanover on 3 December. Senior Inkatha leaders are part of the planning. South Africa signs the New York accord in December, readopts UN Resolution 435 and agrees to the withdrawal of troops from Angola and Namibia.

1989

Detainee hunger strikes begin

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

jailed for another five years:

We were not even allowed legal representation ... Torture in the form of hard labour and assaults increased as the sentence was doubled.

21 Among the many PAC

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

prisoners and their families outside.

59 Mr Motshwa Sigwinta [EC1782/97ETK] and his brother, Mr Qawukeni Sigwinta [EC1782/97ETK], were arrested in April 1960, convicted and sent to work as farm labourers. Qawukeni died in the 1970s, apparently while still working as a prisoner on a farm. The surviving brother told the Commission:

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 2 Regional

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Eastern Cape PAGE 46

I together with my brother Qawukeni Sigwinta was taken by helicopter to somewhere in the Northern Transvaal which I think was Bethal. We were taken to farms where we were distributed to various farmers where I was subjected to hard labour and corporal punishment. That was the last I saw of my brother until I heard of his death in 1976 because we were not on the same farm ...

We were planting and harvesting

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

daughter was next to that.

106 On the first anniversary of the education crisis, violence escalated again in the Port Elizabeth–Uitenhage area as the events of 1976 were commemorated. Following a mass protest march in Uitenhage on 16 June 1977, six shops and schools were burnt down. A number of people were shot the following day, allegedly as they were about to set fire to a municipal beer hall. One of those shot dead on 17 June was a twenty-three-year-old labourer, Mr Michael Mzwandile Booï [EC1085/96UIT]. His mother, Ms Nontobeko Mavis Booï, said she had not known why he did not return home that night:

On Sunday, I read a

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)

8 This consisted of a loose alliance of organisations, most of which supported the political ethos of the African National Congress (ANC), and sometimes its military wing as well. These included organised labour, student organisations, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates from the trade unions, Black Consciousness organisations, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA), churches and church bodies, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 3 Regional

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Tugela.

Durban strikes

35 The Durban strikes of 1973 marked a turning point in the history of political resistance in the province. With wages practically frozen for over a decade, the growing poverty in the cities – and therefore also in the rural areas where families depended on the wages of migrant breadwinners – led to strikes which affected 150 establishments and involved 60 000 workers during the first few months of 1973. The strikers were ultimately forced to back down, but they laid the foundations for a new labour union movement and for organised social resistance in other

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 3 Regional

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

Natal and KwaZulu PAGE 165

spheres of the anti-apartheid struggle. The General Factory Workers' Benefit Fund also opened the way for the organisation of workers in a number of industrial fields. This was an initiative of the Wages Commission, set up at the University of Natal in 1972 to research labour conditions and to provide workers with a vehicle to voice their grievances.

36 While most homeland leaders

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

VICTIMS.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

85 In this period, security trials relating to organisational activities outnumbered those relating to violent action by resistance movements. People were tried for community and labour mobilisation, membership of the banned resistance movements, recruitment to banned organisations or military training, and the possession of banned literature. However, an increased number of sabotage attacks were reported across the whole province. In February 1977, Mr Thembinkosi Sithole and Mr Samuel Mohlomi, both from KwaMashu, were charged with taking part in 'terrorist activities' and for attempting to leave the country for military training. They were also charged and convicted of arson in respect of firebomb attacks at KwaMashu schools in October 1976.

86 Skirmishes between guerrilla fighters

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

themselves with the banned ANC.

89 In the labour field too, the conflict between the two movements took organisational form through the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1984, and the counter-formation by Inkatha in 1985, with substantial state funding, of the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA).

90 The SAP and other

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

the Natal Midlands is illustrative.

317 The township of Bruntville, near the farming town of Mooi River in the Natal Midlands, was administered by a town council set up under the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982. Around 1990, Mooi River Textiles (Mooitex) was the largest employer in the area. About two-thirds of its labour force lived in the company's hostels located in Bruntville. The hostel-dwellers were predominantly Inkatha-supporting and members of UWUSA. In contrast, the township residents were predominantly ANC-supporting and members of COSATU.

318 On 8 November 1990

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

not tried to stop it.

331 As on the mines in the former Transvaal, certain members of the police and certain mine officials, especially the security officials, promoted the separation of Xhosa and Zulu people because this helped them to control the labour force. They encouraged the tendency of workers to join different trade unions according to their ethnic background – Zulu miners joining the UWUSA union while Xhosas joined the COSATU unions.

332 At Durnacol specifically, Zulu

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

of police shooting were reported.

26 Other areas of social and political life in which violations were recorded by the Commission focused on civil conflict due, inter alia, to local councils imposing rental and service charge increases on township residents, vigilante activities and the conflict surrounding attempts to incorporate the township of Botshabelo into QwaQwa. Violations were also recorded in clashes between protesting students and the police during school boycotts, and between workers and the police, together with other groupings, in the course of labour activities. By the mid-1980s, young people (aged thirteen to twenty-four) were at the front line of resistance activities that resulted in clashes with the security forces.

27 Many deponents from the

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

allied groupings Torture in custody

161 In the early 1990s, police continued to act forcefully against those thought to be organising and leading rent boycotts and protests against local councils. Many reports of police brutality towards detainees in custody were received, particularly from students, members of labour unions and civic organisations. The Commission heard of a variety of torture methods used to coerce individuals to make statements or to act as state witness in unrest-related court proceedings.

The torture of Moloi Kgotsiesile

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

further their own political agendas.

184 The great majority of the reported incidents of aggression by SDUs relate to arson attacks on homes. Reports of assault and killing were also received. Consumer boycotts, rent boycotts, labour stay aways, campaigns for the resignation of councillors and school protests have all been cited as contexts in which SDU abuses occurred. The Commission heard that SDUs played a role in enforcing the decisions of community organisations, as happened in the campaign to force Councillors Morgan and Susan Phelane to resign from the Brandfort local council:

The case of the Phelane

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

and surrounds, and Southern Cape.

3 Around 68 per cent of the population of the province (2.5 million people) live in the Cape Peninsula area. There is little heavy industry, mainly light industries such as garments, textiles (employing over half a million) and food processing with small factories. Only 57 per cent of the labour force is engaged in the formal sector; the remainder work in the informal sector, or are self- or unemployed.

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 5 Regional

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

Asian (0.3 per cent).

7 The major city is Kimberley; larger towns are Upington and De Aar. The main economic activities are mining (diamonds, asbestos, copper) and farming, mainly cattle and maize. Industrial and commercial activity is limited to areas around Kimberley, Kuruman, Sishen and Postmasburg. Migrant labour comes mainly from the former Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei. The largest African settlement in the province is Galeshewe near Kimberley, accommodating almost half the African population of the Northern Cape.

8 The Northern Cape has

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

rest of the country:

a

a distinct formulation of apartheid policy declaring the Cape a 'coloured labour preference area';

b VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 5

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

Abdurahman Allie [CT00123].

Migrant Backlash

86 In October, township youth launched a campaign against liquor establishments (shebeens and shebeen-owners), perceiving these to be symbols of oppression. Youth clashed violently with shebeen owners and with the police. In December youth activists announced that festive activities over the Christmas period would be limited and instead the deaths of those killed during the uprising over the past months would be mourned. Migrant workers residing in the townships failed to heed the call to mourn rather than celebrate. Over Christmas 1976, Nyanga hostel-dwellers violently resisted attempts by township youth to enforce participation in stay aways, liquor boycotts and memorials. The key targets of youth resistance – liquor and labour – touched migrants directly. They interpreted these actions, as well as the boycott of schools, as criminal activity by gangsters and mobilised around perceived threats to their security and livelihood.

87 Over a three-day

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

divisions within the informal settlements.

103 The repeated conflicts of the squatter areas of Cape Town sprang from the extreme controls imposed on Africans in the western Cape. State policy towards urban blacks in the Cape was shaped by the policy that the western Cape should be kept as the home of whites and coloureds only. The Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP) established what was called the 'Eiselen line'. Only if coloured labour was not available could Africans work in the area between this point and Cape Town.

7 SAIRR quoted in The

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

supporters of the liberation movements.

243 As described above, the repeated conflicts in the squatter areas of Cape Town in the 1980s have their roots in the state's Coloured Labour Preference Policy, which resulted in rigorous influx control, pass law prosecutions and squatter camp removals. The discrimination between Africans with legal and permanent residence in Cape Town and those deemed 'illegal' and living mainly in hostels and squatter camps created the environment for the conflict that tore communities apart. It also led to a very fragmented and divided civic movement in the Peninsula.

244 Three conflicts in Cape

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

taken place in this period.

300 There was a strong shift in 1985 towards attacking personnel of institutions deemed oppressive or 'collaborative'. The homes of two members of the Labour Party in Mitchells Plain and Grassy Park were attacked with grenades on June 12 1985, along with an attack on the Langa police station. One person was seriously injured in the Mitchells Plain attack. Over the next four days, the homes of community councillors

in Crossroads, Langa and Nyanga were attacked with grenades. Three members of the Security Branch were injured when a grenade was thrown at them near the Gugulethu police station. During an attack on the Mitchells Plain home of a Labour Party member on 15 August 1985, Rashaad Witten (16) was killed and three others injured.

301 In 1986 there were

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

organisational conflict: the civic movement

353 The 1990s were marked by intense rivalries and conflicts within the civic movement in the Western Cape. The conditions for these conflicts date back to the historic fragmentation of civic activity in the region, which had been based on specific living conditions and the social divisions created by the pass laws and the enforcement of migrant labour practices. Thus there was the Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) in the coloured areas, the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) in the urban African townships, the Hostel Dwellers Association (HDA) in the hostels and Western Cape United Squatters Association (WECUSA) in the squatter areas. Efforts to merge these fragmented structures and build a single region of the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) in the early 1990s were bedevilled to the point of near failure as entrenched leaders tried to retain their constituencies.

354 WECUSA was launched in

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

dead by men in balaclavas.

361 Hostility towards WECUSA also stemmed from its continued use of the 'headman' system in a period when residents of informal settlements no longer faced the perils of migrant labour and the pass system, and no longer depended upon the protection of powerful squatter leaders. In Philippi, residents revolted against WECUSA member Christopher Toise, the traditional leader of the area, rejecting his exploitative practices including financial demands and aggressive informal courts. He was forced to flee the area in early 1993 and take refuge with other evicted squatter leaders holed up in Section 4, Crossroads, with Mr Jeffrey Nongwe. This largely signalled the demise of the 'traditional' squatter leadership style epitomised by WECUSA.

52 Submission by Network of

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

Informal settlements: Development and destabilisation

385 In the wake of the scrapping of the pass laws and the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the mid-1980s, local government in the Cape increasingly accepted the need to upgrade the many informal settlements in and around Nyanga and Khayelitsha. The first development projects, begun from 1987, were essentially rewards to Ngxobongwana in Crossroads and Hoza in Khayelitsha for their violent ejection of the liberation movements and their pro-government stance. This was in line with the McCuen 'oil spot' strategy, using development as a 'hearts and minds' initiative to win political compliance. Millions of rands were allocated to Crossroads for upgrading after the witdoeke attacks of 1986.

386 Ironically, these development projects

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Western Cape PAGE 501

upgrading schemes. Crossroads and parts of Khayelitsha experienced the most serious conflicts. It appears that some squatter leaders were granted the status of 'sub-contractors' in the 1990s and given large sums of money to disburse for labour-intensive projects. Control over land and the development projects rapidly became the new currency of power, generating violent power struggles and shifting political allegiances. The construction companies themselves and the manner in which they interacted with particular leaders in the informal settlements became a subject of suspicion and speculation.

Crossroads

387 Between 1990 and

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

of five years to death.

8 In addition to legislation specifically designed to curb political opposition, other government policies effectively curtailed African political dissent. The government worked systematically to reverse the flow of Africans to the urban areas and to restructure the industrial workforce into one composed primarily of migrant labour. Over a million labour tenants and farm squatters and 400 000 city dwellers were resettled in the homelands, the population of which increased by

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 6 Regional

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

were incorporated into neighbouring reserves.

9 The end of this period, the late 1960s and early 1970s, saw the re-emergence of political opposition under the auspices of the Black Consciousness Movement and a wave of labour unrest across the country. Rising unemployment and deepening recession led to escalating inflation and a contracting job market, particularly for unskilled workers. All these factors resulted in a wave of strikes, beginning initially at the Durban docks in the early 1970s. Strikes and work stoppages affecting a wide variety of industries followed, frequently resulting in clashes between the police and striking or protesting workers.

10 The rise of the

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

000 and 12 000 people.

190 Security Branch member William Charles Cecil Smith [AM4569/97] has applied for amnesty for the torture of Dr Aggett. From 1980, Smith said, he was part of an investigation into people associated with unions that were "furthering the aims of the ANC and other liberation movements via labour unrest and economic destabilisation". This investigation was commonly referred to as the Barbara Hogan investigation. According to Smith, the people who were arrested as a result of this investigation were tortured physically and psychologically. He personally participated in the torture of most of these detainees, including Ms Barbara Hogan, Dr Liz Floyd, Mr Carl Niehaus, Mr Michael Jenkins, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, Mr Keith Coleman, Mr Suresh Nanabhai and others. In addition, former Security Branch policeman Paul Erasmus [AM3690/96]

applied for amnesty for illegally searching Aggett's home and supplying misinformation on the basis of which Aggett was to have been charged.

191 When the Labour Relations Amendment Act of 1981 was extended to cover African workers, giving them the right to organise but curbing political and

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 6 Regional

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

AND MR MAKOGA.

Forced removals

438 By the early 1980s, nearly 1.3 million forced removals had taken place in the Transvaal. A further 600 000 people were scheduled for relocation in terms of the 1975 plan to consolidate the homelands. Urban relocation was implemented more thoroughly in the Transvaal than anywhere else in the country. Some townships were moved in their entirety to the nearest homeland, from where people would then commute. Strict labour recruitment measures and control on housing over the years restricted access to prescribed areas. Most 'black spots' (African-owned land in 'white areas' bought before 1913) were removed, but there was active resistance in the few that remained in the western and eastern Transvaal.

439 Although forced removals are

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

ANC's armed actions were black.

502 From late 1985 to mid-1987, certain MK units were tasked with the laying of antitank landmines in the rural areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, the aim being to target military patrols. A number of civilians – farmers, farm labourers and members of their families – were killed in approximately thirty landmine explosions. According to the ANC, twenty-three people died, two of whom were MK members laying a mine. However, other sources give a death toll of thirty-seven: twenty-five civilians, nine MK members and three security force members. Some of the victims of these landmine explosions have testified to the Commission. Most of the casualties appeared to have been women and small children.

503 On 16 December 1985

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

level all over the PWV.

671 The labour dispute in Ratanda led to ongoing conflict in the area between July and December 1992, including attacks on homes and the petrol-bombing of buses

65 Human Rights Committee. VOLUME

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

Regional Profile: Transvaal

PAGE 711

677 On 14 November, a bus carrying people back to Ratanda from a sports event organised by the ANCYL was raked with gunfire as it turned into Protea Road, about 250 metres from the hostel. Approximately

twenty rounds of ammunition were fired. One person died and eight others were injured. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT CONFLICT BETWEEN IFP AND ANC HOSTEL DWELLERS IN RATANDA ON THE EAST RAND EMANATED FROM A LABOUR DISPUTE AT THE ESCORT BACON FACTORY. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TWO UNIONS INVOLVED WERE FAWU, AFFILIATED TO COSATU, AND UWUSA, A UNION SET UP BY THE IFP. THE DISPUTE LED TO VIOLENT CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO UNIONS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS, INCLUDING ATTACKS ON THE HOUSES OF UNION OFFICIALS AND THE PETROL BOMBING OF BUSES TRANSPORTING WORKERS TO AND FROM WORK.
THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

the Commission.. 5

Chapter 2

INSTITUTIONAL HEARING: Business and Labour 18

Chapter 3

INSTITUTIONAL HEARING: The

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

J V Williamson, C M

Business and Labour Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut

Anglo American Corporation of South

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

17

Volume FOUR Chapter TWO

Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour

■ INTRODUCTION

1 At the heart

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearing: Business and Labour

■ INTRODUCTION

1 At the heart of the business and labour hearings lay the complex power relations of apartheid, the legacy of which continues to afflict the post-apartheid society. These include the consequences of job reservation, influx control, wages, unequal access to resources, migrant labour and the hostel system. Adjacent to these historic developments were industrial unrest, strikes and the struggle for the right to organise trade unions.

2 The hearings illuminated the

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

South Africa) and predominantly white

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 18

labour organisations, such as the Typographical Union, the Public Servants Association and the United Workers Union of South Africa.

■ CULPABILITY, COLLABORATION AND INVOLVEMENT

6

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

Anton Rupert of Rembrandt International.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 19

8 These opposing arguments mirror a long-standing debate over the relationship between apartheid and capitalism.¹ What was of relevance to the task facing the Commission was that these contrasting accounts imply different notions of accountability. If, for example, one assumes that apartheid placed obstacles in the path of profitability, then business as a whole is cast more as a victim of the system than as a partner or collaborator. According to this construct, the essential question to be asked of business is why it did not do more to hasten the demise of apartheid - both through pressure on the state and through progressive actions at company or community levels. In other words, why did business not protest more loudly? Why did it not support the demands of black workers for wage increases and resist migratory labour practices?

9 Alternatively, the analysis of

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

an overview of this debate.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 20

13 As far as the

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

As the ANC puts it:

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 21

Apartheid was more than a

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

The COSATU submission went further:

We remain of the view that apartheid, with its form of institutionalised racism, masked its real content and substance – the perpetuation of a super-exploitative cheap labour system. We all know that the primary victims of this system were the black working class and the primary beneficiaries the white ruling elite.

18 The SACP draws out

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

the apartheid system against democratisation.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 22

19 The link between trade

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

which simply cannot be ignored.

20 Evidence of different levels of collaboration emerged in the Commission's hearings on business and labour. On the one level, business is charged with direct collaboration (most notably with the security establishment). On the other, business is charged with implicitly collaborating with the state by doing business with it, paying taxes and promoting economic growth. Professor Sampie Terreblanche argues that: Business should acknowledge explicitly, and

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

condones certain patterns of behaviour.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 23

21 The COSATU submission argues

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

The COSATU submission argues that:

Indeed, the historical record does not support business claims of noncollaboration. A vast body of evidence points to a central role for business interests in the elaboration, adoption, implementation and modification of apartheid policies throughout its dismal history. The South African Police and Defence Force were armed and equipped by big business. Apartheid's jails were constructed by big business, as were the buildings housing the vast apartheid bureaucracy. Apartheid's labour laws, pass laws, forced removals and cheap labour system were all to the advantage of the business community.

22 Major Craig Williamson (a

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

majorities.²

First order involvement

23 To the extent that business played a central role in helping to design and implement apartheid policies, it must be held accountable. This applies particularly to the mining industry which, for this reason, is dealt with in some detail below. Direct involvement with the state in the formulation of oppressive policies or practices that resulted in low labour costs (or otherwise boosted profits) can be described as first-order involvement. This is clearly of a different moral order to simply benefiting from such policies. Businesses that were involved in this way must be held responsible and accountable for the suffering that resulted. Furthermore, to the extent that subsequent capital accumulation was boosted beyond that which would have occurred in the absence of such policies, the moral basis of such wealth must be questioned – a matter that is dealt with in the recommendations.

24 Other forms of involvement

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

Town on 9 October 1997.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 24

25 One could adopt a

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

more acceptable than are others.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 25

Covert credit cards and other

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

It also raises the question

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 26

about the need for business

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

reflected the peculiarities of apartheid:

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 27

This often caused separation of

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

see chapter on The Mandate.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 28

South Africans were prohibited from

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

families living on the farms.

46 Similarly, it is evident that the state's policy of forcibly resettling into the impoverished homelands hundreds of thousands of black South Africans no longer needed on the increasingly mechanised, commercial farms was done, if not at the explicit request of the agricultural sector, certainly with its implicit support. Indeed, the nature of the precise link between commercial agriculture, the apartheid state and the infamous policies of resettlement as they were experienced by millions of South Africans during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s is one that requires recognition and acknowledgement.⁵ Likewise, many farmers took advantage of the farm prison system, which provided them with free labour and resulted in many human rights abuses.⁶

47 Another critical area requiring

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

Thomas Y Crowell Company, 1973.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 29

■ COSTS AND BENEFITS OF APARTHEID

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

played in influencing apartheid legislation.

49 Business was not a monolithic block and it can be argued that no single relationship existed between business and apartheid. It is, however, also true that overwhelming economic power resided in a few major business groupings with huge bargaining power vis-à-vis the state. This power could have been more aggressively used to promote reform. The state, on the other hand, actively repressed black business, favoured Afrikaner capital (through access to contracts, licences, subsidies and so on), while apartheid labour policies benefited industries dependent on lowcost labour (mining and agriculture).

50 It could also be

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

However, apart from having easier

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 30

access to government, SANLAM said

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

fund to contribute to empowerment.

54 Professor Sampie Terreblanche agreed that the NP favoured Afrikaans business, for example through fishing quotas, mining and liquor concessions, government contracts and "all kinds of inside information". In later years, however, this policy of Afrikaner favouritism was replaced with a policy of patronage towards those businesses that co-operated in the military industrial complex. In return for support, former State President PW Botha granted reforms proposed by the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions, which allowed for significant changes to apartheid labour law and influx control. Terreblanche argues, however, that Mr Botha's intention at all times "was to entrench and perpetuate white control".

55 The ANC submission identified

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

leaders of the apartheid state".

56 The AHI was far more self-critical than other representative business organisations. It admitted that it had "committed major mistakes" in its support for separate development, its lack of moral and economic

objections to apartheid, its insensitivity to issues involving human rights and its acceptance of the absence of a proper labour relations law. It accepted moral responsibility for this. It noted, however that:
Without in any way detracting

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

for the promise of develop-
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 31
ment, i.e. people could

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

was prejudiced (see BMF submission).
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 32
The mining industry
62 From

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

PAGE 32
The mining industry
62 From the early days of the Boer Republics, mining capital played a major role in shaping and driving cheap labour policies. Strategies included the following:
a influencing legislation that forced

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

managed their allocation within it);
b state-endorsed monopolistic recruiting practices; c the capping of African wages; d divisive labour practices in managing compounds; e the sometimes brutal repression of black workers and trade unions.
63 This history has been well documented⁷ and was reflected in submissions by COSATU, the SACP and the ANC. The first-order involvement of the mining houses and the Chamber of Mines (COM) in shaping the migrant labour system is the clearest example of business working closely with the minority (white) government to create the conditions for capital accumulation based on cheap African labour. The evidence shows that, rather than relying simply on the forces of supply and demand, the mining industry harnessed the services of the state to shape labour supply conditions to their advantage. Thus, the mining industry bears a great deal of moral responsibility for the migrant labour system and its associated hardships.
64 It is regrettable that the Chamber of Mines made no mention in its submission of the active role they played in constructing and managing the migrant labour system.⁸ Although the foundations of this system were laid before the 1960s, the Chamber had a significant formative impact on the apartheid political economy during the period under review by the Commission. There is plenty of evidence to show that, directly due to the monopsonistic power of the Chamber of Mines (which was set up with this purpose explicitly in mind), black wages on the mines were lower – at least until the mid-1970s – than they would

almost certainly otherwise have been. Similarly, the opposition of the Chamber of Mines to the unionisation of black mine workers effectively prevented the growth of trade unions for black

7 See for example, Johnstone, R. (1976). *Class Race and Gold*. Routledge, London; Wilson, F. (1972). *Labour in the South African Gold Mines*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; and Lipton, M. (1986). *Capitalism and Apartheid: 1910-86*. Wildwood House, Aldershot. 8 The Chamber of Mines merely observes that the system of labour migration "originated in a set of laws and practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries", and makes no mention of the role played by the mining industry in influencing such laws and practices.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 33

mine workers until the beginning

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

bounds of the law.⁹

67 However, Anglo's submission was also flawed. Its most glaring failure was to sidestep the African wage issue. The submission blames "race politics" for depressing black wage levels and, like the Chamber of Mines, fails to address the active measures taken by mining magnates to ensure the continued supply of cheap migrant labour. The submission records that black wages doubled within a period of three years in the 1960s, and tripled in the early 1970s. This selective presentation of wage developments is misleading and fails to mention that real African wages on the gold mines were higher in 1915 than they were in 1970.¹⁰

68 It is important to recognise that, while the migrant labour system benefited the mining industry, this was not the case with regard to legislation protecting white labour. Government reaction to the 1922 'Rand Revolt' and the mining industry's support of the colour bar shows very clearly that the industry was opposed to any form of industrial action designed to raise labour costs – whether by white or black workers. The apartheid state created an environment in which white worker power was

9 The Anglo-American Corporation points out that they were allowed to provide married accommodation for 3 per cent of their African labour force, but failed to provide even this. They regard this as one of the "missed opportunities" and "acknowledge, with regret, that we did not sufficiently progress these and many other opportunities to oppose apartheid and hasten its demise". 10 See Nattrass, J. (1988). *The South African Economy: Its Growth and Change* (Second edition). Oxford University Press, Cape Town, table 7.2, page 139. VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 34

enhanced by legislation (a position accepted by the mining industry). Black worker power, on the other hand, was progressively eroded – a situation that was ignored by the mining industry, which went on to suppress black labour with impunity.

69 This leads to the important point that apartheid had both costs and benefits for the mining industry. The relationship between the mining industry and various white minority governments was both complex and contradictory. On the one hand, the migrant labour system worked to the decided advantage of the mining industry. But, on the other, the protection of white labour significantly increased both wage and non-wage labour costs in mining. The many representations by mining magnates to government on the costs of job reservation bear testimony to this major apartheid-related thorn in the side of the industry.

70 Finally, it is necessary

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

which he referred the Commission.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 35
The black miners who had

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

Centre for Inter-Group Studies.
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 36
76 The only submission by

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

benefited from the tariff protection,
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 37
subsidies, cheap loans and preferential

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

particularly until the early 1970s.
82 Industry was, however, divided over black trade union rights and wage determination. While many recognised that a higher level of African wages would boost consumer demand, no individual firm had any direct incentive to pay substantially more than the going wage for relatively unskilled (or skilled labour). To the extent that apartheid policies exercised downward pressure on African wages, all firms benefited, at least in so far as minimising costs was concerned. Some paid meagre wages in order to stay in business, as paying higher wages than the competition could threaten their existence. For others, depressed African wages simply boosted profits to very high levels.
83 Many foreign-owned companies probably fell into the latter category. The fact that they were able to improve wages and working conditions appreciably after being embarrassed by international campaigns to adopt the Sullivan Code (see the submission by the Anti-Apartheid Movement) suggests that they had previously enjoyed substantially high profits at the expense of poorly-paid African labour.
84 Some businesses went beyond accepting the benefits of being able to pay low African wages. Indeed, their use of the repressive machinery of the state to suppress striking workers puts them in another category altogether. Firms that informed on trade union officials to the security police and called in the police to disperse striking workers clearly have a great deal to answer for. Those which took advantage of apartheid norms and practices to humiliate their workers with racism (see the submission by the BMF) and to engage in unfair labour practices also need to recognise that they were part of the problem of apartheid - and not simply subject to its laws. While some submissions from business (such as that of Tongaat-Hulett) acknowledged this role, most did not.
85 Several businesses argued, on

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

pressure from white trade unions.
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 38
b the Physical Planning Act

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

the Group Areas Act.¹⁵

86 Firms that required greater inputs of skilled labour were harmed by the politically enhanced power of white trade unions and by limitations on the skills-development and occupational mobility of African workers.

87 Business organisations argued that they made representations and protested to government about the impact of apartheid on business (see submissions by SEIFSA, SACOB and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry). These protests tended, however, to relate to specific policies (such as the colour bar, Bantu education and the Physical Planning Act) rather than broader political concerns. In other words, they protested against aspects that disadvantaged business. Before the 1980s, most criticisms were voiced at times of skilled labour shortages. Major business organisations also protested during incidents of social and political unrest, most notably after the Sharpsville massacre (1960), the Durban strikes (1973) and the Soweto uprising (1976).

88 But, as the submission

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

the security and military machine.

15 See the submission by SACOB in this regard. VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour

PAGE 39

89 Some sectors

Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

of the costs of apartheid:

As the costs for business escalated from the 1970s onwards, the AHI gradually added its voice to the (predominantly English) business organisations which had been protesting against apartheid education and labour policies for some time.¹⁶ By the end of the long post-war boom, most sections of urban business were united in their calls for an urbanised African labour force with better access to skills and jobs.

Opposition by organised business to labour controls, although inspired by the desire for a more stable, settled and productive workforce was profoundly political in that it challenged one of the pillars of apartheid - i.e. the idea that black workers were merely temporary sojourners in white cities. Frustrated by the lack of government action, Harry Oppenheimer and Anton Rupert (representing English and Afrikaner capital respectively) established the Urban Foundation in 1976 to push for reform in the areas of influx control, housing, black land ownership etc. This initiative was supported by a wide range of corporations and business organisations. The achievements of the Urban Foundation are documented in various business submissions.¹⁷

Pressure from business to re-examine its policies towards black labour and urbanisation almost certainly contributed to the subsequent reforms. As a result of the Wiehahn Commission, black trade unions were incorporated into the system of collective bargaining. This unleashed the power of black trade unions (which had been growing since the mid-1970s) and contributed significantly to the subsequent economic and

political transformation. Reforms stemming from the Riekert Commission loosened some of the restrictions on labour allocation. This started a process which culminated in the lifting of influx control.

90 The BMF, on the

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

the submission by Ann Bernstein.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 40

positions "will prove to have

Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

rights occurred as a consequence.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 41

94 The submission added that

Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

funded by Inkatha was formed.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 42

this extent, business was part

Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

sexual harassment in the workplace;

b the implementation of pass laws "through the active policing and collaboration of management as a means of labour control and cheapening labour";

19 Mahmood Mamdani, 'Reconciliation without Justice', Southern African Review of Books, November/December 1996. VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour

PAGE 43

c preventable industrial

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

and 2 284 were killed.

103 COSATU identified five main devices used by business: the 'colour bar' (unequal wages, benefits and conditions of employment); segregationist labour legislation; unequal provision of education and training; and labour market regulations, such as the pass laws. Each of these was developed in the COSATU submission.

104 COSATU also noted that

Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

ensure human rights. The South
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 44
African Chamber of Business (SACOB)

Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

range of countries in the
20 SJ Terreblanche, Submission to the Commission, 11 November 1997, p.10. VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2
Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour
PAGE 45
World Bank's annual

Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

sector in economic policy development.
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 46
114 Except for the boom

Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

the other, to fight a
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 47
rear guard action against the

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

same role in the process.
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 48
123 A different kind of

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa.
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 49
manpower liaison committees or collaborated

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

foreign firms in South Africa.
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 50
132 The AAM Archives Committee

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

which international business sustained apartheid.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 51

In broader perspective

137 Several

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

distinct points of view emerged.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 52

141 The first was expressed

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

economic growth in a democracy.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 53

146 The former argument condemns

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

are downplayed in both arguments.

147 Business (not least for reasons of enlightened self-interest) is coming to recognise that morality is an important ingredient of viable business. Moreover, the conflict that characterised labour relations in South Africa shows that a failure by government and business to recognise the fundamental rights of workers provided the very incentive that Ms Bernstein questions, with the result that large numbers of people did give up "everything for their beliefs and ideas".

148 The mandate of the Commission requires it to make recommendations to ensure that past violations of human rights do not recur in the future. This requires a conscious commitment to realistic moral behaviour grounded in a culture of international human rights law. It would be a sad day for the nation, faced as it is with the opportunity for renewal, if business were to dismiss social concern, business ethics and moral accountability in labour relations as being of no direct concern to itself.

■ THE WAY FORWARD

149 Many

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

largest item after education. In

25 Submission of the Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee, 17 October 1997. VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour

PAGE 54

comparison, vital social

Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

there is a strong argument
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 55
for discussion, consultation and co

Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

than a reparations fund. This,
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 56
he said, should be motivated

Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

of business. 12 May 1998.
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 57
impoverished, there is no possibility

Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

to gross human rights violations.
165 The mining industry not only benefited from migratory labour and the payment of low wages to black employees; it also failed to give sufficient attention to the health and safety concerns of its employees.
166 Business failed in the

Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

for employees and their dependants.
VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour PAGE 58
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Institutional

Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

combat Jewish racism."¹
Hinduism
24 Seventy percent of the one million South African Indians are Hindu. The first Indians came to South Africa in 1860 to work as indentured labour, mainly on sugar plantations in Natal. After the term of their indenture ended, many stayed on as farmers - despite government attempts to repatriate them in the 1920s. The so-called 'free' or 'passenger Indians' arrived towards the end of the nineteenth century and set up trade and merchant businesses. Indians in South Africa are a very diverse group. They include four major language

groups with distinctive (though sometimes overlapping) worship practices, religious rites, customs and dress.

25 From the turn of

Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

Acts of omission Avoiding responsibility

58 The idea of 'responsibility' differs amongst groups. While some communities (especially, though not only, English-speaking churches) saw themselves as consciences of the nation¹⁶, others defined their responsibilities primarily to their own members. Communities generally expressed the view that it had been their moral responsibility to speak out against injustice, making their silence under apartheid especially regrettable. Offering a variety of reasons, including complicity with white business interests, poor or inadequate theology or some other reason, faith communities and their leadership confessed to silence in the face of apartheid wrongs. In its submission, the Roman Catholic Church said that this was perhaps its greatest sin. The Salvation Army too, despite its heritage of "standing up and being counted", noted its lack of courage. Even the Uniting Reformed Church, which in the 1980s was an important player in opposing the theological justification of apartheid, confessed to taking too long to make a stand, particularly against the migrant labour system. Such a failure indicated "silent approval" of state actions.

59 Farid Esack accused the

Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

1976 – is also significant.³⁶

87 Of the Protestant churches, the United Congregational Church, the Presbyterian Church and the SACC made special mention of the 'Cottesloe Statement' and Conference (1960), set up in the wake of the Sharpsville tragedy. The statement "opposed apartheid in worship", but also "in prohibition of mixed marriages, migrant labour, low wages, job reservation and permanent exclusion of 'non-white people' from government." The fact that this statement - despite its paternalism in comparison with later documents - went beyond strictly 'church' matters in the eyes of the state is significant. Previously churches had only been able to unite against apartheid when their own congregations were directly affected, as with opposition to the 1957 Church Clause. The 'Cottesloe Statement' also featured in the Dutch Reformed Church's 'Journey' document as "an important stop". Not only did it result in the marginalisation of some of its representatives (including Beyers Naudé); it caused "a deep rift between the Dutch Reformed Churches and many other recognised Protestant churches in the country."³⁷ More than this, it set a precedent for state interference, not simply in the affairs of the Dutch Reformed Church (with which it already enjoyed a special relationship), but in those of the ecumenical churches.

88 The SACC submission stated

Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

the University of Cape Town

There were no African students on the UCT Campus [when Dr Moosa attended medical school]. The only African people working there were people who were employed as labourers and as assistants maybe in some of the laboratories.

All the residences were closed

Reference 172 - 0.01% Coverage

this type of unethical behaviour.

85 Conditions in mental institutions were appalling and did nothing to foster mental health. Inmates were used as sources of income-producing labour and there are (unproved) allegations that black patients were used as 'guinea pigs' in research. Mental health professionals remained silent about this situation. The Department of Health acknowledges:

Conditions in a number of

Reference 173 - 0.01% Coverage

such problems with the Department.

9) This circular is issued with concurrence of the Departments of Education, Arts and Science, Bantu Administration and Development, Coloured Affairs, Indian Affairs, Health and Labour.

Signed: Secretary

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Reference 174 - 0.01% Coverage

the government of the day.

118 The labour policy of the SABC, as expressed in Section 14 of the Staff Code and the apparent alternatives to dismissal for violations of the code, is a flagrant violation of the basic human rights of workers. Employment discrimination based on race and gender, and prevalent throughout South African society, was another feature of SABC employment practice.

119 The racism that pervaded

Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearings: The Media PAGE 191

Star newspaper strike is an example where production was affected when labour downed tools.

7 MWASA embraced the Black

Reference 176 - 0.01% Coverage

on the judiciary.

Farm prisons⁵

16 Another gap was the notorious farm prisons system about which nobody came forward to give evidence. The farm prisons system ensured that farmers were supplied with a cheap supply of labour. African people who failed to produce their passes were, in theory, offered the option of 'volunteering' as farm labour in exchange for having charges dropped against them. Arrests for failure to produce a pass became a rich source of labour for the farms. The General Circular 23 of 1954, issued by the Department of Native Affairs stated:

It is common knowledge that

Reference 177 - 0.01% Coverage

Institutional Hearings: Prisons PAGE 202

17 The prisoners were not taken to court but to labour bureaux where they would be induced or forced to volunteer. Joel Carlson, a Johannesburg attorney, uncovered some of the gross violations of human rights that resulted from the system. An affidavit by Robert Ncube in the late 1950s stated:

After I had been there

Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

body before it was buried.

18 As a result of the publicity around this and other cases, the farm labour scheme was suspended. However, within weeks, the government passed an amended Prisons Act of 1959, providing for short-term offenders to be processed quickly through the courts and sent to the farms. The act provided that the farms be considered prisons and that it was a criminal offence to publish anything about prison conditions without the prior consent of the Commissioner of Prisons.

■ THE ORGANISATION OF THE HEARINGS

Reference 179 - 0.01% Coverage

purposes of interrogation and torture.

69 The Department of Prisons created the 'farm prison' system as a basis for providing cheap labour for white farmers. Africans arrested for pass law offences were frequently used to provide this form of labour. Although the Commission was not presented with evidence of this, it has been recorded elsewhere that the system resulted in numerous instances of gross human rights violations, some of which resulted in death.

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Reference 180 - 0.01% Coverage

gross violation of human rights'

48 This definition limited the attention of the Commission to events which emanated from the conflicts of the past, rather than from the policies of apartheid. There had been an expectation that the Commission would investigate many of the human rights violations which were caused, for example, by the denial of freedom of movement through the pass laws, by forced removals of people from their land, by the denial of the franchise to citizens, by the treatment of farm workers and other labour disputes, and by discrimination in such areas as education and work opportunities. Many organisations lobbied the Commission to insist that these issues should form part of its investigations. Commission members, too, felt that these were important areas that could not be ignored. Nevertheless, they could not be interpreted as falling directly within the Commission's mandate.

49 The Commission recognised that

Reference 181 - 0.01% Coverage

walkman).

Killed by exposure

Necklacing

EXPOSURE Person dies after being subjected to extremes such as heat, cold, weather, exercise, forced labour.

NECKLACING Burnt with petrol and

Reference 182 - 0.01% Coverage

breasts, fingers, toes, ears, etc.)

EXPOSURE Tortured by subjecting victim to extremes such as heat, cold, weather, exercise, labour, noise, darkness,

light (including flashing lights, blinding

Reference 183 - 0.01% Coverage

body into painful positions, for

example, suspension, 'helicopter', tied up, handcuffed, stretching of body parts, prolonged standing, standing on bricks, uncomfortable position (includes squatting, 'imaginary chair', standing on one leg, pebbles in shoes), forced exercise, forced labour, blindfolding and gagging.

Torture by

sexual assault abuse

Reference 184 - 0.01% Coverage

on the 12 September 1989.

74 As a core structure in society, the family should be protected and supported by the state. Apartheid generated a crisis in South African family life. Group areas legislation and forced removals have both been linked to disruptions in healthy family functioning, and the migrant labour system also deprived people of family life. Children were denied fatherly guidance and support during their formative years and the fact that women were obliged to take on domestic work meant that children were denied the care of their mothers. In trying to deal with these problems, extended family networks came into play.

75 The pressure on families was relentless. They experienced poverty and the degradation of living conditions in the townships, rural areas and informal settlements. Malnutrition was rife. Migrant labour policies meant that many fathers were away from their children for long periods and, perhaps more seriously in a patriarchal society, separated mothers from their children for long stretches. Even those parents who were able to live with their children worked long hours, sometimes leaving before the children went to school and coming home after they were in bed. In many cases, a traumatised child was simply an extra burden on the family; yet another problem for his or her already overburdened parents.¹⁸

76 In South Africa, the

Reference 185 - 0.01% Coverage

doing on the other side.

107 Thus, in many families, even where activism did not generate outright conflict, a shroud of secrecy often affected intergenerational relationships. In some families, political activism was seen as operating in a sphere outside of family life. This was sometimes linked with parents' feelings of helplessness about the public realm of politics. This lack of communication was aggravated by disruptions to family life, caused by the absence of parents who worked as migrant labourers, domestic workers, or because group areas legislation and other apartheid laws prevented them from living with their families.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 4 Consequences

Reference 186 - 0.01% Coverage

order to supplement my income.

131 Other largely unmeasured costs included the value of time contributed by family members to caring for sick relatives. Many had to leave the labour market to care for family members. Others had to enter the labour market to pay for health costs. These added to the stresses on the family. Of those who reported that they were attempting to cope financially by doing odd jobs such as hawking or with the assistance of a pension or disability grant, 47 per cent also reported symptoms of anxiety, depression and difficulty in coping.

Family violence

132 Domestic violence

Reference 187 - 0.01% Coverage

most neglected in South Africa.

167 Rural areas were subject to the rigid enforcement of apartheid legislation. For example, in Oudtshoorn, from 1961 until the early 1970s, the Group Areas Act resulted in the removal of thousands of coloured and African people from the town. In 1966, a new township called Bongoletu was proclaimed. This allowed for the destruction of Klippias Eiland and the removal of Africans to the new area. As Oudtshoorn fell within the 'coloured labour preference' policy area, African people were allowed only limited access to Oudtshoorn. Apartheid was enforced through measures such as forcing the residents of Bridgeton, a neighbouring coloured township, to obtain permits to visit relatives and friends in Bongoletu.

168 In rural communities, racism

Reference 188 - 0.01% Coverage

LOSS OF LIVES OF CIVILIANS.

WHILE THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THE ANC'S SUBMISSION THAT THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD ITSELF BY THE MID-1980S BLURRED THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MILITARY AND 'SOFT' TARGETS BY DECLARING BORDER AREAS 'MILITARY ZONES' WHERE FARMERS WERE TRAINED AND EQUIPPED TO OPERATE AS AN EXTENSION OF MILITARY STRUCTURES, IT FINDS THAT THE ANC'S LANDMINE CAMPAIGN IN THE PERIOD 1985-87 IN THE RURAL AREAS OF THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN TRANSVAAL CANNOT BE CONDONED, IN THAT IT RESULTED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF CIVILIANS, INCLUDING FARM LABOURERS AND CHILDREN, WHO WERE KILLED OR INJURED. THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

INDIVIDUALS WHO DEFECTED TO THE

Reference 189 - 0.01% Coverage

Perspectives of Perpetrators PAGE 265

25 Regarding questions about the brutal enforcement of labour, consumer and student boycotts that involved gross violations of human rights, the UDF submission argued that such acts should be seen against

—

... the background of emergency when

Reference 190 - 0.01% Coverage

repressive work, or sometimes both.

136 The military and the police are habitually semi-closed establishments, but within them, given the specialised divisions of labour of modernity, some sections are given even more clandestine tasks: the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), the State Security Council (SSC), the National Security Management System (NSMS), the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Joint Management Centres (JMCs), the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) – a euphemism if ever there was one – Koevoet, Vlakplaas, the Roodeplaat Research Laboratory, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), C10, Stratcom and others that may yet be unearthed. On the other side of the struggle, for somewhat different reasons, there were also specialised organisations. Not least of these were the armed wings, such as MK and APLA, as well as SDUs, which also operated in clandestine ways. Special organisations within Inkatha, such as the Caprivi-trained group, as well as numerous township vigilante groups (such as witdoeke), constitute further examples. Within many of these organisations, yet smaller groups were given the task of special operations. According to John Deegan:

... becoming part of the culture

Reference 191 - 0.01% Coverage

pressing issues of our time;

- initiate programmes of action in our own spheres of interest and influence, whether it be education, religion, business, labour, arts or politics, so that the process of reconciliation can be implemented from a grassroots level;
- address the reality of ongoing

Reference 192 - 0.01% Coverage

OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

IN REGARD TO THE CREATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES, THE COMMISSION APPRECIATES THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE. TWO AREAS WHICH THE COMMISSION ASKS GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER ARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PEACE CORPS AND A MORE FOCUSED EMPHASIS ON PUBLIC WORKS WHICH, BY DEFINITION, WOULD BE LABOUR INTENSIVE. IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO

Reference 193 - 0.01% Coverage

SOCIETY.

■ ORGANISATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

24 To build, protect and maintain a new human rights culture in line with the new dispensation in South Africa, the Commission recommends that: CORPORATE AND GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES COMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS WITH RENEWED VIGOUR. THE COMMISSION WELCOMES THE PRINCIPLES ENCAPSULATED IN THE EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT, WHILE RECOGNISING THE NEED FOR GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND LABOUR TO FIND VIABLE WAYS TO IMPLEMENT ITS PROVISIONS, PRIOR TO THE PROMULGATION OF THE ACT. THE PRINCIPLES OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS. TO FACILITATE THIS, TRAINING IN CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND PROFESSIONAL SKILLS FOR ALL SECTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY NEED TO BE GIVEN PRIORITY. SPECIAL ATTENTION, IN THIS REGARD, NEEDS TO BE GIVEN TO THE ERADICATION OF INEFFICIENCY AND THE PROMOTION OF A CULTURE OF HARD WORK AND HONESTY. THE GOVERNMENT MUST ENSURE THAT

Reference 194 - 0.01% Coverage

MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL PRISONERS.

PRISONERS HAVE ACCESS TO LITERACY CLASSES AND SKILLS TRAINING. WORK SESSIONS SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO PROMOTE REHABILITATION, RATHER THAN SIMPLY BEING PUNITIVE HARD LABOUR.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 8 Recommendations

Reference 195 - 0.01% Coverage

play in this regard.

Restitution

39 The Commission recommends that: CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE MOST APPROPRIATE WAYS IN WHICH TO PROVIDE RESTITUTION FOR THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED FROM THE EFFECTS OF APARTHEID DISCRIMINATION, FOR EXAMPLE AS A RESULT OF RACISM, GENDER DISCRIMINATION, JOB RESERVATION, GROUP AREAS LEGISLATION, THE EFFECTS OF THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM, INFERIOR WAGES AND INADEQUATE OR NON-EXISTENT SOCIAL BENEFITS.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 8 Recommendations

Reference 196 - 0.01% Coverage

PARLIAMENT ON AN ANNUAL BASIS.

THE BANKING INDUSTRY DEVELOP A SUBSIDISED LOAN SCHEME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL BUSINESSES AND LABOUR INTENSIVE INDUSTRIES.

THE DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTH

Reference 197 - 0.01% Coverage

INVESTIGATING THEIR LONG TERM DESIRABILITY.

Children and youth 45 The Commission recommends that: CHILD LABOUR IN ALL FORMS BE ELIMINATED THROUGH APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION. PROVISION BE MADE FOR ADEQUATE HOUSING AND EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN;

6

TAX INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESSES

Reference 198 - 0.01% Coverage

their implementation, rests primarily with:

a The Department of Trade and Industry b The Department of Finance c The Department of Labour d The Department of Environmental Affairs e The private business sector

■ LEGAL AND JUDICIAL

47 In

Reference 199 - 0.01% Coverage

SIMILAR AGENCIES IN THE FUTURE.

Labour and employment issues 98 The Commission recommends that:

MEDIA EMPLOYERS INTENSIFY PROGRAMMES OF

Reference 200 - 0.01% Coverage

worst mistakes the AHI made.

Then we look at the lack of critical evaluation of policies – another major mistake that was committed and that was one of omissions. No moral and economic objections to apartheid were lodged for many years. At the time, there was sufficient appreciation for the hardship and suffering caused by the policy. Whether those hardships were shacks being demolished in the wet and cold of the Cape winter, or of people being shot whilst protesting or the consequences of bombs which killed civilians in Church Street in Pretoria as part of the struggle against apartheid – all of which was seen on our TV screens – the AHI could not have escaped the impact of these policies. [Point] 5.3 [of the submission] deals with insensitivity into issues involving human rights, although there were frequent references at AHI conferences to the importance of good labour relations, training, proper wages and productivity. There was for many years an acceptance of the absence of a proper labour relations law that makes provision for workers' rights for all and of the lack of training and other discriminatory measures. This is also regrettable. There was

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Reference 201 - 0.01% Coverage

three positions in this regard.

First, they say they are shocked by the revelations of the [Commission]. Had they only known about the atrocities at the time, they would surely have objected. This is a self-serving myth. It is patently dishonest to claim today that any of us were unaware of apartheid; unaware of forced removals and pass laws; unaware of deaths in detention or unaware of the killing of children in our streets. The second response from the white community is that, well we knew what was happening, and we did everything in our power to object.

This is also a myth. The truth of the matter is that a tiny minority of whites voiced any opposition and then mostly in conditions of relative safety and comfort. An even smaller minority of whites participated directly in the campaigns, in the daily struggle of the black community. The third position comes from whites who say, let bygones be bygones. Rehashing the past will only perpetuate divisions and inhibit reconciliation. Let us concentrate instead, they say, on building a new future. In my view, this position adds insult to injury. It's a monumental deceit. Whatever the individual talents and efforts of whites, our lives of privilege today are the product of a grand historical act of theft. We stole the land, the labour, the dignity and, in countless instances, the lives of the black people of our country. The majority of blacks still live with the consequences, and the majority of whites still enjoy the fruits of our acts of violence. The past is present. It is present in our suburbs and in our townships. It's present in our individual and national psyche. White domination may have been eliminated in the political arena but it still prevails at an economic level and in forums like universities and the media which have a powerful impact on the ideas and the debates of broader society.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

Reference 202 - 0.01% Coverage

dignity is restored and protected.

108 In concluding this section, it is important to highlight, once again, the historical and moral basis for the above-mentioned demands for widespread reparations beyond the limited group of victims on which the Commission was required to focus. At the business sector hearing in Johannesburg on 11 November 1997, Professor of Economics, Sampie Terreblanche, listed the following seven reasons why "political supremacy and racial capitalism impoverished Africans and enriched whites undeservedly": Firstly, the Africans were deprived of a large part of land on which they conducted successful traditional farming for centuries. White farmers on the other hand had the privilege of property rights and access to very cheap and docile African labour, my father included.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

Reference 203 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearings Disclose Dorbyl's "Racist Past"

In May 1998, industrial holding company Dorbyl released a report by eight independent commissioners appointed two years ago "to conduct truth commission-style hearings and expose the group's past to public and employee scrutiny". The report identified past racism as a factor which continued to have a negative effect on staff morale and showed a lack of trust of management. Many of the complaints heard by the commission related to alleged unfair labour practices. Dorbyl Chief Executive Bill Cooper, who joined the company in 1994, said the process of conducting hearings showed aspects of the group's past of which present senior management was unaware. It is reported that Mr Cooper said: "We also learnt that practices of the past were still rampant in some Dorbyl operations".

As a result of this

Reference 204 - 0.01% Coverage

27. By 1988, the total sum paid by West Germany in reparations was DM 80.57 billion. Nor is this process complete, as is evidenced by the recent demand and agreement to pay compensation to victims of Nazi forced labour camps.

28. The former German Democratic

Reference 205 - 0.01% Coverage

the Business Sector

■ INTRODUCTION 1.

Information received from the business and labour hearings indicated that: 'Business was central to the economy that sustained the South African state during the apartheid years'.^{6 9} The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the

Commission) noted that the degree

Reference 206 - 0.01% Coverage

basic democratic rights.^{7 0}

2. While numerous submissions by business to the Commission argued that apartheid harmed business, sometimes resulting in reduced profits and distortions and restrictions on the labour market, the Commission noted further that such business opposition to apartheid as there was came very late in the day and was weak and indecisive.

3. The final position and

Reference 207 - 0.01% Coverage

to pay to the landless.

b Those enterprises involved in extracting and exploiting the mineral wealth of the country benefited from the provision of a relatively cheap migratory labour force, which was brought into being by land expropriation, forced removals, apartheid pass laws and influx controls.

c Those businesses with an

Reference 208 - 0.01% Coverage

sure on wages.

d Those enterprises involved in manufacturing processes that depend heavily on energy inputs such as electricity benefited from the relatively cheap power that was generated through the exploitation of cheap labour on the coal mines.

e The arms industry benefited

Reference 209 - 0.01% Coverage

nally.

h White residents generally benefited from the discrepancies in public investment between white towns and black townships and rural areas – in everything from health and education to water and sanitation – and from the existence of cheap domestic labour to be employed in the home.

4. Noting that the 'huge

Reference 210 - 0.01% Coverage

ATIONS

23. The case for reparations from the banks is based on three arguments: a As Pretoria's key partner in the international gold trade, Swiss banks benefited over several decades from the exploitation of the black mineworkers, whose human rights were violated by (amongst other apartheid policies) the pass laws, the migrant labour system and suppression of trade union activity.

b The banks ignored the

Reference 211 - 0.01% Coverage

needs of the mining industry.

34. Like mine workers, black electricity workers were mainly migrants, housed in the same controlled single-sex compounds and receiving the same low wages (which disregarded the needs of the workers' families back in the labour reserves). For the 58 years between 1911 and 1969 there was no increase in the real wages of black miners and electricity workers.

VOLUM

Reference 212 - 0.01% Coverage

selection of Eskom's chief executive

officers, there was seldom a conflict of interests. Thus, Eskom: a offered preferential employment to poor whites as guard labour; b did not recognise independent, non-racial trade unions until 1987; c replaced the racial job colour bar with security concerns in the 1980s, requiring black employees to get clearance from the security police;

d offered

Reference 213 - 0.01% Coverage

of diamond and gold mining.

45. Migration control regulations were first drafted by the Chamber of Mines' Native Labour Department in 1895 as a response to perceived state reluctance to organise a stable and constant labour supply. The President of the Chamber of Mines enthused: '... a most excellent law ... which should enable us to have complete control over the Kaffirs'. In its submission to a 1944 commission on 'native wages', the Chamber of Mines argued openly for the 'subsidiary means of subsistence' that migration back to homelands guaranteed. This would subsidise the cost of labour and the costs of reproducing that labour. This zeal for population control on the part of the mining houses set a precedent for the pass laws of the apartheid government.

46. The mines' thirst for migratory labour led them to establish recruiting agencies in distant rural areas and neighbouring countries, originally opened to capital by

V O L U M

Reference 214 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 1 5 1

military conquest. In this way 'native reserves' evolved into labour reserves. Offering financial inducements to the Swazi monarch, the Native Recruiting Commission set up by the Chamber of Mines was able to diminish the severe labour shortage in the post-World War II economic boom, while migrant work assuaged the King of his subjects' annual repatriation to fulfil tributary labour 'loyalties'. Tribalism on the Rand originated in recruitment strategies and bargaining by the mines. It was perpetuated by a closed compound system of hostels that fostered separate identity and anticipated the conflicts within the hostels and with permanent township residents. Thus the blueprint for 'grand apartheid' was provided by the mines and was not an Afrikaner state innovation. The mines' instigation of tribalism in employment and housing practices is admitted in their submission to the Commission.

47. The single-sex hostels

Reference 215 - 0.01% Coverage

with the mine-based economy.

54. The high level of accidents on the mines went far beyond anything that can be excused by the ordinary hazards of working underground. Here again it was the mines themselves that must take responsibility for ignoring the most basic safety standards applied by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). By 1993, the

V O L U M

Reference 216 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 1 5 3

mortality rate on the gold mines as a result of accidents stood at 113 for every 100 000 miners. This does not take into account the delayed deaths and disability resulting from the occupational hazards of work underground. The migratory labour system allowed employers to repatriate miners suffering from injury, silicosis, pulmonary tuberculosis and other work-related ailments to their distant homes, where they would often die slow and painful deaths, living on meagre pensions and without the necessary medical treatment. Even though a curative treatment for pulmonary tuberculosis was available by the 1950s, mines continued to send sick miners home, with the result that up to 60 per cent would die within two years, and families became infected. By the 1980s, only 10 per cent of these workers – effectively retrenched – received the necessary treatment.

55. Apartheid also affected how

Reference 217 - 0.01% Coverage

between black and white workers.

56. In 1974, 'Harry Oppenheimer made a public call to review South Africa's labour laws' and was 'amongst the first to grant independent black unions access, recruiting and collective bargaining rights'. The Anglo American submission to the Commission attributes this to Oppenheimer philanthropy. Yet his sudden concern about the absence of union organisation amongst black workers cannot have been coincidental: his call was stoked by the fear of disruption of production schedules when industrial relations are not mediated by union representation. Despite the orderly bargaining framework that union recognition brought to industrial relations, apartheid employers did not take this to imply that legally striking workers ought not to be dismissed. Anglo American cut the biggest swathe through workers' ranks when it dismissed 50 000 workers who were on strike for a living wage.

57. Nor did the recognition of black trade unions preclude security cordons around mines and the control of union meetings. An NUM report on repression at Anglo American mines described how meetings had to be approved by mine management. The significance of union recognition was further downplayed by the spread of Anglo American companies throughout the Bantustans. Unions enjoyed legal status only if the labour laws upheld by the homeland puppet states allowed

VOLUME

Reference 218 - 0.01% Coverage

the Bophuthatswana border.

58. When Botha's reforms of apartheid only elicited increased labour unrest, and economic sanctions looked set to force the regime to default on its debt, business leaders broke ranks with the government, and a delegation, including Mr Gavin Relfly, flew to Lusaka to meet with African National Congress (ANC) leaders. Yet just two years later, in 1987, after the declaration of the second state of emergency, Mr Relfly described the national alert as 'necessary'. 'Open minds' closed again once mass detentions brought a modicum of quiet to the townships and factory floors, and once debt payments had been successfully rescheduled by agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

59. The extent of Anglo American's 'real and permanent contribution to the well being of the people of southern Africa' and its founding 'economic nationalism' must be judged according to its deeds. Nor can its 'deeds' be repudiated by cases of its magnanimity when these stand out as exceptions against a general rule of profiteering based on racist systems of exclusion, indignity, manslaughter and expropriation. Even in terms of the modernisation thesis the corporation propounds in its literature – 'the slow march to modernity' – Anglo American fails. The basic premise that a modern, non-racial capitalist economy will engender full democratic rights for all South African citizens presumes the necessity of coerced labour and racist employment policies, because it is precisely on these practices that its empire was

Reference 219 - 0.01% Coverage

need to be considered.

12. However funds are generated or redirected from other budgets, it is important that we do not forget the high levels of emotional pain in our country and the fact that we need to build up services to deal specifically with these. Public sector mental health provision is inadequately resourced at present and there is insufficient training and ongoing support for frontline helpers across a range of sectors including education, labour, safety and security, defence, health, and welfare. Resourcing is an issue, and there is a lack of creative thinking about making services physically, linguistically and culturally acceptable to communities. Professional mental health and welfare organisations should be encouraged to share

information on successful projects, on methods of assessing impact and on improving the cost-effectiveness of such endeavours. Professional services should act in concert with community-based services. The combination of professional expertise and community-driven support is likely to provide the most cost-effective, helpful and culture-friendly mix.

V O L U M

Reference 220 - 0.01% Coverage

witnesses, suspected informers and defectors).

e In addition, some targets related to specific campaigns being supported by MK, such as labour actions and anti-election campaigns.

52. The stated objective of

Reference 221 - 0.01% Coverage

amnesty for the provision of:

maps of border areas and the farm and security network. Instructions were given on reconnaissance methods and planning and on the collecting of data. When farm labourers and civilians were killed and injured in some of these explosions, MK Commanders, myself included, visited these areas with instructions to our operatives to exercise greater caution and be stricter with their reconnaissance. In the end these operations were called off. During this period I was working mainly with Paul Dikaledi (deceased) and Julius Maliba (deceased). (Hearing, 24 July 2000.)

ANC violations against its members

Reference 222 - 0.01% Coverage

be separated out from it.

230. In the urban areas, several incidents were connected with crime, migrancy and labour disputes. Some incidents also intersected with other running disputes, such as access to land, or economic conflicts that acquired a political dimension, such as taxi conflicts. In some cases, however, victims disputed the political dimensions of the incidents, arguing that the conflict was simply a faction fight arising from local disputes such as demarcation problems.

2 3 1 . Many ANC

Reference 223 - 0.01% Coverage

to July 1990 Intelligence Johannesburg

I n t e rnational Labour Organisation I n t e rnational Monetary Fund I n t e rnational Stability Unit Information Technology Investigation Unit

Joint Management Centre KwaZulu Legislative

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

B U WA, Nonosi, was severely injured during the B O I PAT O N G M A S S A C R E in Boipatong, near Va n d e r b i j l p a r k , Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). B U YA, Nomakhwezi (32), a UDF support e r, was kicked and slapped by named members of the SAP on 9 June 1986, and held for six months in a corru g a t e d i ron shack on a farm near Cookhouse, Cape. Named SAP members attempted to bribe the victim to become an i m p i m p i (i n f o r m e r) . B U YAPI, James Manka, was arrested and tort u red by members of the SAP while in detention at the Queenstown police station, Cape, in November 1962, following a clash between police and PAC activists. BUYEYE, David (29), an ANC support e r, was shot and i n j u red by members of the SAP in Rockville, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u rg, on 17 June 1976 during the S O W E T O U P R I S I N G. BUYS, Attie, a sergeant-major in the SADF, was s e v e rely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Forc e (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 i n j u red. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G, P R E T O R I A. BUYS, Khethiwe (43), had her home and possessions b u r n t down at Isithebe, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 13 April 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the A P R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. BUYS, Marshall Cornelius (33), was beaten, tort u re d and stabbed to death in Brits, Tvl, on 21 May 1988. He was the chairperson of the Brits Action Committee, which was resisting forced I N C O R P O R A T I O N into the f o r m e r Bophuthatswana homeland. The named perpetrators were allegedly members of a vigilante g roup acting against the Oukasie community. BUZA, Tilu Daniel, a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in labour strike action in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and police members opened fire on the striking miners, injuring six. B Y N E V E L D T, Shaun, was shot with rubber bullets by police in Eersterivier, Cape Town, on 6 July 1993, while participating in a community sit-in to demand i m p r o v e d water serv i c e s . BYRNE, Kevin, was injured in what became known as the M A G O O ' S B A R B O M B I N G in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). BYRON, P, was injured in what became known as the M A G O O ' S B A R B O M B I N G in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

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result of the shooting. DAKI, Xolisa Lennox Nkonkobe (23), disappeared in 1977 after visiting his sister in Engcobo, Transkei. He is believed to have gone into exile in Lesotho, but has never been seen again. DAKI, Xosheni Francis (39), an ANC support e r, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 1 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area . DAKISI, Thabo Philemon (47), an ANC support e r, was taken from his home by members of the SAP, allegedly masquerading as ANC supporters, and was shot dead in Welkom, OFS, on 4 November 1990. Mr Dakisi, along with his neighbour who was also shot and killed by the police, believed he was being asked to help defend the area against an impending attack by the A M A R U S S I A N S. DAKU, Wandile Ponkie (21), a CRADORA member, was detained during political unrest and tort u red by members of the SAP while in police custody at the Cradock police station, Cradock, Cape, in 1987. DAKUSE, Monde (15), a member of the BPC, was t o r t u red with electric shocks by named members of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, during 1977, allegedly in an attempt to force him to admit to his involvement in arson attacks on the labour bureau building and schools in the area

a . DALGLEISH, Marlene Carol, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASSO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076). DALI, Anthony Sureboy, was in a unit of five MK operatives active in the Eastern Cape when he was caught in a police roadblock near Elliot, Cape, in August 1981 and shot dead. Three others were killed in the ambush and the survivor was arrested. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission in 1997. DALI, Funzani Metha (23), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the Venda Police Force in Vuwani, Venda, on 1 January 1990. Ms Dali was taken into custody a day before the military coup in Venda because she was regarded as an instigator of youth protests . DALIWE, Mnyamana, died after being abducted, beaten, stabbed and burnt by 'comrades' in Old Location, Cathcart, Cape, on 14 November 1985, for breaching a consumer boycott enforced by the UDF. DAMANE, Dumisani Christopher (31), disappeared in Katlehong, Tvl, in March 1992 during ongoing political violence on the East Rand.

DAMANE, Mlungisi Abednego (23), an

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DOIDGE, Craig (22), a corporal in the SADF, was detained in a single cell for 14 days by members of the SADF in Wynberg, Cape Town, during 1984. He was then discharged from the permanent force, because he was considered a security risk. DOKODA, Danisa Michael (29), a union shopsteward, was detained and tortured by the SAP in Sasolburg, OFS, during a labour strike in October 1987. Despite being tortured, Mr Dokoda refused to act as an informer for the police or for his employer. DOLANA, Suka, suffered damage to property when his house was burnt by COSAS members and UDF supporters in Jansenville, Cape, on 14 December 1985. He was suspected of being a collaborator. One COSAS member and UDF supporter were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0240). DOLO, John Mokgaetsi (48), was shot and stabbed by IFP supporters in Reagile, Koster, Tvl, on 28 September 1991 during an IFP mass funeral. DOMBI, M, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142). DONCABE, Bhakimpi (50), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULEN IATTA C K S. DONCABE, Elias Omo (16), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by named IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 8 April 1992. DONCABE, Thomas Mhlawu Phenduka (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 8 August 1991. DONDASHE, Thozamile Michael 'Whitey' (24), a UDF supporter, was abducted by other UDF supporters from his home in Uitenhage, Cape, in March 1988. He was then beaten and hacked to death, and his body set alight. Some of the perpetrators were sentenced to prison terms and later released as political prisoners. One remaining imprisoned UDF supporter applied for a pardon and was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1998/027). DONDI, Thandinkosi Sidwell 'Banki' (19), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP who opened fire on protestors from an unmarked vehicle in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 16 September 1976. A two-day stayaway on 15 and 16 September saw widespread protests and at least 11 deaths in Cape Town. DONDISA, Maxhalanzima (31), was shot by members of the Venda Police in Kagiso, Tvl, on 9 October 1976. DONGWE, Naledi Eugenia (aka 'Esther Maseko') (17), an MK member from Durban, was severely injured on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were

killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

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1986. The perpetrators, some of whom are named, accused Ms Gungubele of being an informant during a dispute between two residential areas. GUNGULUZA, Hendisini Anderson (39), a PAC member, served an eight-year prison sentence on Robben Island, Cape Town, between 1963 and 1971. Mr Gunguluza experienced severe ill-treatment while a prisoner, including beatings and forced labour. He died in 1986. GUNN, Haroon (1), was taken from his mother while she was detained under SECTION 29 in a prison in Caledon, Cape. They were separated for eight days in July 1990. When Haroon was returned, his mother tried unsuccessfully to get him medical attention for the illnesses he had developed in her absence. GUNN, Shirley Renee (35), an MK operative, was detained under SECTION 29 for several months in 1985 and again from 25 June 1990 in Cape Town. During her second detention, her infant son was forcibly removed from her for eight days. She was falsely accused, by the Minister of Law and Order, of carrying out the KHOTSOHOUSOBOMBING in 1988. GUNUZA, Amos, was detained in 1960, convicted and imprisoned on Robben Island, Cape Town, for his political activities. In 1965, Mr Gunuza's family reportedly received a telegram from prison authorities informing them of his death. GUSH, Thembelihle Arnold (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP near Vulindlela police station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 11 February 1990, while he and others were celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela. GUSHA, Ella Ntombekhaya (28), an ANC supporter, was injured while escaping from a packed hall into which SAP members had fired teargas in Plettenberg Bay, Cape, on 17 July 1990. Ms Gusha suffered a miscarriage soon afterwards. GUSHA, Siyabulela (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the shoulder by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). GUYA, Mxolisi Timothy (19), an ANC supporter, died after he was shot in the head by members of the SAP at Ngcobo, Stutterheim, Cape, on 25 November 1985. Police opened fire on a group of people returning from a meeting of the Stutterheim Youth Congress. GUZANA, Moses Phakamile (19), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured when members of the SAP opened fire on a crowd of ANC supporters marching to the Koppies court in KWAKWATSI, KOPPIES, OFS, on 30 March 1990. GUZANA, Onward (36), a colonel in the CDF, was shot dead at a CDF roadblock between Stutterheim and King William's Town, Cape, on 27 January 1991. Together with former CDF commander, Major General Charles Sebe, Colonel Guzana left Transkei and drove to Ciskei with the intention of taking over Brigadier

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to discuss social and political grievances was followed by police shootings and youth attacks on security forces and perceived collaborators. ISAAKS, David, a local Labour Party leader known for challenging discriminatory practices in the area, was shot dead by a named farmer in Upington, Cape, on 29 February 1988. Mr Isaaks had intervened after the farmer had shot at some children. ISHAPIN, Gordon, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the

Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241). ISSEL, James Victor (45), an ANC supporter, was held in custody for 11 months from 1 May 1979 in Worcester prison, Cape. He was arrested for alleged involvement in an arson attack in Worcester, but was acquitted. He was again detained in June 1980 and August 1985 for one month. ISSMAN, Irngard Herna Maria, a passenger on a Translux bus, was injured when APLA operatives fired at a Translux bus at the Gamka River Bridge, Beaufort West, Cape, on the 27 August 1993. Eight people were injured in the attack. See APLA AT TACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/167). ITUMELENG, Thapelo (18), was beaten to death in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in June 1990 following a split in the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC). The KYC split into

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labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. This caused violent conflict between July and December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. JOKWANA, Wanda (21), was beaten and arrested by members of the SAP on 18 March 1985 in Pearston, Cape, and detained without trial in Graaff-Reinet. While in detention he was tortured to force him to sign a statement. After being held for a month he was charged with public violence and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. JOKWENI, Tryphina 'Mboxela' (62), an ANC supporter, who ran a safehouse for MK cadres in Umlazi, Durban, was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in April 1987. On 24 April 1987 Security Police members from Vlakplaas and Durban killed three MK operatives in a shoot-out at Ms Jokweni's home, damaging her house. JOLOZA, Nkosiymzi Christopher (29), an NUM member, was detained, severely assaulted and tortured by named SAP members in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1987. This occurred at a time of violent clashes in the area between union members and vigilantes allegedly hired by mine management to attack perceived UDF supporters. JOMBILE, Mnikiswa (28), had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. JOMOSE, Xolani, a member of the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Port Elizabeth on 24 May 1985 during political conflict. JONAS, Frederick (19), a PAC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP on 14 April 1963 in King William's Town, Cape, and held for 12 months during which he was tortured. Mr Jonas was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for his involvement in a PAC attack on the King William's Town police station. JONAS, Maqibo Ivan (36), was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Swartkopsdam, Port Elizabeth, on 3 February 1986, during clashes between UDF and AZAPO members in the area. JONAS, Mbulelo Michael (23), a PAC supporter, was hacked to death by UDF supporters at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in May 1990 during consumer boycotts and political conflict in the area. JONAS, Zolile (23), was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). JONATHAN, Sihombiso (49), an IFP supporter, was severely burnt when his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, was petrol-bombed, allegedly by AMASIN YORA vigilantes, on 11 December 1993. JONES, Ali, was shot by AWB members in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl, on 9 August 1991. The AWB was

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J U J WANA, Ntsikelelo X-mas (28), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, broke his arm and was injured in the ribs in June 1986 when he was detained by members of the Transkei Police at Tsolo, Transkei, allegedly because he was thought to be hiding ANC weapons. He was held for six months without trial. JULA, Mchithwa (69), had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, during political conflict between ANC and IFP s u p p o r t e r s in the area. JULA, Wellington Solomon (44), an ANC support e r, was shot dead by named IFP supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 March 1994, during political conflict in the area during the run-up to the first democratic election in April 1994. JULIES, Abraham (22), was killed when he was shot in the back and chest with birdshot by a named SAP member in Saldanha, Cape, on 12 September 1987, during labour disputes and unrest in the town. JULIES, Michael (13), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 Febru a ry 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injure d. J U LY, Bonakele, a Poqo activist, was executed by hanging in 1963 following his conviction, together with 20 other Poqo members, for their attempt to re s c u e their 'comrades', who were charged with the death of a headman in Transkei. Two other Poqo members w e r e sentenced to death and 17 were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment on Robben Island. JUQU, Fuzile Petro s (15), was shot and killed by named members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape To w n, on 19 Febru a ry 1985. Eighteen people were killed over t h r e e days during protests against the attempted f o r c e d removal of Cro s s roads residents to Khayelitsha. JUZE, Ntunja, was repeatedly assaulted in 1960 at Bizana, Transkei, and Kokstad prisons after police a r r e s t e d committee members who attended a NO N Q U L W A N A meeting at NG Q U Z A H I L L. Mr Juze, an IKO N G O m e m b e r, also lost his home in Emdakamfele, Bizana, in an arson attack. See PO N D O L A N D R E V O L T. J WAMBI, Lungisa, an MK operative recently re t u r n e d f r o m exile, was shot dead in an attack on his bro t h e r ' s home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993. Members of a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P shot at the family home and set it alight. Mr Jwambi's bro t h e r ' s wife, and their two children, along with three other re l a t i v e s and friends burnt to death. J WAMBI, Magcaleka (39), survived an attack in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993. The perpetrators, members of a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P, shot at the family home and set it alight. Mr Jwambi's wife, b r o t h e r and two children as well as his sister- i n - l a w and son were shot or burnt to death. J WAMBI, Nokwakha, was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993 when members of a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P shot at the family home and set it alight. Ms Jwambi died with her two c h i l d r e n and three other family members, who were shot or trapped in the burning house.

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K H ATHIDE, Mduduzi Sabelo, was shot and severe l y i n j u r e d by KWA Z U L U P O L I C E members in Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 November 1993 while attending a night vigil. K H ATHIDE, Thabi Francisca (26), an ANC support e r, had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, b u r n t down by IFP supporters on 14 June 1991. K H ATHINI, Sipho Bethwell (24), was arrested in 1975 by members of the Special Branch and taken to Fischer Street, Durban, where he was tort u r e d and beaten, allegedly for collaborating with exiles while he worked as a sailor in Mozambique. K H ATHULA, Mlitshalwa (43), had her home burn t down in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RE D' A N D '

GREEN' FACTIONS in 1993. KHATI, Bangeni Hermina (55), an ANC supporter, had her house at Nokweja, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 28 July 1993. KHATSHWA, Makulana, an ANC supporter, was detained in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, and later sentenced to three years' imprisonment in East London during which he was tortured and forced to do hard labour. He had been part of the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Khatshwa died a week after his release. KHATSHWA, Simangele, was attacked and injured by Inkatha members during political conflict at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 December 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). KHAULA, Soliwe Scholastica (56), had her home near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 13 April 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area. KHAVE, Mthundezi (27), was shot and severely injured in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991 when members of the SAP opened fire on residents who had gathered to defend themselves against a rumored IFP march. Twelve people were killed and at least 33 injured in the attack. Mr Khave was detained a fortnight later by the same members of the SAP. KHAVHUKHAVHU, Birima David, was burnt to death and his house set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the committee's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094). KHAWULA, Allen Thembitshe (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and burnt to death in KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 April 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. KHAWULA, Annatoria Ncamisile (24), was shot dead when hooded gunmen attacked three homes at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 20 June 1993. See MURCHISON TACTICS. KHAWULA, Aubrey Mnguthu Khanla (40), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 13 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

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KHOZA, David Bheka (7), was severely beaten by members of the SADF while travelling to his home in 1968 during the bus boycott in White River, Tvl. KHOZA, Doctor Nelson, an ANC supporter, was shot by a member of the SADF in Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 25 December 1990. The perpetrator associated himself with the Sofasonke Civic Group who opposed the ANC in the area. KHOZA, Dolly (26), was shot dead by SARHWU members in Kagiso, Tvl, on 21 January 1990 during conflict between unions over a railway strike. Ms Khoza's husband was a member of BLATU which opposed strike action. KHOZA, Dudu Lynette (32), had her house looted at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1991, during political conflict in the area. She was forced to leave the area. KHOZA, E, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. KHOZA, Elsie (42), a FAWU member, was injured after a hand grenade was thrown into the bus she was travelling on by a member of UWUSA, on 29 September 1992 in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl. Ratanda was tense due to a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFPaligned UWUSA workers. KHOZA, Excellent Xoli, was hacked to death by taxi operators in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 December 1985 while attending the night vigil of a youth activist. Night vigils and funerals of youth activists were often targeted by taxi drivers during the state of emergency because the youth hijacked taxis for transport to funerals or during enforced stayaways. KHOZA, Fanani Hendrick, (46), a FAWU member, was injured in a hand grenade explosion in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992 during a violent labour dispute between striking

COSATU - aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. UWUSA members accepted responsibility for the explosion. KHOZA, Gift, died after being abducted and tortured at Komatipoort, Tvl, during 1989 by SADF members who believed her to be recruiting for MK. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277). KHOZA, Gloria (33), was killed when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGGHT-WING TACTICS. KHOZA, Irene (64), an Inkatha supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack at We m b e z i , KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 7 November 1990, during political conflict in the area .

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SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. In detention, he was tortured by three named police officers and refused medical attention. KLAASTE, Rubin (19), was severely beaten and detained for 72 days from 16 June 1986 in Carnarvon, Cape. He was one of eight people arrested under emergency legislation after a commemoration of the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. In detention, he was tortured by three named police officers and refused medical attention. KLACKERS, Anne Elizabeth, was assaulted and threatened with a knife by a group of UDF supporters during a robbery at her farmshop in Stutterheim, Cape, on 19 February 1990. Three UDF supporters applied for and were refused amnesty (AC/1999/0277). KLEIN, Brenda Marjory, suffered injuries and damage to property when MK operatives threw a hand grenade through the bedroom window of her home in Durban on 1 May 1986, injuring her and her husband as they lay sleeping. Ms Klein's husband was associated with the Labour Party and was suspected of being a police reservist. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). KLEIN, C, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. KLEIN, Yuill Peter, suffered injuries and damage to property when MK operatives threw a hand grenade through the bedroom window of his home in Durban on 1 May 1986, injuring him and his wife as they lay sleeping. Mr Klein was associated with the Labour Party and was suspected of being a police reservist. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). KLEINBOOI, David (40), was threatened over the phone by a named perpetrator in Randfontein, Tvl, on 1 January 1990 for transporting 'comrades' to a march in Krugersdorp, during rent boycotts in Tokomossus. Mr Kleinbooi's bus was later damaged in a suspected limpet mine attack in Randfontein, which also damaged the houses of two neighbours. KLEYN, SM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. KLEYNHANS, George Christian Frederic, was shot and killed by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wellesboro, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA TACTICS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250). KLOPPER, L, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church

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during and after a mass march to express community opposition to the council. K WAZA, Shadrack, a youth activist, was shot dead in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 17 July 1987, allegedly by M U N I C I P A L P O L I C E M E N who were patrolling the township. He had been constantly harassed and assaulted by Upington police from 1985 to 1987. KWEHLA, Theron Matinise (22), was severely assaulted with sjamboks at his home by members of the Ciskei Defence Force in King William's Town, Cape, in 1992. He and three other youths suspected of involvement in the burning of a soldier's home were then taken away by the soldiers and beaten and tortured throughout the night before being sent home. KWELA, Emerald Sandile, was assaulted and killed by named Inkatha supporters in an attack on his home at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in November 1987 during political conflict in the area. His mother and brother were injured in the attack. KWELA, Jabulani Timothy, was stabbed and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in November 1987 during political conflict in the area. His brother was killed in the attack, and his mother was injured. Their house had been burnt down earlier that year. KWELA, Phumuzile Claudia (52), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, during March 1987 in political conflict in the area. She was severely beaten as she tried to escape. One of her sons was killed and another injured later that year. KWENA, Matshediso Gloria (18), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 9 October 1988. Ms Kwena was among villagers who had gathered for a meeting to protest the rule of Lucas Mangope. KWENAITE, Ngwako Johannes (53), was severely beaten and injured in detention by members of the Lebowa Police in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 16 February 1991 during a labour dispute about living wages. Mr Kwenaite is now blind. KWENDA, Sifiso Patrick (18), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 22 June 1993 by named members of the SAP looking for criminal suspects. Mr Kwenda's sister witnessed the shooting and alleges that the members of the SAP at the scene apologised for her brother's death. The police, however, subsequently charged the deceased Mr Kwenda for resisting arrest and robbery of a fire arm. K W E T E PANE, Masoga Philemon (43), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 1 May 1992. K W E YAMA, Ambrose Bekizizwe (62), had his house burnt down in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1993. K W E YAMA, Austine, an ANC supporter, had his house and possessions burnt by a named Inkatha member in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in May 1987, allegedly because his family opposed the payment of fees to Inkatha. In a recruitment drive launched by Inkatha in

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was on horseback when he detonated a landmine, planted by MK operatives as part of 'Operation Ceshwayo', the MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC L A N D M I N E C A M P A I G N. LE ROUX, Anna Elizabeth Gerendina (34), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Kru g e r s d o r p M a g i s t r a t e ' s court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003). LE ROUX, Jakomiema Fransiena, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257). L E A F, Kevin, a school principal, suffered damage to property on 8 April

1986 when MK operatives threw a hand grenade at his house in Wentworth, Durban. He was targeted because he was a senior member of the Labour Party and was suspected of being a police reservist. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). LEAKOHILE, Moses Moshweunyane (41), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at an ANC meeting in Tunga, Bophuthatswana, in April 1990. LEBAKENG, Koena Steven (20), an AZAPO supporter, was detained under emergency legislation and assaulted by members of the SAP in Phuthaditjhaba, QwaQwa, in November 1986. Mr Lebakeng was detained together with three other AZAPO members, allegedly because they had been involved in an arson attack at their school. LEBALLO, Tiisetso (27), an MK cadre, was killed in an explosion at Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 March 1992. A named Vlakplaas member was imprisoned for the attack. LEBATLA, Sisi Emily (46), an ANC supporter, was injured in an arson attack on her home in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, on 9 September 1990. The attack was carried out by members of the INKATHA G. LEBEBE, Ramokoni Queen (42), lost her house in an arson attack at GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 during a dispute between supporters of rival chiefs. Ms Lebebe was attacked because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. LEBELO, Theophilus Sethe (17), was shot by members of the SAP during a rent boycott in Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, in December 1985. LEBELWANE, Victor Kabelo, an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, on 11 August 1992. LEBEOANA, Stevenson Brown (15), was killed in an unspecified manner in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984, during the VAPLURISING. Stevenson was on his way home from school when he saw Casspirs and started to run. His body was later found with a blue mark on his left temple.

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ration of KaNgwane into Swaziland. Both he and his sister were shot dead in the attack. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0257). LUKHELE, Isaac Vusi (17), a COSAS member, was tortured and subjected to hard labour by named members of the SAP while detained at KwaThema police station, Springs, Tvl, in 1985. LUKHELE, Moswaila Elizabeth, was shot and severely injured by MK operatives in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 6 June 1986 while visiting her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Dlodlu, and her husband, David Lukhele, a former minister of KaNgwane. Mr Lukhele was in conflict with the KaNgwane government and actively supported the unification of KaNgwane and Swaziland. Mr Lukhele and Ms Dlodlu were both killed in the attack. The perpetrators applied for amnesty. LUKHELE, Oupa (aka Dan Mabaso), an MK operative, was killed with four other operatives by a joint Venda and South African security force team on 25 March 1988 at Mutale River in Venda. Mr Lukhele had left South Africa for exile in September 1985. LUKHELE, Samaria (58), was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Katlehong, Tvl, in 1993 while participating in a protest by parents against the arrest of their children. LUKHELE, Siphiwe Daniel (21), was shot and killed in Katlehong, Tvl, on 4 July 1993 when IFP supporters allegedly opened fire on a funeral procession. LUKHOSI, an IFP supporter, was burnt to death when her house was set alight by ANC supporters at Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991. Her son was a prominent IFP member. LUKHULENI, Tokie Willie, was arrested on 21 June 1976 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, and held at Silverton police station. A fellow prisoner claims that they were transferred to New Lock prison where Mr Lukhuleni was beaten so severely by police that he was unable to stand up, and he was then placed in solitary confinement. Mr Lukhuleni has not been seen since. LUKREKO, Nonejele, was detained and severely ill-treated by prison warders while in custody in East London in 1962. Mr Lukreko was attending Poqo meetings that were said to be unlawful in Mqanduli, Transkei. LUKWE, Mfundo, a Municipal Policeman, was shot, injured and robbed of his firearm by MK operatives at an electrical substation in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 May

1987. Mr Lukwe and his colleague, who was also shot and injured, were guarding the substation after the electricity had been disconnected during a community boycott of electricity payments. The operatives reconnected the electricity. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0330). LUKWE, Simon (50), a Baptist minister, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP at Tarkastad police station, Cape, on 12 June 1986, allegedly because he assisted students during Queenstown SCHOOLBOYCOTS. LUMBO, Mandlakayise Singleton (51), an ANC member, had his huts and other possessions burnt in an arson attack by a named perpetrator on 15 November 1992 in Flagstaff, Transkei.

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

LUVATSHA, Themba (16), was shot dead outside the municipal offices in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, when members of the SAP opened fire on a group of students on 17 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING. LUVUNO, Dennis (41), a NUM member, was severely injured in an attack during a labour dispute between NUM and UWUSA members at Vryheid, Natal, on 6 June 1986. As a result of the attack, he had a leg amputated. LUVUNO, Hlengiwe, ANC supporter, was killed when she was beaten and stabbed by named ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 April 1990. The perpetrators allegedly accused her of having a relationship with a member of the KZP. LUVUNO, Nomvuyiseko Eudicate (22), was injured in an axe attack by migrant workers in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 25 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period. LWANA, Mcpherson, lost his spaza shop in arson attacks by ANC members at Esikhumbeni, near Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. LWANA, Nimrod (32), was assaulted, detained and tortured by members of the SAP in May 1985 in Paterson, Cape. LWANA, Thomas, was detained by named members of the SAP at Welvendiend police station, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 April 1989 during a consumer boycott. Several youths were shot and others detained and tortured during this campaign. LWANA, Xolile Nicholas 'Nyhobo' (17), a UDF supporter, was left physically and mentally disabled after being shot and injured by SAP members in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985, during the fatal shooting of the BONGOLETHEREE. Three children were killed and several others injured in the shooting. LWANE, Joshua (33), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 1 July 1993. It is alleged that police shot randomly at participants in a protest march. LWAZINI, Nontetho, (17) was suffocated while trying to flee after the police fired teargas into a church during a political church service in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, during July 1987. LYLE, Kerry Anne, was injured when an MK operative detonated a limpet mine at the SAP Single Quarters, CR Swart Square, Durban, on 7 April 1989. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153). MAAKA, Makinta Elizabeth (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at her home in Mookgophog, Naboomspruit, Tvl, in April 1993 because they believed she had attended the night vigil for assassinated SACP leader CHRISHANI. MAAKANA, Mapimele Bennett (37), an ANC supporter, was detained in solitary confinement under unsanitary conditions in Tzaneen, Transvaal, during March 1990. He was hospitalised for two weeks under police guard and then returned to his cell. The incident occurred soon after the unbanning of political parties and the release of political prisoners. Mr Maakana was allegedly detained because of his involvement in building ANC structures.

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MABASO, Hluphekile Ntombizonke (34), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBORSONATTA CKS. MABASO, Jabulisile Caroline (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 December 1992. Ms Mabaso had to flee the area as a result of the attack. MABASO, Jacob Hlomela, a member of the SAP, was killed by APLA supporters in an attack on a police vehicle at Diepkloof, Tvl, on 28 May 1993. Another police member was seriously injured in the attack. See APLA ATTA CKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0050). MABASO, Jane Makhosazane (26), an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1989. She has not been seen since and is presumed dead. MABASO, Johannes, was shot and injured at by NUMSA members during a strike at the Haggie Rand factory at Penrose, Johannesburg, on 6 December 1989. Amnesty was granted to one NUMSA member (AC/1999/0296). MABASO, Joseph Sibusiso (19), an ANC supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death, and his body was burnt, by Inkatha supporters on 24 August 1989 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban. MABASO, Joyful (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1991. Mr Mabaso lost his sight in both eyes as a result of the shooting. MABASO, Khangwayeni Beatrice (62), lost her leg when she was pushed from a train at Crown station, Johannesburg, on 23 September 1986. See TRAILNVOLENCIE. MABASO, Lindiwe Sarah (36), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992 during a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers from July to December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. MABASO, Maqinqi Idah (54), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1989, during intensifying political conflict in the area. MABASO, Mcoyi Clement (61), chairperson of the Carletonville Taxi Association, was arrested on 17 June 1986 and detained for more than six months under emergency regulations at Potchefstroom police station, Tvl. He was accused of assisting in a three-day stayaway called by the UDF to protest against the state of emergency. Mr Mabaso was released on 5 January 1987. In November 1990 he lost his home in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in a petrol bomb attack, by the 'ZimZim' faction of the local ANC. MABASO Mgodleni, (33), an UWUSA member, was shot and injured by alleged ANC supporters in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 21 January 1993. Conflict between IFP-supporting UWUSA and ANC-supporting FAWU led to intense conflict on the factory floor which spread to the surrounding community.

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MADAKA, Tobekile 'Topsy' (28), was one of two ANC members abducted by the Port Elizabeth Security Branch in Port Elizabeth on 14 April 1982. They were given a drink containing a sedative and shot in the head. Their bodies were placed on a pile of branches, doused with diesel and then set alight. Their remains were allegedly thrown into the Fish River. Four members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/034). MADAKANA, Thozamile Swartbooi, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Zwede, near Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 18 February 1985, while he was attending a funeral. MADALAMBANE, Reginald Thabisibodo, (21) a PAC supporter, participated in a Poqo march to the police station and prison in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Five marchers were shot dead and two Paarl residents were killed by Poqo supporters. Mr Madalambane was then arrested, convicted of sabotage and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on Robben Island. MADALANA, Bongani (12), was shot dead by members of the SADF who

then bashed his body against a rock in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 February 1986 during escalating violence between security forces and residents. About 27 people were killed and hundreds were injured in what is known as the S I X-D A Y W A R which ended after a partial security f o r c e withdrawal on 22 February 1986. MADALANE, Makhwenkwe (17), an ANC support e r, was shot dead on 15 March 1978 by members of the SAP during a period of political unrest in New Brighton, P o r t Elizabeth. He was suspected of involvement in an arson attack. MADANDA, Bafana Jele, an ANC support e r, was shot dead by named members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E i n k e d t o the E S I K H A W I N I H I T S Q U A D in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1993. Three other ANC supporters were shot dead in the attack. M A D A Y I, Nomalanga Elda, was injured and suff e r e d damage to pro p e r t y on 17 June 1992 in the B O I P A T O N G M A S S A C R E in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirt e e n perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further thre e applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MADELA, Gcinumuzi Josiah (26), secre t a r y of FAW U , had his room burnt down in Ratanda, near Heidelberg , Tvl, on 24 July 1992 following a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. MADELA, Mabhoyi Thomas (39), an ANC support e r, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 28 February 1992 in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal. The attackers set fire to his house and his car. MADELA, Mandlakayise Victor (37), a UDF support e r, was stabbed and severely injured on 26 December 1986 in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, by Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s allegedly acting on the instructions of a named Inkatha leader. The perpetrators had abducted him and questioned him about UDF supporters who f r e q u e n t l y visited his house. While recovering in hospital,

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M A F A B A T H O, Piet (49), a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while part i c i p a t i n g in a labour strike action in Vi l j o e n s k r o o n, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work p r e m i s e s and police members opened fire on striking miners, injuring six. M A F A O, Moloko Jarios, (48), was attacked with a hand grenade and shot by AZANLA members in M a h w e l e r e n g, Lebowa, on 5 March 1993 when investigating a shooting. M A F A L A L A, Sibongile Lennox (19), was shot and i n j u r e d in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993, when the house he was in was attacked by members of a B A L A C L A V A G R O U P who shot at the occupants and set the house alight. Seven family members and friends died in the attack. M A F A N Y A, Ntambenkosi Davidson (25), was severe l y beaten by members of the Ciskei Police and the CDF on 29 August 1983 at Mdantsane, Ciskei, during the M D A N T S A N E B U S B O Y C O T T. M A F A T A, Habofanoe Daniel (19), was arrested in Bloemfontein on 16 June 1987 and detained without trial for three months, during which he was severe l y beaten and tort u r e d by members of the SAP. M A F A T L E, Simon Thabo, a FAWUSA member, d i s a p p e a r e d in Germiston, Tvl, on 18 September 1993 during a strike. Mr Mafatle had accompanied a friend to buy a fridge. The fridge was delivered that day but the men never r e t u r n e d home. It is alleged that they w e r e both shot by a named perpetrator and that their bodies were not identifiable. M A F A T S H E, Johannes, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, on 21 M a r c h 1991 while taking part in a march led by pastors to the Govern o r ' s office in protest against the d e p o r t a t i o n of the wife of the Bafokeng Chief. MAFENGU, Mabonjwa Nelson (30), was severe l y assaulted by members of the SAP and the SADF in November 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L T. MAFEREKA, Selleane Paulina (15), was shot and i n j u r e d by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 March 1986 when she joined a protest march against high rents organised by the Vaal Civic Association. As a result of the shooting, Selleane is disabled and s u f f e r s from a psychological disord e r. M A F F A, Mosima Elizabeth (54), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she r e s i d e d L e b o w a ' s

proposed independence from South Africa. MAFFODI, Jemina Maphuti (26), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. MAFHALA, Phineas, was killed by members of the SADF at Messina, Tvl, in 1981 during a workers' march. MAFIKA, Daniel Moreno (40), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 December 1987. It is believed that Mr Mafika's Sotho identity made him the target of a Zulu ethnic attack.

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MAHLOMUZA, Jan, was shot dead by KwaNdebele police in KwaNdebele, on 31 May 1987 during a meeting held at Ndalasi Bar Lounge by anti-independence supporters. Three people died and several were injured when police opened fire to disperse the crowd. MAHLOPE, Thembi Brilliant (15), died after being gang-raped, stabbed, shot and thrown out of a hostel window, allegedly by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 July 1993. Ms Mahlope was abducted with three other girls, two of whom were killed during the incident. MAHLULO, Mzwakhe Mayford (33), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by suffocation by members of the Ciskei Police in the Dimbaza police station, Ciskei, on 30 December 1991. Mr Mahlulo was accused of supplying arms to the ANC during the period of conflict between ANC and ADM in Ciskei. MAHLULO, Tandisile Collen, a UDF activist, was tortured while in detention at New Brighton police station, Port Elizabeth, in July 1976. MAHOAI, Tsebishi John (48), was severely beaten at GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 1 February 1989 by supporters of a newly appointed chief during community resistance to the new chief. MAHOBE, Jonas, a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a labour strike action in Viljoenskrans, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the workshop premises and police members opened fire on striking miners, injuring six. MAHOGO, Hermit (39), was assaulted and tortured by named perpetrators at Nongqongqo prison in East London, Cape, in 1962. He was held for a year, part of which was spent in solitary confinement. He was then placed under a five-year house arrest. MAHOKO, Alfred Motlalentoa (28), was tortured by named members of the SAP while in detention at Actonville police station, Benoni. He was arrested after a 1986 May Day rally in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, when a police informer pointed him out. He was charged with murder and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He survived on a disability grant until 1995. MAHOKO, David, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, during a confrontation between residents and the SADF. MAHOKO, Keikanetswe Selina (37), was severely beaten with a sjambok by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 8 January 1994 when she left a sportsfield where an ANC rally had been held. MAHOMED, Ashraf Allie (17), was detained on 13 June 1986 during the state of emergency at Uitenhage, Cape. He was held for a year during which he went on an 11-day hunger strike in protest against conditions at the prison. He was allowed to study for his final school examinations only if he went into solitary confinement. Mr Mahomed had been tortured in detention for several days in 1983, when he was 15, and also in 1985. See POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

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1980, because Mr Malete resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. MALETJANE, Modjadji Florah (51), an ANC member, sustained head and back injuries when thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters in Germiston, Tvl, on 9 September 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE. MALETSANE, Ezekiel, a traffic officer, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 27 September 1991. The MK operatives were escaping arrest after being stopped at a roadblock by traffic officers. Several other traffic officers were also injured and a passing motorist was shot dead and robbed of his vehicle by the fleeing operatives. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0091). MALEVU, Lettie Mamiki, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992 during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers from July to December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others injured in the attack. MALEVU, Ntombi Angelinah, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142). MALEWA, Elizabeth Paulinah (20), was detained by the SAP at Soshanguve, Pretoria, in 1986 and accused of burning down the house of a police officer at a time of increasing attacks on police. Police were seen as legitimate targets in the struggle against apartheid. MALGAS, Basi Kimberley (68), was severely beaten on his arrest by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 12 June 1986. He was then detained under emergency regulations for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY. MALGAS, Bethwell (21), a SAYCO member, was shot and injured by community COUNTELLORS in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 23 December 1989, during a youth march past the municipal offices. There were numerous deaths and injuries in December 1989 when Crossroads residents, under Jeffrey Nongwe, sought to break away from the government Johnson Ngxobongwana and join the ANC. MALGAS, Columbus, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 16 June 1986. He was then detained for several months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY. MALGAS, Nombolelo Evelyn, was severely beaten by police at the police station after being arrested in Robertson, Cape, in 1985. Ms Malgas was again arrested in November 1985 and charged with public violence, spending three months in custody. She was then detained on 18 June 1986 for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY. MALGAS, Noncethakalo Catherine (34), was shot dead by members of the SAP in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 15 February 1990, while participating

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November 1990 during an ANC-organised consumer boycott and march. MANYOBE, Dorleen, had her home destroyed and was severely beaten by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Swanieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from the informal settlement. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence. MANYOKOLE, Rantsoli Joseph (16), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the Transkei Police who accused him of burning down a shop in Matatiele, Natal, in February 1990. MANYONI, Agnes Zanele (91), an ANC supporter, fled her home after she was intimidated by IFP supporters in Mkhambathini, KwaZulu, near Pietetmaritzburg, in November 1991. Her house was then burnt down. MANYONI, Fanakhe (53), an IFP supporter, was hacked and stabbed to death by other IFP supporters at an IFP rally at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 29 December 1991. The perpetrators allegedly suspected him of transporting a maqabane in the area. MANYONI, Maria Nomgqibelo (46), was injured when a hand

grenade exploded in a bus transport i n g workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person died and 13 were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSAT U - a l i g n e d FAWU and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. MANYONI, Nomathemba Mavis (35), had her house b u r n t down by UDF supporters in Wo o d y g l e n , Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 Marc h 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the are a . MANYONI, Ntombikayise Victoria (36), an Inkatha su p

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

M ATLOGA, Raselina Ntombizodwa (57), was injure d when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transport i n g workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992 during a violent labour dispute between striking C O S ATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFPaligned UWUSA workers from July to December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were i n j u red in the attack. M ATLOHA, Alfr e d, was shot dead by IFP support e r s in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 April 1991. The attack followed the funeral of Moses Khumalo, the slain IFP mayor of Soweto. Three family members died in the attack. M ATLOHA, Stephen , was hacked to death with p a n g a s by IFP supporters at his home in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johanneburg, on 28 April 1991. The attack followed the funeral of Moses Khumalo, slain IFP mayor of Soweto. Three family members died in the attack. M ATLOMBE, Christina Mantombi (22), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was arrested in January 1981, detained for a week and severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Vryheid, Natal, who wanted inform a t i o n about her brothers, who were in exile. Ms Matlombe was three months pregnant at the time, and lost her baby as a result of the beating. M ATLOTLO, Paulos (20), a UDF activist, was arre s t e d, bitten by police dogs, and detained for 14 days in Aliwal North, Cape, on 21 August 1985 during the state of emerg e n c y. He was denied access to medical t reatment. See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. M ATLOU, Aletta Mamogabi (14), was shot with b i rdshot by members of the SAP in Ikageng, P o t c h e f s t room, Tvl, on 13 March 1990. Aletta was hiding in a shack, watching the looting and burning of a bottlestore when police allegedly began shooting at the cro w d . M ATLOU, Ezekiel Matsiela (35), was injured when he was knocked down by a vehicle driven by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 Febru a ry 1990. Mr Matlou was deliberately run over when police attacked community members on a protest march about rents imposed by the Bophuthatswana govern m e n t M ATLOU, Lebiba Joseph (42), had his home burn t down on 2 Febru a ry 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by s u p p o r t e r s of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlou resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South A f r i c a . M ATLOU, Magadu David (56), had his home burn t down on 2 Febru a ry 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by s u p p o r t e r s of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlou resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South A f r i c a . M ATLOU, Makgalane Solomon , an ANC support e r, was detained several times without trial and re g u l a r l y sjambokked by members of the SAP in Nebo, Lebowa, between 1966 and 1969 during conflict over chieftainship in the are a . M ATLOU, Mashala Elisa (27), had her home burn t down on 2 Febru a ry 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by

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7 Vic tim findings: Summaries

Stoomb erg, Verkeerdelei, OFS, on 12 February 1992. The farmer was killed in the attack. See APLA AT TACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0297). M AY, Danile Wilberforce (25), a Civic Organisation member, was the victim of an attempted 'necklacing' by ANC supporters in July 1980 in Port Elizabeth. He was allegedly accused of being a collaborator. M AY, Mlandeli Mickey (27), a PAC supporter, was shot in the left leg and in the stomach by a named perpetrator during conflict between AM AFRICA and UDF supporters in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 30 June 1987. M AY, Simphiwe Hantjie, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP while he was returning home from a protest march on 26 July 1989 at Lingeletu, Adelaide, Cape. M AY, Stanford, was stabbed to death on 25 October 1991 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area. M AY, Zenzele (30), a PAC member, was executed in Pretoria, on 9 May 1963 after being found guilty of killing a headman in Cofimvaba during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. M AY, Zenzile Eric, a COSAS member (20), was detained in solitary confinement for nine months from June 1980 in Queenstown, Cape. M AYA, John Gert (14), was beaten to death by AM AFRICA supporters during conflict between AmaAfrika and UDF supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 January 1987. M AYA, Nhlanhla Johannes (22), was shot by named ANC-aligned self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 December 1993 when the SDU members opened fire on him, allegedly because he disagreed with some of their policies. M AYABA, (first name not given), suffered damage to property when his house was burnt down by ANC members in political conflict in Heidelberg, Tvl, during 1992 or 1993. Mr Mayaba and two other suspected IFP supporters were on an ANC hit list and were therefore targeted. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/064). M AYABA, Bhekisisa Stanley (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at the Brakpan taxi rank, Tvl, on 10 September 1991. Mr Mayaba fled Mooi River in Natal after he was accused of being involved in the killing of an IFP supporter in Mooi River. M AYABA, Henry Mduduzi (24), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when ANC supporters attacked a taxi on 21 January 1993 during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and nonstriking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers which caused violent conflict in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl. M AYABA, Mongameli, a member of Wembezi Crisis Committee, was shot dead by named IFP supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1990. M AYABA, Ntombeningi Albertina (68), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 24 September 1992.

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MBHELE, Florence (59), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death in an attack by IFP supporters on her home in Nsangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 December 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly conducting house searches for ANC supporters and believed Ms Mbhele to have sympathies with the ANC. MBHELE, Fokozi, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 December 1993. MBHELE, Gretta Thandi (27), a UDF supporter, had her house at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire. MBHELE, Khayelihle Madlokovu, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Wartburg, Natal, on 3 January 1991, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MBHELE, Lindiwe Ignatia (16), an ANC supporter, had her family home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire. MBHELE, Liphi David (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by Inkatha

supporters at his home in Okhalweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 July 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. MBHELE, Livingston Gabriel, was severely injured when members of the Order Boersvolk opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCOBUSTATACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053). MBHELE, Lynette Lindekile (17), a UDF supporter, had her family home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire. MBHELE, Magdaline Sessie, was hacked on 24 June 1992 while sleeping at her home in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, by IFP supporters who claimed they were sent by management of the factory where her husband was on strike. The area was tense due to a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers which caused violent conflict in the area. MBHELE, Mandla Joseph (54), was shot and stabbed to death in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 25 March 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MBHELE, Mandlenkosi Alois (26), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed

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the revolt. The six were executed at Pretoria Central prison on 18 September 1962. MFUYWA, Sigwebo, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. MGABI, Monwabisi Atwell Joseph (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEK E vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks. MGABI, Sandile Henry (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 September 1992. MGADI, Donald (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 17 May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps near Crossroads by WITDOEK E vigilantes acting with the support and sanction of the security forces. MGADI, Dubelani Agnes (65), had her home in Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area. MGADI, Isaac (16), was shot dead by named members of the local self-defence unit (SDU) in Moleleki Section, Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993 during conflict between members of the local ANCYL and SDU. The SDU members involved in this incident applied for but were denied amnesty. MGADI, Makhelwane, died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at Jacobs, Durban, on 12 July 1984. The explosion killed five people and injured 27 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175). MGADI, Ms (first name not given), the wife of a senior MK commander known as 'Thami Zulu', suffered intimidation by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and Vlakplaas operatives at their home in Mbabane, Swaziland, during 1988. Ms Mgadi, her ten-month-old baby and the housekeeper were tied and placed in the bath room whilst the house was illegally searched. Ms Mgadi managed to escape and no one was injured. A Vlakplaas operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/070). MGADI, Musawenkosi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 December 1989. MGADI, Thembisile (28), lost her room in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. MGAGA (JOKAZI), Vuyelwa Debra (29), a FAWU member, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September

1992, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and nonstriking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. This caused violent conflict between July and December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack.

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an ANC support e r,

was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 7 March 1992. MKHIZE, Orleria Duduzile (39), was severe l y assaulted by SADF members in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in August 1992. The beating b rought on a pre m a t u r e labour and she went into hospital. In her absence, her house was destro y e d . MKHIZE, Papa Steven (40), was shot dead by IFP s u p p o rters at Imbali, Pieterm a r i t z b u r g, on 1 May 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the are a . MKHIZE, Patricia Sibongile , was shot and injure d when members of the O rde Boere v o l k opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 i n j u red in the attack. See P U T C O B U S AT TA C K . Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053). MKHIZE, Patrick , was shot dead by IFP support e r s during political violence in Umlazi, Durban, in June 1992. MKHIZE, Paulos Ngweyonge (23), had his home burn t down by ANCYL supporters in the Uganda inform a l settlement at Umlazi, Durban, in January 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area. His father, aged 70, was stoned and stabbed to death in the incident, allegedly because he was thought to be an Inkatha support e r. MKHIZE, Phikisiwe Nyezile (39), had her house burn t down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SO N K O M B O A R S O N AT TA C K S. MKHIZE, Phumuzile Irene (34), an Inkatha support e r, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1989. MKHIZE, Phumzile Jane (39), a UDF support e r, was intimidated by members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E i n C l e rmont, near Durban, in July 1988.

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the ES I K H AW I N I H I T S Q U A D e n t e red the home of a C O S ATU official, who threw a grenade at them. Four people were injured in the incident. The COSAT U o f ficial was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0061). MLAMBO, Bheki Emmanuel , a Soweto Student C o n g r e s s member, was abducted by members of AZASM known as 'Zim-zims' in Emdeni, Soweto, on 7 November 1986 during conflict between the two student org a n i s a t i o n s . MLAMBO, Cyril (26), an ANC support e r, was shot dead by other ANC supporters in Shakaville, Natal, on 30 January 1994, allegedly because he did not attend an ANC self-defence training night camp. MLAMBO, Doda Laymon , was stabbed to death in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 December 1990 during ongoing political conflict in the are a . MLAMBO, Gabali (69), had his house burnt down in Ntambanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC s u p p o rters during the run-up to the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. MLAMBO, Gcinokuhle , an ANC support e r, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Boshi, near Estcourt , Natal, on 27 September 1993. MLAMBO, Johnson Phillip (27), a PAC activist, was convicted of sabotage in 1963 and imprisoned on Robben Island for 20 years. He was subjected to hard labour and was severely beaten during the early period of his imprisonment. In August 1967 he was buried up to his neck by prison warders. He also lost an eye during a confrontation with a fellow prisoner over a food boycott. After his release in 1983 he went into exile and became the

chairperson of the PAC. MLAMBO, Luke Govan, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members when they attacked his house at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). MLAMBO, Mbedla Christopher (18), an ANCYL supporter, was tortured by Security Branch members while being detained without trial for five and a half months at Westville prison, near Durban, in 1986. MLAMBO, Mandla, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 December 1989.

MLAMBO, Maxson, was severely beaten

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

student movement at Ohlange High School during the student uprisings of 1976. He is presumed dead. MNYELE, Mamanyena Sarah (62) was assaulted by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1982. Ms Mnyele claims she was targeted because her son was an ANC member who died in exile. MNYELE, Mpumelelo Isiah, was shot dead in a shebeen in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 June 1992, the anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING, allegedly by IFP supporters. Seven people were killed in the attack and the shebeen owner lost an eye. MNYELE, Thamasanqa Harry (36), an ANC member and artist from Johannesburg, was shot dead on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces together with the Security Branch on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people were killed and six were wounded in the raid and several of Mr Mnyele's paintings were stolen. See GABORONER RAID. MNYELE, Thami, an ANC activist, was shot dead by members of the SADF in the GABORONER RAID, Botswana, on 15 July 1985. Twelve people, including eight South Africans, were killed and six wounded in the raid. MNYEMBANE, Peter Nelson (30), a UDF supporter, was shot in the arm and severely assaulted with a sjambok by members of the ATEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 26 March 1985. MNYILA Ntulu, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MNYIWAMBE, Amos Mandla (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in a shebeen in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 June 1992, the anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING, allegedly by IFP supporters. Seven people died in the attack and the shebeen-owner lost an eye. MNYONI, Sibongile Tryphina (44), was burnt on her leg when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 were injured in the incident. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and nonstriking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent political conflict from July to December 1992. MNYUTE, Ndiko John (55), an ANC underground member, was injured and had five vehicles destroyed when other ANC members threw a hand grenade at his home in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 29 March 1990, allegedly because he was suspected of being a sellout during a dispute between rival ANC-aligned youth organisations. MNYWABE, George (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 5 July 1985 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, after the collapse of the Duduza town council and the closure of schools in the area. Mr Mnywabe was one of four people shot dead that day. It was at his funeral, attended by over 5000 people, that Maki Skhosana was accused by mourners of being an informer and was beaten and

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MOETI, Prudence Aleta Mabaru, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MOETLO, Singleboy (49), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police during a protest march in Chokonyane, Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 14 February 1993. At least two others were killed in the incident. MOETSANE, S, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. MOETSE, Anderson Olefre, was severely beaten and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. MOETSE, Lesego Lawrence (15), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police at Makgola village and Motswedi police station in Zeerust, Tvl, on 20 May 1989. Most Makgola villagers opposed INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. MOETSE, Mosimanegape Lucas (41), was beaten several times with a sjambok by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, in May 1989. He was arrested during conflict over the forced INCORPORATION of villages into Bophuthatswana. MOFEKENG, Vusumuzi Albert (35), was stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 November 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Mofekeng lost the sight in one eye as a result of the attack. MOFEKETA, Moliat, an ANC supporter, was arrested and assaulted in police custody between Bophuthatswana and Botswana, on 26 February 1988. He was also detained several times in Groot Marico police station, Zeerust, where police interrogated and tortured him. MOFOKENG, Aaron (21), an ANC supporter, was stoned and burnt to death by named perpetrators on 22 November 1990 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during intense political conflict in the area. MOFOKENG, Aaron Tseko (24), an ANCYL member, was shot dead when the bus in which he was travelling was raked with gunfire by IFP supporters in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 14 November 1992. The bus was carrying workers back to Ratanda from a sports event organised by the ANCYL during a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. Eight others were injured in the attack.

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tortured by members of the SADF and taken to West Rand police station where he was detained for 11 months under emergency regulations. MOGAPI, Jonas, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 29 March 1993. He was returning from a court hearing in which he was a witness in a case involving conflict between ANC and IFP supporters when he was attacked. MOGAPI, Keikantsemang Annie (46), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and her house was set alight by named ANC supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 26 July 1992. Her father was stabbed to death and her mother was beaten in the attack. MOGAPI, Molapisi Petrus (19), was the victim of a tear gas attack by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 18 August 1984. MOGAPI, Motsamai Patrick (15), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 3 March 1990 following widespread unrest after the death in custody of a 16-year-old youth. Police occupied the township in early March and at least 25 other people were believed to have been killed in the area during this period. MOGAPI, Timothy (18), was subjected to electric shock torture and intense interrogation by named policemen at the Welverdiend police station in Carletonville, Tvl, for a period of about six months.

in 1986. He was subsequently detained at Potchefstroom prison for five months. Police were looking for his activist brother during the state of emergency. MOGASHOA, Kgwaboi Hendrick (25), a UDF supporter, was arrested and tortured by members of the SADF at Steelpoort police station in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 7 June 1986. Mr Mogashoa was a youth leader and was reportedly arrested for addressing a mass meeting in protest against Chief Mogashoa's practice of cheap labour. He eventually appeared in court at Schoonoord and was acquitted. MOGASHOA, Malika Titus (25), was imprisoned by members of the SAP on 8 April 1986 in Voelorus, Tvl, during protests over the death of an MK operative killed by police in the area. MOGASHOA, Nicholas Lazarus Kamele Morati (32), a UDF support

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MOHLOMI, Thamsanga Samuel (30), a UDF supporter, had shots fired at him, and had his house at KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed several times before it was burnt down completely by Inkatha supporters and members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E in September 1987. MOHOHLO, Motlalepule Martha Gomyame (55), an ANC supporter, was detained from her home at night during the state of emergency, in Sasolburg, OFS, on 22 December 1988. She was tortured in detention. See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. MOHOKOANE, Jacob Gasejysiwe, was killed in Angola during December 1990. MOHOLING, Dokotela James (29), an IFP supporter, was shot dead at Bergville, Natal, on 27 February 1994 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MOHOLOENG, Masalela Esbie (48), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mothibistad, Kumanan, Cape, on 5 December 1991, allegedly because he attended an illegal gathering. MOHOLOENG, Sello Justice (16), was severely assaulted in detention by members of the SAP at Joberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, in April 1986. He was accused of having set alight the homes of police officers. MOHONO, Evelyn, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161). MOHONTI, Malaki, was assaulted during his arrest, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police and then detained for two weeks at Taung police station in Bophuthatswana, in 1989. Mr Mohonti was arrested because of his support for Chief Mankuroane. MOIDI, Elina Nomadlozi, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. MOILA, Manku Rachel (78), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 at Braklaagte police station in Leeuwkop, Bophuthatswana, during resistance to the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana. MOILOA, Godwyn Moitasilwe, was shot at on 12 June 1991 at a bus stop in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. MOILOA, Kgotlatsile (13), was stabbed in the right side of the neck on 11 June 1991 in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, during resistance to the INCORPORATION of Lehurutshe into Bophuthatswana. MOILOA, Patrick, lost his house in an arson attack during political conflict in Theunissen, OFS, on 5 May 1991.

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MOKOENA, Julia Mamasole (52), had her home damaged in a petrol bomb attack on 14 June 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl, by ANC supporters who believed her son was an IFP supporter. MOKOENA, Kokoli Emily, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MOKOENA, Laolao Samuel, a priest, suffered damage to property when his parish house in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, was petrol-bombed on 18 August 1986 by members of the Orange Free State Security Branch, who believed him to be providing support to political activists. Amnesty was granted to a member of the Security Branch (AC/1999/0026). MOKOENA, Lawrence, was abducted and tortured by SADF members at Nkomazi, Tvl, during 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277). MOKOENA, Lefu (54), had his leg seriously injured when an explosive device was thrown into the bus on which he was travelling on 1 October 1992 at Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. MOKOENA, Lettie, was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 20 December 1985 in KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of the homeland. MOKOENA, Life, was abducted, tortured and left for dead at Nkomazi, Tvl, by SADF members during 1989. Mr Mokoena, however, survived. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277). MOKOENA, Loli Selina, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MOKOENA, Lucia Thabitha, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248). MOKOENA, Maleshane Rosina, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MOKOENA, Masilo Johannes (39), was severely beaten at a community meeting in Ga-Kibi Village,

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grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241). MOLEFI, Dimakatso Mary (33), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 January 1986 while on a march to protest against the detention of 15 political activists. MOLEFI, Jan, a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a labour strike action in Viljoenskrans, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and SAP members opened fire on striking miners, injuring six. MOLEFI, Osekile Daniel (31), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police and detained on 28 December 1990 in Zeerust, Tvl, while participating in a protest march against Braaklaagte's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. MOLEFI, Sekgarametso Suzan, (18), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 20 April 1989 in Zeerust,

Tvl, while participating in a protest march against the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana. MOLEFI, Serame Shadrack (21), a PAC activist, was arrested by members of the SAP anti-insurgency squad on 11 April 1978. He was charged with terrorism and spent five months in solitary confinement at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg. While in solitary confinement, Mr Molefi was beaten by a named member of the SAP and was shown photographs of other activists who had been shot. He was subsequently sentenced to ten years on Robben Island. On appeal, the sentence was reduced to five years. MOLEHE, Mankanke Jonas (23), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 6 August 1990. He was forced into a police vehicle, where he was beaten, punched and kicked. MOLEKE, Leepo Lawrence (44), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and repeatedly tortured by members of the Security Branch in Kroonstad, OFS, in 1972, allegedly because he openly declared his political convictions. He was blindfolded, had his hands and feet cuffed together and was repeatedly shocked by means of an electric cord connected to the running engine of a car. Mr Moleke is now partially paralysed and his hearing and sight are impaired as a result of his injuries. MOLEKO, BJ Thabo (37), a union member, was the victim of a teargas attack by a member of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 April 1987. MOLEKO, Dineo Elizabeth (9), was severely sjambokked by members of the SAP, Municipal Police and SADF at Tswelopele Higher Primary during the SHARPVILLE MARCH on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl. Police opened fire on an unarmed crowd holding a peaceful protest against the pass laws, killing 69 people and injuring several others.

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MOLOENA, Voeltjie (45) was stoned to death on 3 September 1985 while travelling home from work by bus in Orange Farm, Tvl, during political conflict in the Vaal Triangle. MOLOI, Aaron Kgosisile (32), was kicked and severely tortured by members of the mine security and the SAP, during a strike at Giegama mine in Sasolburg, OFS, on 26 August 1990, allegedly because he refused to turn state witness in the investigation into violent conflict on the mine. MOLOI, Andries, was shot dead in August 1992, in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers which caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. MOLOI, Christopher Dube Matsamai, was abducted and assaulted by a member of the ANC's Security Department in Johannesburg in April 1994. The applicant suspected that Mr Khumalo and others had broken into his minibus and stolen sensitive ANC security-related documents and other goods, which were then handed to an IFP supporter. The applicant was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/066). MOLOI, Dimakatso Grace (29), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during a mass funeral of a 'comrade' on 13 July 1985. Several others were shot and injured when police opened fire on mourners. MOLOI, Eddie Mpho (11), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SO WETOUPRISING. MOLOI, Elphus Jacob Motsamai (35), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with rifle butts in July 1992 in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the ISU. MOLOI, Jacob, an ANC member, was abducted and shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013). MOLOI, Jacob, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 20 May 1985. MOLOI, Johanna (27), was injured in an explosion in Rodenpoort, Tvl, on 14 July 1990. MOLOI, Joseph (28), was shot and severely injured on 13 November 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the ISU during ongoing political conflict in the area. MOLOI, Kebane Phineas (35), a Black Local Authority member, was detained in Nigel, Tvl, in 1986 during

the state of emergency. Mr Moloi was mayor of Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in 1983. MOLOI, Lehlohonolo Lambert Sekenku (aka 'A'), MK's Chief of Operations, and three others were twice targeted for killing, first at the Lion Park Motel and later at the Oasis Motel, Gaborone, during August and September 1987. Both operations, jointly conducted by SADF Special Forces and the Security Branch, failed. The divisional commander of the

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Western Transvaal Security Branch and five Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0308). MOLOI, Lenepha Montgomery (28), an MK operative, was shot dead in an ambush at Alldays, Tvl, near the Botswana border, on 10 July 1986 by a joint team comprising SADF Special Forces and Far North Western Transvaal Security Branch members. Fourteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Nine of these applications were refused (AC/1999/0176). MOLOI, Linda, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during an attack on UDF supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 13 January 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334). MOLOI, Malekea Abram (17), an ANCYL member, was detained on four occasions between January 1986 and December 1987 in Harrismith, OFS. He was severely tortured in detention because of his political activities. MOLOI, Maria Dimakatso (39), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. MOLOI, Maria Makhala, was injured when a limpet mine, placed under a police

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MOTSAU, Jacob, was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 5 April 1986 in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, during a bus boycott in the area. Mr Motsau is paralysed as a result of his injuries. MOTSE, David, an ANC member, was shot dead on 7 August 1992 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by a named local councillor reputedly linked to the IFP. In 1991, Mr Motse's mother's home was petrol-bombed, allegedly by the same perpetrator. MOTSE, Merry Dikeledi, (43), lost her house in 1991 in Vosloorus, Tvl, when it was petrol-bombed, allegedly by a named local councillor linked to the IFP. Ms Motse's son, David Motse, was shot dead in August 1992, allegedly by the same councillor. MOTSEI, Moses (22), a COSAS supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and SADF on 21 November 1985 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, when security forces opened fire on people on a protest march against high rent. MOTSEOILE, Phillemon Moeketsi (30), an MK operative, was stabbed to death by a named member of the SAP in Theunissen, OFS, on 22 November 1992, a few months after his return from exile. He had been frequently harassed and threatened by the police since his return. MOTSEPE, Godfrey Josiah Moditseng (46), the ANC chief representative in the BENELUX countries, survived an attempt on his life by an alleged South African security force operative who fired two shots at him through the windows of the ANC office in Brussels, Belgium, in February 1988. On 27 March 1988, a 17kg bomb was discovered and defused outside his Brussels office. Two days later, the ANC chief representative in Paris was killed in a South African security force operation. MOTSEPE, Goodwill Linda, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 4 August 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, at a funeral of ANC supporters killed during a labour dispute between striking COSATU -

aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. A local IFP leader, brandishing a sjambok, emerged from the hostel followed by 300 armed hostel-dwellers to attack mourners. Three people were killed and several others were injured. MOTSEPE, Joseph Philemon (37), was detained several times between 1960 and 1964 in Soweto. He was an ANC member during a time of severe repression by the Security Police. Mr Motsepe later died in exile. MOTSEPE, Ngoata Mannie (28), was beaten with rifle butts on 5 May 1987 in KwaMhlanga, KwaNdebele, by members of the SAP who accused him of being involved in resistance to IN C O P O R A T I O N i n t o K w a N d e b e l e . MOTSEPO, Tseko Joshua (53), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named SAP member in Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 4 November 1990, during a SANCO demonstration. MOTSETSI, Tankiso Simon (25), a PAC member, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Sebokeng,

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Maria

(46), was in the

bedroom of her home in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 4 August 1991 when named members of the SAP, searching for her son who was an ANC supporter, fired a shot which broke her bedroom window. MQOKOLO, Sindiswa Virginia (26), was stabbed and seriously injured on 11 December 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in the area. MQOMA, Abel Mpazamo, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 3 December 1992 during a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. MQOMA, Masesi Josephine (36), was hacked and shot by IFP supporters in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 3 December 1992 during tension between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. MQOMEZULO, Petrus Mohau (24), an ANC supporter, was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, in 1984, allegedly because he had information about ANC activities. MQOMI, Bongani, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in July 1990. His house caught fire when IFP

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

Heidelberg, Tvl, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and nonstriking IFP-aligned UWUSA which caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. MSIBI, Mbolawa Michael, was killed during the BO I P A T O N G M A S S A C R E by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MSIBI, Michael, a member of the SAP, survived an armed attack by MK operatives on the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195). MSIBI, Moffat Siphwe (26), was detained and tortured under emergency regulations in Newcastle, Natal, on 1 August 1988, allegedly because he had information about political activities in the area. MSIBI, Msesi Tryphina, a civilian, was killed when the vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on the Diepgezet/Barberton road, Tvl, on 28 March 1987. Three of her relatives also died in the blast and one survived with injuries. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty

(AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN. MSIBI, Oubaas Fran , was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MSIBI, Petros Peta (24), an IFP supporter, was abducted, stabbed and stoned to death by ANC supporters in Ladysmith, Natal, on 16 December 1992. MSIBI, Richard Jabulani , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). MSIBI, Sibobo Christina , a civilian, was killed when the vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on the Diepgezet/Barberton road, Tvl, on 28 March 1987. Three of her relatives also died in the blast and one survived with injuries. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN. MSIBI, Sibusiso , was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

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Emmanuel 'Po' Mhlakaniphi
(26), a

UDF supporter, was shot dead by fellow UDF supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 27 March 1990 in the course of a serious internal feud. He was allegedly shot while trying to mediate between opposing UDF factions. MSIMANGO, Eric Fana , disappeared with his brother on 20 November 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, while travelling from Tokoza to Pretoria. An IFP march from Johannesburg to Pretoria was in progress at the same time. He has never been seen since and is presumed dead. MSIMANGO, Evelinah Ouma , was injured when a hand grenade thrown by UWUSA members exploded in a bus transporting workers on 28 September 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. One person was killed and 13 others were injured. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers resulted in violent conflict from July to December 1992. MSIMANGO, Herbert Zibuse (22), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 April 1988 in intensifying violent conflict in the area. MSIMANGO, Jabulani (34), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 1 October 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area. MSIMANGO, Jabulani Abraham (18), an ANC supporter, was shot by a named Inkatha leader while

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others injured in this incident. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers resulted in violent conflict from July to December 1992. MTHOMBENI , (first name not given), was shot and injured by members of the KwaNdebele Police on 31 May 1987 in Weltevrede, KwaNdebele, during conflict over

independence. The police attacked a group of young men at a tavern. When they retaliated, police allegedly fired into the tavern, killing three people and injuring two. MTHOMBENI, Aaron, was shot and injured on 21 November 1990 when members of the SAP opened fire on community members marching from Mhluzi to Middelburg police station, Tvl, to protest against the harassment of scholars by the SAP. Five people were killed and more than eight injured. MTHOMBENI, Abel, was shot and injured on 21 November 1990 when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters marching from Mhluzi to Middelburg police station, Tvl, to protest against the harassment of scholars by the SAP. Five people were killed and more than eight injured. MTHOMBENI, Christina, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055). MTHOMBENI, Elias Ndoloane (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP-aligned KHE T I S I K H E S W A G A N G members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at the mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See N A N G A L E M B E N I G H T V I G I L M A S S A C R E. MTHOMBENI, Eugene Sifiso (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named KwaNdengezi councillor in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 11 March 1988 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. MTHOMBENI, Ezekiel Toyisa (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 28 October 1993. Tembisa was one of many East Rand townships embroiled in conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. MTHOMBENI, Frans Mkhukhula (73), lost his home in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over I N C O R P O R A T I O N into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted. MTHOMBENI, James Jabulani (57), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Mafihleni, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1992.

P A G E 5

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during a violent labour dispute in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, between members of COSATU-aligned FAWU and IFP-aligned UWUSA. NDUMO, Tobi Martha (63), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, in April 1994, in the run-up to the A P R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. NDUNA, Bongani Wilson (16), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, in 1990 after he returned from a meeting at the Boipatong football ground. NDUNA, Sifanele Kenneth (38), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 11 August 1976 in Langa, Cape Town, during the S O W E T O U P R I S I N G. Over 20 people were shot dead that day. NDUNAKAZI, Khaladi Elsie (63), an IFP supporter, had her house in Shakaville, Natal, looted and destroyed by fellow IFP supporters in 1993, because she was thought to have sympathies with the ANC. NDUNAMVULA, Nelson, an ANC member, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed. NDUNGA, Jabu Roda (38), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the ' R E D ' A N D ' G R E E N ' F A C T I O N S. NDUNGANE, Joe Lungile, a UDF supporter, was hacked to death and his mutilated body was found in the mortuary on 9 July 1986 in Port Elizabeth. Police harassed mourners present at his night vigil. NDUTI,

David , was seriously burnt near Cro s s ro a d s , Cape Town, on 28 April 1986, and died a week later. He and a colleague, both employees of an electrical f i r m, were driving back to their office when their vehicle was stoned and petrol-bombed by pro t e s t i n g youths. His colleague also died in the attack. N D WALANA, Sishosanke Gilbert (70), an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r, was killed by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 31 March 1990. His son was also killed in the attack, and his home was bunt down. N D WALANE, Christopher Fanile (21), an IFP s u p p o r t e r, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC s u p p o r t e r s in Port Shepstone, Natal, in December 1990. N D WALANE, Irene Love , had her house in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 December 1990 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP support e r s . N D WALANE, Ivy Goko , was shot dead by named IFP s u p p o r t e r s during political conflict in Mbayimbayi, near P o r t Shepstone, Natal, on 14 January 1991. She was re p o r t e d l y killed because she was not attending IFP meetings and because her sons were ANC support e r s . N D WALANE, Linda Edward (36), was shot dead on J a n u a r y 1987 in the KWAMA K H U T H A M A S S A C R E a t KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirt e e n

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

or Mqanduli, were transferred to East London, to stand trial for Poqo activities during the 1960s. NGALO, Ntombina (33), an ANC support e r, was s e v e r e l y beaten by members of the CDF during conflict between ADM and ANC supporters at KwaMasele, near King Wi l l i a m ' s Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991. NGALO, William (38), a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while part i c i p a t i n g in labour strike action in Vi l j o e n s k roon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work p remises and police members opened fire on the striking miners, injuring six. NGALO, Wi l l y , an ANC support e r, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters while attending a funeral vigil in Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pieterm a r i t z b u r g, on 3 December 1988. Police were cracking down on UDF and ANC supporters in the area, apparently in p reparation for the TR U S T FE E D S M A S S A C R E later that day. NGAMLANA, Sicelo Alfred (19), was severely injure d when he was beaten and shot by members of the MU N I C I P A L P O L I C E in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, in 1985 during a curfew permitted by the emerg e n c y regulations. Mr Ngamlana suff e red permanent injuries. NGAMLANA, Xolani Luyanda (25), an MK operative, was severely assaulted and tort u red by 'tubing' and stabbing while he was detained at Cambridge police station, East London, on 16 April 1986. Mr Ngamlana had refused to identify his MK commander in a p h o t o g r a p h . NGAMLANE, Mawethu Chesters (25), a NUMSA m e m b e r, was repeatedly assaulted by named members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane police station, Ciskei, in August 1985. He was detained and released after seven days. He was also charged with public violence and detained at Zone 12 police station for 16 weeks, during which he was tort u red and denied medical attention. NGAMNTWINI, Twelve (56), an ANC support e r, was killed when he was shot in the head by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BI S H O M A S S A C R E. Two members of the f o rmer CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 1 2 2) . NGAMONE, E , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Churc h S t reet, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people w e re killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of M K ' s Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives w e re granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G, PR E T O R I A. NGANGE, Funeka Nobantu , was 'necklaced' to death by named ANC supporters on 4 June 1990 in Komga, Cape. Her mother was accused of practising witchcraft following the death of a community member who had bought liquor from her shebeen. Her mother was also burnt to death in the attack. NGANGE, Nombande Nomriti , was 'necklaced' to

death by

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NKOSI, David Nicholas (41), was seriously injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. NKOSI, David, was beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 21 April 1986 following violence over the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele. NKOSI, Dickson, an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home and shot dead on 5 September 1991 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters. NKOSI, Dingaana Jordaan (67), was shot dead on 14 June 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in the area. NKOSI, DM, a constable in the SAP, was fatally wounded when armed MK operatives attacked the Wonderboom police station, Pretoria, on 26 December 1981. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195). NKOSI, Dumisani, was shot in the head and killed by a member of the SAP in Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 13 March 1986 during political conflict in the area. NKOSI, Ephraim (41), was subjected to severe mental torture when a crowd, some of whom are named, threatened to set him alight with petrol in his home in Nelspruit, Tvl, in 1993. The perpetrators also burnt down his house. NKOSI, Eric Richard (13), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP while in his bedroom in Siyathuthuka, Belfast, Tvl, on 21 January 1990. Police reportedly began shooting randomly during a community march against the Municipal Police. NKOSI, Eric, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in an attack on the leader of the BLACK CATS in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in July 1991. Five SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/98/0121). NKOSI, Ernest, a member of the SAP, was injured in an armed attack by MK operatives on the Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1979. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195). NKOSI, Ethel Nomusa (31), an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1985. She has not been seen since. NKOSI, Florence (24), was severely beaten by named vigilantes in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 24 November 1985, while she was leaving a UDF meeting. She was arrested and charged with public violence but the charges were later withdrawn. In June 1986 she was detained under emergency regulations for three months and severely beaten by members of the SAP. See POLICE BRUTALITY. NKOSI, Getrude Velaphi Thoko (27), lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Lebohang,

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3 December 1992 during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and nonstriking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. NKUTU, Fukutha Jackson (48), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, in 1960, during clashes between police and residents opposing the Pass Laws. NKUWENG, Sebolashi (49), had her home burn

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NTSHONGWANA, Alfred Lungisile (37), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 14 September 1990 while on his way to work. At the time, there was unrest in the area with community members opposing the Coloured Management Committee headed by the Labour party. NTSHONGWANA, Mpingeni Alfred (33), a selfdefence (SDU) unit member, was severely assaulted by members of the Political and Violent Crime Unit of the SAP after his arrest in Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 April 1992 with 11 other SDU members. Mr Ntshongwana spent 16 months in prison awaiting trial during which time he alleges he was assaulted again. One of the SDU members arrested with him died six months after his release from prison, allegedly as a result of injuries sustained during his detention. NTSHOTA, Mxolisi (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 23 March 1992 when he and other activists were instructed by Vlakplaas to hijack a particular car. They were then ambushed by Vlakplaas operatives. Two of the perpetrators applied for amnesty. NTSHUDE, Maki Jonas (14), was beaten by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCANVILLE, East London, in August 1985. Police allegedly wanted information from him about the sittings of the 'people's court' in the area. NTSHUDU, Andile Joseph (21), a COSAS supporter, was beaten by named members of the SAP at Somerset East police station, Cape, in March 1985 at a time of protests in the township. NTSHUNTSHA, Naboth Mandaluhlwile, a PAC branch chairman

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NYATI, Petela (59), a PAC and Poqo member, was arrested for his political activities in East London in July 1963. He was charged and convicted and died serving a term of imprisonment. NYAUZA, Mpayipheli Norman (45), was shot by IFP supporters near a hostel in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 18 January 1993 during violent conflict arising from a labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-affiliated UWUSA workers. NYAWANE, (first name not given), an alleged IFP member, was shot dead by a member of an ANC selfdefence unit (SDU) at Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1993. IFP supporters, on their way home from a funeral, allegedly killed an elderly resident, and Mr Nyawane was shot dead in retaliation, during a fierce battle that erupted between ANC and IFP supporters. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0317). NYAWO, Badingile (58), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban in February 1991. NYAWO, Boni Maxwell (20), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death and had his throat slit by a named ANC supporter at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 February 1993. NYAWO, Boy Erick, died as a result of gunshot and stab wounds inflicted by IFP supporters during political conflict in Groutville, Stanger, Natal, on 7 October 1991. NYAWO, Constance Siphindile (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Kwesikwamthetwa, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 12 September 1993. NYAWO, Dumezweni, was shot dead on the way to work by a named assailant in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 December 1992. His cousin was also killed in the attack. NYAWO, Falini Jeremiah (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP members in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 1 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. NYAWO, Hleziphi Jeslina (53), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992, allegedly because her daughter and son-in-law were ANC supporters. Her son-in-law was murdered in the same month. NYAWO, Muziwakhe Alfred (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at

Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 October 1993. N YAWO, Samson Diya Mfanafuthi (24), a UDF s u p p o r t e r, was arrested in Newcastle on 14 November 1986, and severely tort u red by k i t s k o n s t a b e l s while in detention. The police were allegedly looking for his b r o t h e r, who was an MK operative. When the police could not find him, they arrested Mr Nyawo instead. N YAWO, Samson Musawenkosi (22), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was injured in a random shooting by members of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E on 9 April 1991 during a stayaway in Mandini, Natal.

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and an employee of a private company, was killed by IFP supporters while distributing IEC pamphlets in ND W E D W E, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994. Seven colleagues were killed with him. One IFP member was convicted for the attack. See ND W E D W E E L E C T I O N AT TA C K . N YAWOSE, Sikameko (81), an ANC leader, died after being shot and stabbed by IFP supporters at Murc h i s o n, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 23 March 1991. N YAWUZA, Eric Thulani (20), a member of the IFP Youth Brigade, was shot dead at the home of a p r o m i n e n t IFP leader at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992, allegedly by ANC members. See NYA N G W I N I AT TA C K. NYEKA, John , a Poqo support e r, was shot dead by members of the SAP while digging a grave at We s t Bank prison, East London, in 1960, allegedly because he opposed the hard labour for inmates. NYELELE, Michael , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 20 June 1976 in the aftermath of the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. P o l i c e r e p o r t e d l y suspected him of being a student leader. NYEMBE, Kanaza (56), an ANC support e r, had his house destroyed in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, in 1990. NYEMBE, Mantomi (57), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1991. She was attacked because she was living in an ANC stro n g h o l d . NYEMBE, Vumani (17), an IFP support e r, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 28 March 1993. NYEMBEZI, Constance Nokwanela (46), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, had her house burnt down by IFP support e r s at KwaSithole, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1991. NYEMBEZI, Lindiwe , an MK operative, was shot dead when led into an ambush by V l a k p l a s o p e r a t i v e s near the Swaziland border in Piet Retief, Tvl, on 8 June 1988. Three other MK operatives were killed in the attack. A fire a r m and hand grenades were allegedly planted on the bodies when police realised that the four w e r e unarmed. The perpetrators applied for amnesty. NYEMBEZI, Mlise Hallock (50), a PAC member and f o r m e r political prisoner from Gwadu, Wi l l o w v a l e , Transkei, went into exile in September 1984. He has never been seen again. NYENGANE, Ndimphiwe , a Transkei Defence Forc e (TDF) soldier, was injured during an AT T E M P T E D C O U P I N U M TATA, TR A N S K E I, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six V l a k p l a s o p e r a t i v e s were granted amnesty for p r o v i d i n g arms for the attempted coup. An SADF M i l i t a r y Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later

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Phungula had lent his friend a fire a r m given to him by Mr Nkabinde for SDU purposes, and the friend had used the gun to kill an unidentified person. His friend was also shot dead. P H U N G U LWA, Mzamo Philget (20), was arre s t e d with over 60 others on 20 November 1985 in R o b e r t s o n, Cape, on charges of public

violence. He was severely beaten while under interrogation and was held in custody for three months until the charges were withdrawn. PHUNGU LWA, Sipho, a former MK operative, was shot dead by MK operatives in Umtata, Transkei, on 13 June 1990. His colleague escaped uninjured. The two were believed to have become askaris. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0034). PHUNGU WAI, David Mutheki, was injured in a bomb blast by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and nonstriking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. PHUPHANI, Mthuthuzeli (39), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). PIENAAR, Clifford Lawrence (26), a UDF supporter, was detained in 1987 and again in 1989 in Marianridge, near Pinetown, Natal, allegedly for being a community activist. In detention he was assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP, and received medical attention for his injuries only after he and other detainees had embarked on a hunger strike. PIENAAR, Cornelia Gertruida, (39) a civilian, was injured and her house damaged, during an APLA attack on white civilians and police members in Ficksburg, OFS, on 10 December 1992. See APLEATACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0182). PIENAAR, David (14), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SADF, at Ntuzuma, near Durban, when security forces opened fire on a crowd of people returning from the funeral of an ANC supporter on 22 October 1988. David had accidentally got caught up in the crowd. PIENAAR, Kathleen (61), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 October 1988. PIENAAR, TD, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCHSTREETBOMBING, PRETORIA.

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of the KwaNdebele Police because he resisted INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. POKOLO, Nomabhulu (22), was shot and injured in the head by members of the SAP at the Grand Parade, Cape Town, on 11 February 1990. Ms Pokolo was part of a huge crowd waiting to see Nelson Mandela after his release that day. POKWANA, Temba Alfred, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTEDCOUPINUMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six Vlakplaas operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199). POLE, Malefu Meriam (15), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 15 February 1990, while participating in a protest march against the INCORPORATION of Botshabelo into QwaQwa. Police set up roadblocks and fired teargas in an attempt to stop marches reaching the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein. Four people were killed and many injured when police opened fire. Ms Pole lost her sight in one eye as a result of the shooting. POLOKO, Lazerus Keletetse, was severely beaten with knobkerries by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Kuruman, Northern Cape, in October 1992 after he was detained in connection with a consumer boycott in the area. PONNEN, Gangen George, an ANC member from Durban, was

detained under the 90-day detention clause and held in solitary confinement by the Security Branch in September 1964. He was then sentenced to 12 months' hard labour for refusing to give evidence in the trial of a fellow ANC member. After his release in 1965, he left South Africa and lived in exile for 25 years before returning to South Africa. PONNEN, Murugas 'Mari', was detained in 1965 and continually harassed by members of the Special Branch in Chatsworth, Durban, with regard to her brother, Mr George Ganggen Ponnen, an underground SACP/ANC activist and a leader of the trade union movement in South Africa. Ms Ponnen and her husband were interrogated as to the whereabouts of Ganggen Ponnen and questioned about any communication they might have had with him. PONNEN, Soogawathee, was dismissed from her job as a teacher in Falcon Park Primary School, Durban, allegedly because her husband opposed the party politics of a named member of their community. PONNEN, Subramoney Mari, lost his job in the Department of Labour, Durban, allegedly because he opposed the party politics of a named member of his community. PONNEN, Tholasi, was detained in 1965 and continually harassed by members of the Special Branch in Chatsworth, Durban, in regard to his brother-in-law,

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RABULA, Michael (33), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. RACHEL, Edith Marillier, was shot and injured, and robbed of firearms during an attack by UDF supporters on her home at Bush View Farm, Stutterheim, Cape, on 7 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277). RADAMBA, Mubvathi Samuel (37), was detained for an unspecified period of time by named members of the Venda Police in November 1983 at Thohoyandou, Venda. Mr Radamba was accused of providing food and accommodation to MK operatives. RADEBE, Albert, was shot and injured by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natal, on 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198). RADEBE, Alfred Molefi (19), was shot dead, allegedly by a named member of the SAP, in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 19 September 1989. Mr Radebe, a 'Gadaffi' supporter, was singing freedom songs with other supporters at the time. The perpetrator was reportedly suspended after an investigation into police violence in the area. See KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS S.S. RADEBE, Alison, was shot dead by alleged IFPs uprooting hostel-dwellers during an attack on Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1992. Hosteldwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership, which resulted in polarisation between residents from townships, hostels and squatter camps. Hundreds of people died in the intense violent conflict which followed between 1990 and 1993. RADEBE, Alpha Bonga (36), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhukhanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 January 1994 in continuing political conflict in the area. Two people were killed in political fighting and at least 14 homesteads were burnt down. RADEBE, Anna, was shot dead in Phiritona, Heilbron, OFS, on 12 March 1990, when SAP members opened fire on crowds celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. RADEBE, Annah, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in this incident. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers resulted in violent conflict from July to December 1992. RADEBE, Anthony Mdeni (28), a COSATU member, was stabbed to death by the leader of the local Inkatha Youth Brigade in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 22 March 1986. Union leaders were allegedly targeted for attack because they were perceived to share the ideological views of the UDF and ANC. RADEBE, Bathobile Princess (9), lost her

home when her parents' house at Port Shepstone, Natal, was burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991. Her parents were ANC supporters.

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RAJBANSI, Amichand, then a Minister in the House of Delegates in the Tricameral Parliament, had his house in Durban damaged in a limpet mine explosion on 4 August 1985. Six MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152). RAJOO, Sonny Jaffernath (53), a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, was beaten, tear-gassed and sjambokked by members of the SAP in September 1984 in Lenasia near Johannesburg during protests against the tricameral parliament. RAKATE, Israel Kabelo (30), was severely beaten and left for dead in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, on 8 February 1993. Mr Rakate, a school principal, was accused of being a member of the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party by a mob of students. RAKHETSI, John Khawanyana (10), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in 1984 in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, because he attended a student meeting about political violence in the area. RAKHETSI, Mamathakase Motswepi Belina, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209). RAKITLA, Mtheriza Aaron (44), had his home burnt down on 20 November 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFPaligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this area from July to December 1992. RAKOBO, Thabiso Isaac, was in a unit of five MK operatives active in the Eastern Cape when he was caught in a police roadblock near Elliot, in August 1981, and shot dead. Three others were killed in the ambush and a survivor was arrested. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission in 1997. RAKOMANE, Daniel Mosete (28), a UDF supporter, was tortured by named members of the SAP on 8 June 1986 at Dwaalboom, Tvl. Police were reported trying to persuade him to become an informer. RAKOSA, Solomon Kgopi, a COSAS member, was killed in a parcel bomb explosion on 1 November 1989 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl. Solomon was given a parcel that exploded in his hands. The perpetrator is named. RAKUDA, David, was beaten to death by his employer in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 13 September 1990 after Mr Rakuda objected to his employer making racist remarks. RAKWENA, Masilo Ephraim (39), was assaulted and detained by members of the SAP in Letlhabile, near Brits, Tvl, in September 1992 at a protest march against the presence of a skaris in the area who were killing activists and raping women. RALANA, Merryman Anele (20), a student activist and East London Youth Organisation member, was tortured while in detention by named members of the SAP at Cambridge police station, East London, in June 1986, during the state of emergency. He was

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ROBERT, K, was injured in what became known as the MARGO O'SBARBOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). ROBERTS, Ben Pakiso (27), a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a labour strike in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and police opened fire on striking miners, injuring six. R

O B E R T S, Izak , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA. A. R O B E R T S, Molatlhegi Samuel (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by AWB members on 9 March 1994 in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana. He was returning from an ANC rally at a local stadium when the attack took place. R O B E R T S O N, JD , a clergyman and a critic of apartheid, was harassed by members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch between 1982 and 1994. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/005 and AC/2001/184). ROBINSON, Dawn , was injured when MK operatives detonated a limpet mine in a dustbin at the Vanderbijl Square bus terminus, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. Nineteen people were injured and a number of vehicles and buildings were damaged. Two MK Special Operations operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/056). A late application by a third operative was dismissed. ROBINS, F, was injured in what became known as the MARGO O'S BARR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128). ROBSONI, Maria Nomthandazo (22), was beaten and suffocated with a tube by a named member of the SAP while under interrogation at Cambridge police station, East London, on 15 April 1986. RODE, Limini Petros (38), an ANC supporter and active in the local residents' committee, was tortured by members of the Ciskei Police on 8 August 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. RODGERS, Adrienne Dawn (19), was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Garden Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076). ROE, M, was injured in what became known as the MARGO O'S BARR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The

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the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. SIBEKO, Thabo Reginald (24), a member of the ANC-aligned self-defence unit (SDU), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Tokoza, Tvl, on 14 February 1994. SDU members were often targeted by the Security Forces during this period of conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. SIBEKO, Thembanani Norah (58), was injured in an explosion set by supporters of the IFP in September 1992 in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-affiliated UWUSA workers which resulted in violent conflict in the area between June and December 1992. SIBEKO, Thoko Maria (27), an AZASM member, was shot and tear-gassed by the police in Soweto, Johannesburg, in June 1976 during the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. SIBEKU, Gladstone Kathazile (26), a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by AMAAF R I K A members during political conflict at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 6 February 1990. SIBEKU, Nomakula Mirriam (33), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP during student protests in Klipplaat, Cape, on 3 August 1992. SIBENGILE, Msondezi Eric (26), was shot dead with three others by named members of the SADF's Citizen Force at Centerton Location, Hankey, Cape, on 23 May 1986. The Citizen Force members were stationed inside the home of a community COUNCILLOR when they opened fire on protesters outside the house. SIBEWU, Mtutuzeli Norman (29), an ANC supporter, was imprisoned, severely beaten and forced to drink chemicals by members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in September 1978. SIBI, Tebogo Julias (16), was shot by members of the SAP in Khutsong,

Carletonville, Tvl, while attending a night vigil of an ANC supporter on 15 December 1990. SIBIDLA, Twanisi Fr e e n a, was one of 11 people killed by SP E C I A L CO N S TA B L E S who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pieterm a r i t z b u r g , on 3 December 1988. See TR U S T F E E D S M A S S A C R E . The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011). S I B I L W A N E , Penduka Enos (56), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 July 1993 during conflict between hostel-dwellers and re s i d e n t s . SIBISE, Mandlakayisa Elmond , suff e red severe illt reatment and damage to pro p e rty during the BO I PAT O N G M A S S A C R E by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirt e e n perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further thre e applications were refused (AC/2000/209). SIBISI, Agnes (78), was shot dead by Inkatha s u p p o rters in Pieterm a r i t z b u r g , on 29 March 1990, during the S E V E N-D A Y W A R .

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S I M A Y I L E , Code (46), was detained in Sasolburg , OFS, on 11 July 1986 and held for six months under e m e r g e n c y regulations. In detention, he was severe l y assaulted and tort u red by members of the SAP. Mr Simayile had been involved in a protracted strike at Karbochem in Sasolburg, and police accused him of politicising a labour dispute. S I M A Y I L E , David Nkosivumile (25), an ANC support e r , was shot and fatally wounded in the chest by KWAZU L U PO L I C E members and Inkatha supporters in Durban N o rth on 9 Febru a ry 1986, allegedly in a targeted killing. SIMBINE, Jeronimo V i c e n t e (22), a Mozambican citizen, was abducted from his home in Namaacha, Mozambique, by SADF Special Forces members on 23 August 1982. He was taken to Phalaborwa army base w h e r e , after severe interrogation and tort u r e , he agre e d to become a member of the SADF. Prior to this abduction, the SADF had raided and bombed Namaacha because they suspected the village of housing ANC members in transit. During this raid, two Mozambican and one Portugese citizen were killed. Mr Simbine escaped after three years and, upon his re t u r n home, was detained by the Mozambican authorities for six months. SIMELA, Namkoni Selinah (47), had her home burn t down on 16 June 1986 in Mathyzensloop, KwaNdebele, during a night vigil for 'comrades' killed by IM B O K O D O vigilantes and KwaNdebele Defence Force members. Mathyzensloop residents re p o rtedly fled to the hills to escape the violence. SIMELANE Sbusiso Carol (19), an ANC support e r , was stabbed and axed to death by unidentified people at a taxi rank in Pieterm a r i t z b u r g during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 3 Febru a ry 1993. Three others were killed; he was the only surv i v o r . SIMELANE, Allison Msuvukela (42), an IFP s u p p o r t e r , was shot dead in an attack on his home in Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 July 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP s u p p o rters. The attackers re p o rtedly wanted guns, which they believed the family had received fro m Ulundi. His wife was severely beaten during the attack. SIMELANE, Bheki (19), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 2 Febru a ry 1992 during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents. Hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership, and re l a t i o n s between residents and hostel-dwellers became i n c r e a s i n g l y strained. SIMELANE, Bhekuyise Simon (29), an ANC support e r , was stoned and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 13 M a rch 1994, in the run-up to the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S . SIMELANE, Buti Peter , was stabbed and shot to death by IFP supporters in Dube, Soweto, Johannesb u r g , on 8 September 1991. The perpetrators were re t u rning from a funeral at the Jabulani stadium in S o w e t o . SIMELANE, Eunice (53), an IFP support e r , was s e v e r e l y beaten in an attack on her home in Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 July 1992, in ongoing conflict between the ANC and IFP. The attackers re p o rtedly wanted guns, which they believed

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THOMPSON, Leon , an ANC support e r, was shot and killed when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carr i e d out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RI C H M O N D AT TA C K S. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217). THOMPSON, Marsheen Thandi (37), was shot and i n j u red by members of the SAP when her husband was arrested in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, on 7 December 1983. Her husband and bro t h e r-in-law were suspected of being MK members. Ms Thompson's a rm had to be amputated as a result of her injuries. THOMPSON, Robert Patric (37), was arrested at his home in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, on 7 December 1983 and detained without trial for two months, on suspicion of being an MK member. His wife was shot and injured during his arre s t . THOOE, Maria Mathooe (26), was shot and injure d by members of the SAP and IFP supporters while watching an IFP funeral procession in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 3 August 1991. THOPI, Nomvula Clara (42), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 12 June 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the are a . THORPE, Nawaaldien (18), a student activist and member of the BMW, was detained in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, in July 1987, and was severely beaten by named and other members of a special police UN R E S T I N V E S T I G AT I O N U N I T. THOSE, Fanie Bafana , was shot by members of the SAP in Springs, Tvl, in July 1982 when management at G rootvlei mine called in police during a labour dispute. THOSHOLO, Ndumiso Timoti (16), was shot in the head and permanently disabled while watching television in a house in Cro s s roads, Cape Town, on 10 December 1989. There were numerous deaths and injuries that month after members of the pro - g o v e rnment Cro s s roads committee broke away to s u p p o r t the ANC. THUBANA, Yenu Johannes (32), had his house d e s t royed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in G o e d e rede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the I N C O R P O R AT I O N o f G o e d e rede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted I N C O R P O R AT I O N which resulted in violent conflict. THUBANE, Geelbooi Bangani (19), was shot dead by members of the KwaNdebele Police in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 June 1986 because he allegedly looked like a 'comrade'. The area was tense after the g o v e rnment attempted its I N C O R P O R AT I O N into KwaNdebele. THUBE, Limakatso Maria (49), was severely burnt by ANC supporters in Koppies, OFS, on 6 November 1992, during political conflict in the area. Ms Thube and others were taken before a 'people's court' and w e re tried and sentenced to death by burning. She managed to escape after being set alight, but died t h re e days later. Two of the alleged perpetrators were c h a r g e d, convicted and sentenced to death. Their sentences were later commuted to life imprisonment.

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THUTSE, Mamonakane Steven , died after he was stabbed and stoned by followers of the local chief in Moganyaka, Lebowa, in November 1990. Mr Thutse was with a well-known opponent of the chief of the village, who had queried the use of community funds, when the incident occurre d . THUTSHANA, Ndihambile , was shot dead on 11 December 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl. THUTSHANA, Wilson (46), was stabbed and injure d on 11 December 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP s u p p o r t e r s, during ongoing political conflict in the area. THUTSHINI, Phumlile Pinky (5), had her family home d e s t royed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in M u rchison, near Port

Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing political conflict in the area in 1993. THUTSHINI, Thokozile Jessie (60), an ANC supporter, survived an armed attack on her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 January 1993, during ongoing political conflict between the 'RE D' A N D ' G R E E N' F A C T I O N S. T H WABU, Siyabulela (22), an APLA member from Bizana, Transkei, was shot dead by Basotho paramilitary force members in March 1985 at Qacha's Nek, Lesotho, close to the Lesotho-Transkei border. Five other APLA members died in this incident, which occurred at a time of increased LLA activity in the area aimed at destabilising the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The Basotho security forces claimed they had mistaken the APLA unit for LLA members. APLA and the LLA were closely connected at the time. T H WALA, Anna Lesia (61), lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by ANC supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 24 July 1992 during conflict between rival unions. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and nonstriking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this township from July to December 1992. T H WALA, Cornelius (28), was shot in the arm by members of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, in July 1992 during conflict between rival unions. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this township from July to December 1992. T H WALA, Daphney Nozipho (32), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See S O N K O M B O A R S O N A T T A C K S. T H WALA, Martha Olga, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in a shebeen in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 June 1992, the anniversary of the 1976 S O W E T O U P R I S I N G. Seven people died in the attack and the shebeen-owner lost an eye. T H WALA, Mhlupheki (45), was beaten, hacked with axes, shot and his body was set alight by alleged ANC supporters in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 2 March 1985 because he was accused of stealing cattle during political conflict. T H WALA, Mntothini Jacob (43), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992.

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G E 8 4 8

T H WALA, Mxolisi, a suspected IFP member, was shot and killed by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. Mr Thwala was allegedly given the option of joining the SDU or killing his own father, an IFP member. He refused the latter and was then shot dead. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0348). T H WALA, Simon Mosotho (64), was shot in the chest and eye by members of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, in July 1992 during conflict between rival unions. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this township from July to December 1992. T H WALA, Tamsanqa William (23), was shot in the face by members of the ISU in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 June 1993, after marching with other residents to the police station to deliver a memorandum protesting against the violent forced removals of certain residents by a named Crossroads leader. Mr Thwala lost partial vision in an eye. T H WALA, Thulani Napoleon (40), was shot dead by IFP supporters from Steadville men's hostel at Ladysmith, Natal, on 20 September 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area. T H WALA, Zintle, an ANC supporter, was beaten by named perpetrators in Matatiele, Transkei, on 30 March 1990. A group of men associated with the traditional authorities and opposed to the launch of an ANC branch attacked numerous homes and persons associated with the ANC. T H WANE, Samuel Galeboe, was detained, beaten and subjected to electric shock treatment by members of the Special Branch in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 12 February 1988 after an attempted coup in the homeland. T H WANI, Mamoruti Johanna (51), a Sotho speaker, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in the Hlobane mine compound, near Vryheid, Natal, in February 1986. Zulus accused Xhosas and Sothos on the mines of being ANC supporters.

THYSE, Jan (49), a minister of religion and a UDF supporter, was arrested with 27 other clergy during the POLLSMOOR MARCH on 28 August 1985, and held in humiliating conditions for five days at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town. The day after their arrest they were severely suffocated when a teargas canister was thrown into the closed police vehicle that was taking them to court. TIBANE, Rinanga Simon (44), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP at Matsulu, Kwangwane, during protests in the area on 16 May 1991. TIBANE, Wilson (15), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nkowankowa, Tzaneen, Tvl, as he participated in a march launching the UDF on 21 February 1986. TIFI, Thembisa (11), was shot and injured by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCEANVILLE, East London, on 11 August 1985. THABUDUGWANE, Mofana Stephen (26), a member of the Bophuthatswana Police, was burnt to

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are a . TSHABALALA, Rosetta Dumazile

in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in intense political conflict in the area in March 1989. TSHABALALA, Samkele, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1991. His uncle was killed during the same attack. Violence engulfed the area following numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. TSHABALALA, Samuel, was shot and injured by unidentified perpetrators on 19 January 1993 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during clashes between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Ratanda was tense following clashes at a local factory between IFPaligned UWUSA members and COSATU-affiliated FAWU members over strike action. TSHABALALA, Sarah (65), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when her home was petrol-bombed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 May 1993. Three other members of Ms Thabala's family were killed in this attack. TSHABALALA, Sizakele Maria, lost her house after it was set alight by FAWU members in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 October 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area from July to December 1992. TSHABALALA, Stanley Mbuso, is assumed to have been burnt to death by Vlakplaas operatives in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, during July 1986. He and eight other youths were recruited by a skrifoor

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Thandumuzi Samuel

, a FAWU member,

was shot by IFP supporters in Balfour, Tvl, on 19 January 1993. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area. TSHABALALA, Thomas (17), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in March 1990 while attending a night vigil. TSHABALALA, Thulani Lioyd (29), was shot dead by Azanian Student Movement (AZASM) supporters in Emdeni, Soweto, Tvl, on 25 May 1986 during conflict between the UDF-aligned SAYCO and the AZAPOaligned AZASM. TSHABALALA, Vusumuzi Joseph (20), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Tvl, on 27 June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. TSHABALALA, Vuyani, an ANC member, was abducted and seriously injured when he was shot and hacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local

ANCYL and SDU members. Thirt e e n SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013). TSHABANGU, Isiah Doctor , had his house destro y e d in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near H e i d e l b e r g, Tvl, on 23 November 1992. At the time t h e r e was a labour dispute between striking COSAT U - a f f i l i a t e d FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aff i l i a t e d UWUSA workers. The conflict in the area between June and December 1992 included attacks on homes and the petrol bombing of buses taking workers to and from work. TSHABANGU, Jama Johannes , was shot dead by IFP supporters on 20 August 1990, in Kagiso, Tvl, during conflict between hostel- dwellers and re s i d e n t s . TSHABANGU, Madzela Jack (55), was detained and t o r t u r e d by members of the SAP in KwaNdebele, KwaNdebele, in June 1986 because he opposed the independence of KwaNdebele. TSHABANGU, Matilda Nomthandazo , an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r , was shot dead by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 October 1989. TSHABE, Thembinkosi (15), was shot by members of the SAP while he was taking part in protest action in Venterstad, Cape, in June 1993. TSHAKA, Miena Boniswa (47), was tear-gassed in her home on her arrest in Kimberley, Cape, on 20 November 1990. She was held in custody for two weeks with her 18-month-old grandchild after being c h a r g e d with the attempted murder of a policeman. She was later acquitted. TSHAKALA, Solomon (56), an IFP support e r , was shot and injured by named perpetrators in Pongola, Tvl, on 1 January 1991.

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E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

female resident earlier that day. Mr Ts h e m e s e ' s father was hacked and burnt to death in the attack. TSHEMESE, Witness (62), a businessman, was shot and injured by alleged ANC members during the b u r n i n g of his shop at Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in F e b r u a r y 1991, during political conflict. T S H E N U W A N I, Simon , was detained by members of the Venda Police in 1980 and kept in cells in Sibasa, Masisi, and Louis Tr i c h a r d t, Tvl. Mr Tshenuwani was politically active and was allegedly detained for refusing to become an inform e r. TSHEONI, S , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Stre e t , P r e t o r i a , on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CH U R C H S T R E E T B O M B I N G , P R E T O R I A . TSHEPO, Ramokoni (61), had her home burnt down on 2 Febr u a r y 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by s u p p o r t e r s of Chief BK Matlala because she re s i s t e d L e b o w a ' s proposed independence from South Africa. TSHETU, Nceba Wellington (31), a PAC member, was detained in Paarl, Cape, in 1964, and was tort u r e d by named members of the SAP. He was then imprisoned on Robben Island where he was beaten while doing hard labour. TSHEZI, Bhungweni , was severely beaten with a rifle-butt by members of the SAP in Bizana, Tr a n s k e i , in March 1960 during the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L T . He died f r o m his injuries. TSHEZI, Siyabulela , was shot dead, allegedly by a named IFP support e r , in Tokoza, Tvl, on 3 December 1990 because the family was Xhosa-speaking. This incident occurred during intense conflict when political a f f i l i a t i o n was often associated with ethnic identity. TSHEZI, Thombeka (22), was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in her home in Tokoza, Tvl, on 3 December 1990. Her brother was also killed and her father injured in the attack. The family was allegedly attacked because they were Xhosa-speaking. Political conflict on the East Rand led to the polarisation of the community into IFP- and ANC-supporting areas. After I n k a t h a ' s launch as a political part y , ethnic identity overlapped increasingly with political a f f i l i a t i o n . TSHEZI, Tondo (76), an ANC support e r , had his house b u r n t down and livestock stolen by IFP supporters in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1990 in intense political conflict following the U N B A N N I N G of political o r g a n i s a t i o n s in Febr u a r y that year. TSHEZI, Tozama (57), was shot and injured in To k o z a , Tvl, on 3 December 1990 by a group of IFP-support i n g hostel-dwellers, one of whom is named. Mr

Ts h e z i 's son and daughter were killed in the attack. Nineteen people died in Tokoza during intense political conflict that day. TSHIBALO, Johannes T s h i v h i d z o , lost his home in an arson attack by a group of the community r e s i d e n t s in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused

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M a r c h 1990. There was a strike in the township at the time. Police opened fire in the street, killing Mr Tsoabisi in his home. TSOAELAMI, David Rantsoake (42), an AZAPO s u p p o r t e r , was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 25 July 1993 while on his way to work when unidentified gunmen in a minibus opened fire on pedestrians. At least five other people were allegedly killed in this incident which took place during conflict between rival taxi associations in Katlehong. See D R I V E - B Y S H O O T I N G S. TSOAELI, Moses Oupa , an ANC support e r , died after being shot in the head in Evaton, Tvl, on 27 June 1993 by the T e r r o r Gang vigilante gro u p . TSOALEI, Tankiso Lenah (52), was shot dead when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters during a student boycott in Monyakeng, W e s e l s b r o n , O F S , on 2 July 1990. TSOARI, Thomas , a FAWU member, died in a hand g renade attack by named UWUSA members in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSAT U - a l i g n e d FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area from July to December 1992. TSOBANE, Zacharia , was shot dead by IFPs u p p o r t i n g Simphiwe hostel-dwellers in Dobsonville, Soweto, Tvl, on 13 March 1992 during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFPs u p p o r t i n g hostel-dwellers. Two people died and two others were injured in the attack. TSOBILEYO, Nomatise Evelyn (26), was shot and i n j u r e d by members of the SAP in C r o s s r o a d s , Cape Town, on 18 F e b r u a r y 1985. Eighteen people were killed and many more injured over three days during p r o t e s t s against the pending forced removal of C r o s s r o a d s residents to Khayelitsha. TSOKA, Magukubjane Mumcy (18), was arrested by members of the Lebowa Police in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in March 1986 while on her way to the funeral of a 'comrade'. Ms Tsoka was then taken to a garage with other mourners who had been a r r e s t e d and assaulted with a sjambok. TSOKE, A r m s t r o n g Thathi , an ANC support e r , was shot dead in V o s l o o r u s , Tvl, in 1990 at a roadblock o r g a n i s e d by local youth during political conflict in the a r e a . TSOKELA, Isaac Laine (21), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1993 during fighting in the street between ANC-aligned 'comrades' and members of the SADF and I M B O K O D O v i g i l a n t e s . TSOKOLIBANE, Malijewe Miriam (46), an ANC s u p p o r t e r , was beaten and severely injured when her shop was looted by Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 5 May 1986. The attack took place on the day of a funeral for ANC support e r s shot by police. Ms T s o k o l i b a n e 's husband was also attacked and died of his injuries ten months later. TSOKOLIBANE, Thomas Mahlomola (47), an ANC s u p p o r t e r , was severely beaten and injured by IFP s u p p o r t e r s in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 5 May 1986 during the funeral of ANC support e r s .

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G E 8 6 2

TSOKU, Ingrid Mmaditau (34), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Alexandra, J o h a n n e s b u r g , on 17 January 1993 during conflict between IFP and ANC support e r s . TSOLO, Motang Jonas (27), a SAYCO member, was detained by members of the SAP who broke up a S A Y C O meeting in Kgotsong,

Bothaville, OFS, in May 1990. Mr Tsolo was tortured while in custody. TSOLO, Patrick, an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by hostel-dwellers in Soweto, on 2 November 1976 in the aftermath of the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G. The state used hostel-dwellers to break up a stayaway called to protest against continued police violence against students. TSOSANE, Mpho (50), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 1 June 1985 and detained without trial for six months at Theunissen police station, OFS, allegedly because she 'politicised' children. In custody, Ms Tsosane was severely tortured by members of the SAP. TSOTETSI, Abel, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 June 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area. TSOTETSI, Anna Mamokete (51), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Katlehong, Tvl, on 30 December 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area. TSOTETSI, Joyce Dibane (42), was detained in solitary confinement for six weeks from 29 May 1984 in Soweto, Tvl. TSOTETSI, Malente Emmerantia (28), was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 13 November 1993, as she was returning from the funeral of an ANC-aligned chief's children. She had to flee from Nqutu hospital to Dundee hospital to escape a second attack by the perpetrators. TSOTETSI, Maphike Abel (19), was shot dead by IFP-aligned KHE T I S I KHE S W A G A N G members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See N A N G A L E M B E N I G H T V I G I L M A S S A C R E. TSOTETSI, Mmasole Christinah (50), was injured in an explosion caused by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area from July to December 1992. TSOTETSI, Mphonyana Meshack (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 23 April 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. TSOTETSI, Musoe Jonas (53), was injured in an explosion on a bus in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 16 November 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area from July to December 1992.

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when she was caught in crossfire during a clash between ANC members and the A - T E A M at a commemoration of 16 June. TWABIYO, Ntsila (34), a PAC supporter, was detained without trial for 30 days at Engcobo, Transkei, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1963. TWABU, Siyabulela (22), an APLA member, was shot dead with five other APLA members in March 1985 at Qacha's Nek on the Transkei-Lesotho border. Their bodies were found decomposing in a forest. TWALA, Clement Linda (41), a UDF supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by members of the M A K A B A S A G A N G and the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986. Police often used gang members to attack political activists in the township. TWALA, Dimakatso Sophie (52), was severely injured in an explosion when a named perpetrator threw a hand grenade into a bus she was travelling in on 1 December 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. TWALA, Elizabeth Genekelo, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 September 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area. TWALA, Elsie, died a fortnight after being burnt in an attack by UDF supporters at Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 28 September 1989, during political conflict in the area. TWALA, Esau, was one of three vigilantes pursued and hacked to death by UDF supporters in Standerton, Tvl, in June 1987, because he was believed to have collaborated with members of the Pirates soccer club and community councillors to persecute UDF supporters. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty

(AC/2001/071). T WALA, Frans (21), was shot dead by hostel-dwellers in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 27 January 1993 because he was suspected of being a spy for the c o m m u n i t y. T WALA, Gladys Ntasana (21), an ANC member, had her house bombed and destroyed by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in April 1986 during intense conflict between civic organisations, local council stru c t u r e s and police. T WALA, Jabu Petr u s, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 16 January 1982. Police refused to hand over his body to the family for two weeks. Lebohang

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G E 8 6 5

T WALA, Lucky Abram , a COSAS member, was shot dead in KwaThema, Tvl, in July 1985 at a night vigil for someone killed during political conflict. At the time KwaThema experienced much violent conflict and right-wing vigilante activity. T WALA, Lucky Mandla , an ANCYL member, was shot dead in Vo s l o o r u s, Tvl, on 14 October 1990 during intense political conflict in the are a . T WALA, Lucky , was shot dead when masked gunmen e n t e r e d the Ntombela family home in Vo s l o o r u s, Tvl, and opened fire on 12 October 1991. Three family members were killed and eight people were wounded in the attack, which took place during ongoing political conflict in the are a . T WALA, Mduduzi Christopher (33), an Inkatha s u p p o r t e r, was re t u r n i n g from a funeral when he was attacked and stabbed to death by named ANC s u p p o r t e r s in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 13 January 1990. T WALA, Milton Bhakuyise (29), was shot dead at his home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 March 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF s u p p o r t e r s in the area. His younger brother was shot dead by a KWAZU L U P O L I C E member nine months later. T WALA, Mthimkulu , a civilian travelling in a bre a d e l i v e r y truck, was shot at by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Rockville, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 5 Febru a r y 1993. Mr Mabuya and his three colleagues disrupted an SDU attack on the police. The perpetrators fired at the vehicle intending to scare them off. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/119). T WALA, Mwezi Rodney (39), an MK member, was detained in 1984 in Angola by ANC security depart m e n t members, and subsequently incarcerated in Quatro camp. Dissatisfaction in MK training camps in Angola led to mutinies at the Viana and Pango camps in 1984. Both were put down with loss of lives on both sides. Many MK members were detained, and some tort u r e d . T WALA, Petros (44), was stabbed to death by named perpetrators, believed to be UDF supporters, in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 5 M a r c h 1988, allegedly because he was thought to be a collaborator. T WALA, Phumzile (13), was severely injured when her home was petrol-bombed by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in April 1986. Mr Tw a l a and his family were targeted because he was a community worker and labelled a 'comrade'. T WALA, Sebeletso Anna , was injured in an explosion in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, in November 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAW U workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. T WALA, Solomon Bongani (18), was shot and i n j u r e d by four men who passed him in the street in Katlehong, Tvl, on 30 May 1993 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand. T WALA, Thabo Reuben , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 2

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aka 'Sicelo')
(23), was shot

and killed by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, in 1993 or 1994. Mr Yekani and the applicant lived in the same house. The applicant testified that he accidentally shot Mr Yekani through the door of their home, believing that it was members of the ISU knocking and kicking on the door. The SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0348). YEKANI, Wazina, died after he was assaulted with hammers and 'necklaced' by a member of the UDFs supporting 'Killer Boys' gang on 2 February 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. Twelve perpetrators were convicted and sentenced for the killings. They were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049). YEKANI, Zongile (44), a UDF supporter, lost his home and all his possessions in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks. YEKELA, Ntabankulu (30), a PAC supporter, was arrested by members of the SAP in Cape Town, in April 1963, and later imprisoned at Robben Island and Pollsmoor prisons. Mr Yekela was subjected to hard labour and severe beatings while in prison. YEKI, Hillbrow (28), was shot and injured by members of the Riot Police in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers in the Christmas 1976 period. YELANI, David Mbulelo (21), an ANCYL activist, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Izwelethu, Bophuthatswana, in April 1993 during a dispute between the community and the headman over local government elections. YELANI, Sipho Pleare (31), a off-duty SADF member, was shot and injured as he stood watching a burning car during inter-group conflict in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 28 January 1993, sparked by a named Crossroads leader's attempts to remove certain residents by force. YENDE, Elson (38), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Emzinoni, near Bethal, Tvl, during the funeral in 1983 of community leader Saul Mkhize who had been killed by a policeman. YENDE, Joseph (27), an ANC supporter, was beaten, allegedly by members of the SAP accompanied by a named local councillor, in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 7 July 1992. Tear gas and shots were fired into the house. Mr Yende's mother and another family member who was an MK operative were killed when a hand grenade exploded during the attack. YENDE, Matha Phelo (3), was tear-gassed when members of the SAP and a named local councillor raided her home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 7 July 1992. Her grandmother and another family member who was an MK operative were killed when a hand grenade exploded during the raid.

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ZOKWE, Silberbeaver Sibhabhalala
, an ANC

member, died from poisoning while in custody in Nqamakwe, Transkei, during 1964. ZOKWE, Sithembele (33), an MK operative, was arrested on 11 June 1988 and later shot dead by members of the Transkei Security Branch at Cegcuwana administrative area, Butterworth. Two Transkei Security Branch operatives were refused amnesty for the killing. One of the operatives was also refused amnesty for an earlier attempt on Mr Zokwe's life, on 8 August 1987 (AC/2000/042). ZOLEKA, Mavis Lolo, an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from Swanieville. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence. ZONDANI, Gqebeti (26), was arrested in Retreat, Cape Town, in 1960 and detained for three months in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, where he was forced to do hard labour, during the 1960 state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY. ZONDANI, Mtutulezi James (23), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth on 17 March 1986 during the 1986 state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY. ZONDANI, Patrick Mkhuseli, was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 13 April 1993 in political unrest following

the death of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani. ZONDANI, Zelda (19), was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Police in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 15 November 1985 during the state of emergency. She was participating in a protest march after the alleged killing of students by the police. ZONDI, Amos (69), a NUMSA member, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters at his home in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 1

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Reference 289 - 0.01% Coverage

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ZOTHE, Edgar Ngqokweni (18), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, following an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2000/076). ZOTHE, Magcina, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, who believed him to be an ANC supporter. Mr Zothe's detention followed an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076). ZOTWA, Nomafa Frances (47), an ANC supporter, lost her house in a petrol bomb attack during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 15 October 1992. ZOZI, Coko Shadrack (48), was shot in both legs by members of the SAP while he was attending the funeral of a victim of violent political conflict in Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984. He was then detained, charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. ZUBA, Christian Mbokothwana, an ANC member, was arrested for his membership of a banned organisation and tortured by SAP members in Cape Town during 1960. He was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment on Robben Island where he was kicked, beaten and subjected to hard labour in the stone quarry. His health was very badly affected. ZUIDEMAN, R, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APPLATACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018). ZUKE, Bhekezakhe (44), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by unidentified persons, and died in hospital in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 October 1992. He was suspected of collaborating with the KWAZULU POLICE, who were colluding with the IFP in the struggle for political supremacy in the region. ZUKE, Michael Zamokwakhe (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in U Section in Umlazi, Durban, in 1992, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Several people died and several houses in the Umlazi and Zamani areas were destroyed during this period. ZUKE, Priscilla Sibongile (22), an ANC supporter

Reference 290 - 0.01% Coverage

43), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992. ZWANE, Johannes (65), was tear-gassed and shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 11 November 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. His wife, three children and a young relative were killed in the attack. ZWANE, Josiah Zwelakhe (22), an AZAPO supporter, was arrested and detained in

Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a rent boycott in the area. Prior to his detention he was continually harassed by the Special Branch. Z WANE, Jwi, a leader of the BL A C K CAT S, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in July 1991. Several other people were injured in the incident. Five SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/98/0121). Z WANE, Khathazile Ivy (64), an IFP supporter, had her house in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 5 October 1992. Her son was shot and fatally wounded in the same attack. Z WANE, Kutshwa Johanna (42), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in Daveyton, Tvl, on 15

V O L U M

Reference 291 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

of MK, had control over residential centres and the Angolan camps, including 'Camp 32' or the Morr i s Seabelo Rehabilitation Centre (popularly known as ' Q u a t r o'), Panga, Viana and the Nova Catengue camp. Following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979, there was an atmosphere of paranoia about infiltration by South African agents. A number of ANC members were detained and tort u red; some died as a result of assaults and some were executed. Dissatisfaction in MK training camps in Angola led to mutinies at the Viana and Pango camps during 1984. Both mutinies were put down with loss of lives on both sides. Many MK members were detained in connection with the uprisings, and some were t o r t u red. Two groups of mutineers were tried by m i l i t a r y tribunals and seven were executed. ANC landmine campaign : The ANC's landmine campaign from 1985 to 1987 targeted military patro l s in the mainly nort h e r n and eastern areas of the Transvaal. A number of civilians – white farmers, their families, and black farm labourers – were killed when these explosives were detonated. The campaign was called off in the light of its high civilian casualty rate. A P L A: Azanian People's Liberation arm y, military wing of the PAC, formed in 1967 APLA attacks : During the early 1990s, the PA C p roclaimed a military strategy of a 'protracted people's war', which involved the infiltration of APLA guerr i l l a s into the country to conduct rural guerrilla warf a re. The initial targets of such attacks were members of the security forces and white farmers who were perc e i v e d to be the frontline of defence for the former apart h e i d g o v e r n m e n t . A 'repossession unit' was also set up, in which APLA cells conducted armed robberies on the instructions of the APLA High Command to raise funds and/or obtain weapons and vehicles to enable APLA to carry out its m i l i t a r y strategy. Civilians were killed or injured in many of these ro b b e r i e s . In 1993, attacks on civilians increased sharply with a series of high-profile attacks by APLA cadres on public places, including restaurants, hotels and bars, in urban a reas. These were usually, but not always, places f requented by white civilians. The PAC/APLA claimed that the attacks were not racist in character, but dire c t e d against the apartheid government as all whites, a c c o r d i n g to the PAC, were complicit in the policy of a p a r t h e i d . The 1993 attack on the St James' Churc h , K e n i l w o r t h, Cape Town, produced the highest number of casualties, with 11 people dead and 58 injure d . April 1994 elections : South Africa's first democratic elections began on 27 April 1994 and continued for thre e days. In some areas of Natal, polling was extended into a fourth day. The elections brought to a conclusion a fouryear process of constitutional negotiations and bro u g h t about a dramatic reduction in political conflict and violence around the country. The ANC won 62,6% of the vote, and a Government of National Unity was constituted. The elections were followed by the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President on 10 May 1994.

P A G E 9

Name: References to Land Act in South Africa Report

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Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

and ultimately overthrow that system.

65 This is not the same as saying that racism was introduced into South Africa by those who brought apartheid into being. Racism came to South Africa in 1652; it has been part of the warp and woof of South African society since then. It was not the supporters of apartheid who gave this country the 1913 Land Act which ensured that the indigenous people of South Africa would effectively become hewers of wood and drawers of water for those with superior gun power from overseas. 1948 merely saw the beginning of a refinement and intensifying of repression, injustice and exploitation. It was not the upholders of apartheid who introduced gross violations of human rights in this land. We would argue that what happened when 20 000 women and children died in the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War is a huge blot on our copy book. Indeed, if the key concepts of confession, forgiveness and reconciliation are central to the message of this report, it would be wonderful if one day some representative of the British/English community said to the Afrikaners, "We wronged you grievously. Forgive us." And it would be wonderful too if someone representing the Afrikaner community responded, "Yes, we forgive you - if you will perhaps let us just tell our story, the story of our forebears and the pain that has sat for so long in the pit of our stomachs unacknowledged by you." As we have discovered, the telling has been an important part of the process of healing.

66 To lift up racism

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Historical Context PAGE 26

11 Indeed, one of most ambitious and far-reaching attempts at social engineering in twentieth century South African history was introduced by the first post-unification South African Party government in the form of the 1913 Land Act. No other piece of legislation in South African history more dramatically and drastically re-shaped the social map of this country. Not only did it lay the basis for the territorial separation of whites and Africans; it destroyed, at a stroke, a thriving African landowning and peasant agricultural sector. It did so by prohibiting African land ownership outside of the initial 7 per cent of land allocated to the so-called traditional reserves and ending sharecropping and non-tenancy arrangements on white-owned farms. The Land Act set in motion a massive forced removal of African people that led, amongst other things, to the deaths of many hundreds of people who found themselves suddenly landless.

12 An observer of the

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

in the Orange 'Free' State.

But Kgobadi got this message only when he and his family were on their way to the Transvaal. Kgobadi was going to ask his father-in-law for a home for the family. Kgobadi had also been forced off the land by the Land Act.

The 'Baas' said that Kgobadi, his wife and his oxen had to work for R38 (18 pounds) a year. Before the Land Act, Kgobadi had been making R200 (100 pounds) a year selling crops. He told the 'Baas' that he did not want to work for such low wages. The 'Baas' told Kgobadi to go.

4 Solomon Plaatje, *Native Life*

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

child in a stolen grave.

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

15 TM Dambuzu described the Land Act in these words:

There is winter in the Natives' Land Act. In winter the trees are stripped and leafless.

16 But if this was

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

or ceded to 'protectorate status'.

72 Indigenous resistance did not, however, cease. It transformed itself into political and constitutional forms of struggle. But neither did the violence of the victors end. Subjugation by the gun gave way to legislative subjugation as one law after another sought to consolidate the gains of two centuries of overt violence. Stripped bare, the 1913 Land Act was an act of violence, a brutal separation of people from their essential means of sustenance. So too was much of the repressive legislation that followed down the years. Laws tore millions of workers from their families, forcing them to work in white areas and live in enclosed compounds to which their families had no access. Laws forced people to work for grossly insufficient remuneration and to endure the indignity of pay scales determined not by competence or experience, but by race. Laws forced people from their homes and communities and from their ancestral lands. Laws dictated with whom one might and might not have sex, marry or even drink. Laws allowed people to die rather than violate 'whites-only' hospital edicts, and then determined in which plot of ground they could be buried.

73 This preoccupation of the

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Regulation Act 59 of 1972

1913 Black Land Act No 27: L

Prohibited blacks from owning or

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 46 of 1959

1936 Development Trust and Land Act No 18: L

Expanded the reserves to a

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 108: L, U

Provided for the repeal of the 1913 Black Land Act, the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act, the 1966 Group Areas Act and the 1984 Black Communities Development Act. 'A total of 189 sections and acts that had supported racial discrimination in respect of land legislation regarding rural areas under the administration of the House of Representatives and the non-independent homelands were also repealed by the Act' (RRS 1991/1992: 385; see also 339-42). The promulgation of this Act 'did not affect the legal status of the non-independent homelands, their geographical definitions or their administrative structures' (RRS 1991/92: 385). Promulgated: 28 June 1991 Commenced: 30 June 1991, except s 72: 1 September 1991, s 23: 1 April 1992, ss 4(1), 14(1), 17(1), 18(1), 19(1), 27(1), 35(1), 41(1), 43(1), 46(1): to be proclaimed IN FORCE: LAND (as amended by the Housing Amendment Act No 6 of 1996: HOUSING)

1991 Population Registration Act Repeal

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

10: Commenced: 26 July 1989

1989 Land Act No 15: Commenced: 6 August 1989

1990 Immorality and Prohibition of

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

structure, either military or political.

90 At times, pressure on chiefs and headmen came from the side of the government and the community simultaneously. For example, during the Pondoland revolt against the implementation of the Trust Land Act, Chief Mhlabuvukile Faku [EC1670/97ETK] of Isikelo village was accused by his community of "collaborating with whites" and, by the police, of "influencing people to resist the Act".

91 Acts of violence were

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 to 1990 PAGE 391

295 In March 1960, in Isikelo Location in Bizana, Mr Robert Nonqandela [EC1817/97ETK] was stabbed with swords and other sharp instruments all over his body and head by unknown people opposed to the establishment of the Trust Land Act. Nonqandela was believed to be siding with chiefs who were in favour of the Act. He was hospitalised for a week. On his return, his homestead (five houses) was destroyed by fire, seemingly by the same unknown perpetrators who assaulted him.

296 From the mid-1970s

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

the Northern Sotho 'national unit'.

308 However, on the recommendations of the 1975 select committee for Bantu Affairs, the government considered incorporating Moutse into the soon to be established Ndebele homeland. Given Moutse's

history and its ethnic composition, many analysts condemned the proposal as a violation of apartheid's ethnic ideal. Internal DCAD memoranda reveal that the department realised that their plans for Moutse represented a significant change of emphasis. Nevertheless, officials justified Moutse's incorporation based on a number of administrative, economic and developmental considerations. For its part, the 1975 select committee was motivated by a number of concerns. First, the incorporation of Moutse would have greatly expanded the area of the small KwaNdebele homeland. Second, the enlarged homeland would have remained a contiguous area, a goal frequently mentioned by apartheid planners but rarely achieved. Third, KwaNdebele's land area and population size would be boosted without the costs and negative publicity accompanying physical removals. Finally, given Moutse's combination of trust land and African freehold, the area's incorporation would boost KwaNdebele's size without the state having to purchase white farms or modify the amount of land occupied by Africans in terms of the limits set by the 1936 Land Act. In 1980, the central government excised Moutse from Lebowa, the first step towards acting on the select committee's recommendation.

309 Following Moutse's excision from

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Congress or ANC) is founded.

The Natives' Land Act prescribes that no African person be allowed to own land outside designated reserves (approximately 7% of the land is allocated for African people, subsequently increased in 1936 to 13%).

National Party is founded.

Native

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

briefly, its links with apartheid.

43 Like mining, agriculture has both shaped and been shaped by the racist structures of the political economy as it evolved both before and after 1948. Although the Commission's mandate begins only in 1960, it is clear that a proper understanding of this period requires an awareness of its historical roots. This requires recognition, at the very least, of the Land Act of 1913, as modified by subsequent legislation, including that of 1936. None of this was fundamentally repealed until 1991 which means that, throughout virtually the entire period of the Commission's brief, black

3 Interested readers are referred to the individual submissions for details. 4 For some reflections on the Land Act of 1913, see chapter on The Mandate.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON COMMUNITIES

135 Apartheid's racial and ethnic-based social engineering resulted in both the construction and destruction of communities. Legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and influx control laws were all attempts to define and regulate communities. Apartheid created communities that were racially, linguistically and ethnically determined. Resources for the development of these state-defined communities were differentially allocated resulting in the deprivation, particularly, of African communities. These racial

categories were adopted by communities themselves, resulting in generally understood divisions between white, African, Indian and coloured groups.

136 Clearly, differences of various

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

building capital was denied them.

Even though the Land Act in the period under review ... had the net result of increasing the total area of land held by blacks, the tribal system, which was maintained as part of the policy of separate development, sterilised land as a source of wealth for the individual who is the mainstay in market-driven economy.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

u d i c e .

44. T h rough punitive taxes in rural reserves and through land dispossession (the Land Act of 1913 and 1936), the black male worker was dislodged from agricultural subsistence farming and forced to work at the underg round ro c k faces. This influx of a large black population instigated early stirrings of s w a r t g e v a a r ('black danger') – and more broadly a fear of the threat posed not only to f rontier political control but also to the stability and profitability of diamond and gold mining.

45. Migration control regulations were

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

opposition to the Trust Land Act. It is believed that he later died due to the injuries he sustained while in prison. MAKGAE, Moshe Moses (31), was shot dead by a named member of the Lebowa Police in the street in M a h w e l e reng, Lebowa, on 7 March 1986. Police claimed that youths were stoning public transport when the policeman opened fire, killing Mr Makgae and wounding another. The perpetrator was found not guilty on charges of murder because of contradictory evidence by state witnesses. MAKGAJANE, Maria Dimakatso (36), was forced fro m her home by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg , on 16 March 1992 after conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC support e r s . MAKGALA, Philip Willie (23), a PAC member, was t o r t u red in detention by members of the SAP in Springs, Tvl, on 21 April 1963. He was charged under the Te rrorism Act and sentenced to 18 months' impriso n m e n t . MAKGALAMELE, Potoka Franzar, a taxi driver, was fatally stabbed and shot by a member of the O rde van die Dood on 29 August 1989. The Amnesty Committee h e a rd that the perpetrator carried out the killing in o rder to satisfy himself that he was capable of carry i n g out his duties as an assassin and to fulfil the re q u i rements for initiation into the O rd e. The applicant was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0025). MAKGALE, Christopher Ntshimane (48), an ANC su p p o r t e r, was severely beaten in custody by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, in 1991. He was accused of killing a Mangope tribal appointee. MAKGALE, Robert Bashana (49), was detained for t h ree weeks by the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, in October 1988 during conflict between President Mangope and another chief over control of platinum mines. MAKGALE, Thulani Malinga, was injured when a limpet mine, placed under a police van by members of the 'Basil Febru a ry' MK unit, exploded at the Duduza stadium, Tvl, on 11 June 1989. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attempted murd e r (A C / 2 0 0 0 / 1 5 8) .

MAKGALEMELE, Agnes, (13) was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township. MAKGALEMELE, Anna, (33) was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township. MAKGALEMELE, Isaac, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township. MAKGALEMELE, Mmapheto Sinah (15), was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township.

P A G E 2

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

ANC supporter, was

shot dead by named members of the SAP in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 October 1993, after he had been arrested on suspicion of involvement in MK activities. Mr Mbili was taken, handcuffed, to a forest for a pointing-out, and was fatally wounded in a hand grenade explosion and the shooting by the police. MBINDA, Mpumelelo Ashwelli (43), had his house burnt down and was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1991. Soweto and many other Transvaal townships were embroiled in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. MBINDA, Philton Mntuyedwa (37), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP for attending a meeting to protest against the Trust Land Act in 1960 at Endlovu, Bizana, Transkei. While in detention, he was severely tortured.

V O L U M

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

MBINGO, Christopher, a member of the SAP, was stabbed and stoned to death by a group of ANC supporters at Elukwatini, KaNgwane, on 14 September 1990. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/2001/137). MBINGO, Mpumelelo, was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Mr Mbingo and three others were burnt to death while one survived with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049). MBITYO, Vuyiswa Gladys (35), was shot and severely injured in a random shooting by members of the SAP during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 March 1985. MBILWA, Mankwekwe Ben (57), was hacked to death by IFP supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, on 22 August 1990 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. MBIXANE, Mzwandile (3), was shot by members of the 'Amatshaka' MUNICIPAL POLICE in February 1987 at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. MBIXANE, Nceba Mpimpi (14), was 'necklaced' to death by named police collaborators in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, in August 1986 during a state of emergency. MBIZA, Witnes Gezani (29), an ANC supporter, was tear gassed and shot in the left eye when members of the Bophuthatswana Police fired on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks stadium, Winetree, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. See COUNTRY REPORTS SHOWING. MBIZANA, Justice Mfulathelwa (aka 'Mandla'), an MK operative, was abducted by members of the North Western Transvaal Security Branch in September 1986 and taken to a farm in the Hammanskraal area, Tvl. He was severely tortured and, after several days, taken to a spot near Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, where he was killed. His body was blown up using a landmine, to make it appear that he had blown himself up while

laying the mine. Ten Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Seven applications were granted and three refused (AC/2001/248). MBIZANA, Sibongiseni Simon (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at KwaMnyandu railway station, Umlazi, Durban, on 14 April 1993. Mr Mbizana was allegedly returning from a prayer meeting after the assassination of Chris Hani when he was shot, allegedly by IFP supporters who opposed the memorial service. MBIZANE, Bhanoyi (54), an ANC supporter, had his home in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in November 1991. Mr Mbizane was allegedly thought to be harbouring ANC supporters. MBIZO, Modi (30), a PAC member, was executed in Portoria Central prison, on 9 May 1963. He was sentenced to death for killing a headman in the Cofimvaba district, Transkei during protests against forced removals and the Trust Land Act.

PAGE 3

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

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NQUMAKO, Dora Hlobozani, was shot dead in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 July 1992. The return of busloads of IFP supporters from a mass funeral in Durban had sparked intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. NQUMAKO, Thethani, lost her house and her belongings at Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in an arson attack by unidentified IFP supporters on 15 March 1994, during a period of political conflict. NQUMSE, Afrika Lorence, was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters in George, Cape, on 12 March 1986. He was accused of being a collaborator since he was working for the council that was forcibly removing people from Lawaakamp to Tembalethu. NQUMSE, Zibonele Edward (38), a self-defence unit (SDU) member, was shot and injured by members of the Security Forces while participating in an SDU patrol in Phola Park informal settlement in Tokoza, Tvl, on 6 April 1992. Two days later two women were shot dead, four were raped and more than 100 Phola Park residents were assaulted by members of the SADF 32 Battalion which was deployed in the area as a peacekeeping force. NQWALA, Zamile Terrence (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). NQWAZI, Khululekile, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six Vlakplaas operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199). NQWELE, Mncedisi Rooi (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCANVILLE, East London, on 13 August 1985. NQWENANI, Maphangwana, was brutally assaulted and his home and livestock were destroyed by members of the Transkei Police and other named perpetrators in Lady Freire, Transkei, in February 1980, allegedly because he refused to adhere to an eviction order issued by the Transkei Government. This happened during the implementation of the Trust Land Act in the area. NQWENANI, Marikeni (28), was brutally assaulted at his home by members of the Transkei Police and other named perpetrators in Lady Freire, Transkei, in February 1980, allegedly because he refused to adhere to an eviction order issued by the Transkei government. This happened during the implementation of the Trust Land Act in the area.

VOLUME

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

P H ATO, Makulana , an ANC support e r, was severe l y assaulted in 1960 in the Bizana police station, Tr a n s k e i , after participating in meetings held to discuss the i n t roduction of the Trust Land Act. P H AWE, Lephoi Nape , an ANC support e r, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ipelegeng, SchweizerReneke, Tvl, during clashes between IFP and ANC s u p p o r t e r s in 1993. PHEFO, Solomon Chippa , was stabbed to death on 29 October 1985 in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, during clashes between AZAPO and UDF support e r s . PHEHLANE, Edward T s h u d i , was severely injure d when he was assaulted and stabbed during an attack on his family by S E L F-D E F E N C E U N I T (SDU) members in B r a n d f o r t, OFS, on 14 July 1991. His mother was killed in the attack and his younger brother Patrick was i n j u r e d. The family store was set alight. Mr Phehlane's f a t h e r, Morgan, previously an ANC support e r, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Patrick Phehlane (AC/1997/0043). PHEHLANE, Morgan Sebata (67), was the target of an attempt on his life when S E L F-D E F E N C E U N I T (S D U) members attacked his home and family in Brandfort , OFS, on 14 July 1991. His wife was killed, his two sons severely injured, and his home and store were b u r n t down in the attack. Mr Phehlane, previously an ANC support e r, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of his son, Patrick Phehlane (AC/1997/0043). PHEHLANE, Patrick (14), was severely injured when he was repeatedly stabbed during an attack on his family by S E L F-D E F E N C E U N I T (SDU) members in B r a n d f o r t, OFS, on 14 July 1991. His mother was killed in the attack and his older brother Edward was i n j u r e d. The family store was set alight. Mr Phehlane's f a t h e r, Morgan, previously an ANC support e r, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Patrick (AC/1997/0043). PHEHLANE, Susan Mosela , was brutally murd e red and her body burnt, when the family store was set alight by S E L F-D E F E N C E U N I T (SDU) members in Brandfort, OFS, on 14 July 1991. Her two sons were also severely injure d in the attack. It was alleged that Ms Phehlane, her husband, Morgan, a once respected ANC leader, and their family, were suspected of collaborating with the NP government, as they were members of the local council, and were there f o r e r e g a r d e d as traitors and opposed to the UDF/ANC alliance. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Ms Phehlane's son, Patrick (AC/1997/0043).

Name: References to Motherland in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 1 reference coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Foreword by Chairperson PAGE 16

real extent of the sickness that has afflicted our beloved motherland so long and, in making the right diagnosis, prescribe the correct medicine. We would not want to be castigated as the prophet Jeremiah condemned the priests and prophets of his day (Jeremiah 6:13-14):

For from the least to

Name: References to Property in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 162 references coded [0.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

discriminatory orders that preceded it.

23 Thus, although many of its laws built on or updated a de facto pattern of segregationist legislation (for example, an industrial colour bar and limited African property and voting rights), the apartheid system was of a qualitatively different type. No longer content to tolerate a de facto pattern of segregation in which 'grey' areas of social mixing remained - such as in urban residential patterns

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 2 Historical

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

7.

1950 Group Areas Act

30 In terms of the Group Areas Act, the entire country was demarcated into zones for exclusive occupation by designated racial groups. Implemented from 1954, the result was mass population transfers involving the uprooting of (almost exclusively) black citizens from their homes of generations, and the wholesale destruction of communities like Sophiatown, District Six, Cato Manor and South End in Port Elizabeth. Again, in human terms, the consequence was immense suffering and huge losses of property and income.

The 1949 Prohibition of Mixed

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

in or out of combat?

17 Geneva Convention I, art 50; Protocol I, art 85. 'Grave breaches' include the following acts against persons or property protected by the Convention: wilful killing, torture or inhuman treatment, wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 4 The

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

stay away', strikes and demonstrations;

b the objective being pursued, and in particular whether the conduct was primarily directed at a political opponent or state property or personnel or against private property or individuals (section 20(3)(d));

c whether it was the

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

her right to life. 26

141 The right to act in self-defence means essentially that, while the use of force against another person is normally unlawful, it is justified in defence of persons, property or other legal interest against an imminent,

unlawful attack, provided that the defence is directed against the attacker and is not excessive. Defence against an anticipated future attack or a completed attack is not justified.

26 The State v T

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

had been systematically destroyed.²⁶

25 While the investigation was under way, Mr Percy Yuttar, chief state prosecutor in the trial, sold his trial records to the Brenthurst Library. The SAS maintained that the records were state property and subject to the operation of the Archives Act. Subsequently Brenthurst and the National Archives reached an agreement in terms of which the latter would receive a full set of copies.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 8 The

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

1 Chapter 4, paragraph 12).

2.4 In another context, an opinion was sought from state legal advisers with regard to the claim of outgoing political office bearers over state documentation. According to the legal advisers the state documentation remains the property of the state and these office bearers have no claim to it. The State Archive has a filing system that is meant to maintain the difficult distinction between a political office bearer's political and state activities. This is made available to the personal staff of office bearers when they assume office.

3 Administrative Requirements

3.1

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

and a smooth handover process.

5 The Minister of Justice indicated that, while the Commission's records were the property of the Department of Justice, they should be located in the National Archives under his protection and made available to the public as he, in consultation with the National Archivist, saw fit.¹ The National Archives assisted the Records Management Department in developing a records management policy to facilitate this transfer.

■ METHOD OF WORK

6 The

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

managers evaluated themselves. However, time

2 The offices and equipment of the Independent Electoral Commission had been damaged, and many property owners were wary of leasing property to the Commission in a tense political climate.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 12 Durban

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

of movement of homeland residents.

Land and property (L): Legislation referring to black rural areas and the homelands: Prior to 1913 in the three northern provinces and 1936 in the Cape, blacks were legally entitled to acquire land from whites in parts of the country outside the scheduled areas. After 1913 (for the Orange Free State, Natal and Transvaal, and after 1936 in the Cape) this was prohibited unless the purchases were in areas which had been recommended by various commissions for 'release' to blacks (Horrell 1978: 203).

Education (E): Racially discriminatory laws

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Areas Act No 77: U

Consolidated the law relating to the establishment of group areas and the control of the acquisition of immovable property in those areas. Assent gained: 24 June 1957; commencement date not found Repealed by s 49 of the Group Areas Act No 36 of 1966

1958

24 August: Strijdom dies

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Indemnity Act No 61: S

With retrospective effect from 21 March 1960. This Act indemnifies the government, its officers and all other persons acting under their authority in respect of acts done, orders given or information provided in good faith for the prevention or suppression of internal disorder, the maintenance or restoration of good order, public safety or essential services, or the preservation of life or property in any part of the Republic. Commenced: 5 July 1961

1961 Urban Blacks Council Act

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Development Act No 4: U

Introduced freehold ownership (Budlender 1989: 5). The Act stated that only a 'competent person' could lease or rent property. A person was 'competent' if she/he had section 12 rights in terms of the 1945 Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. (For further information see RRS 1984: 161-3.)

P

This Act provided for

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Amendment Act No 74: U

Introduced freehold rights in urban black townships and extended the definition of 'competent person' such that TBVC citizens could acquire leasehold or ownership (Budlender 1989: 5). The 1984 Black Communities Development Act was amended to allow 'South African' citizens and certain other blacks to acquire freehold property rights in black townships (RRS 1986: 343). Commenced: 15 September 1986

Repealed by s 72 of

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

13 Apartheid Legislation PAGE 485

1977 Acquisition of Immovable Property Control Act No 21: Provided for state expropriation and other powers. Commenced: 2 September 1977

1977 Military Discipline Act No

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Africa on 16 December 1961.

35 During the 1960s and most of the 1970s, armed actions by MK resulted in few human rights violations. Targets were symbolic or economic and care was taken not to endanger civilians. The first sabotage actions of MK resulted in some damage to property, notably to electricity pylons and similar infrastructure, but the intention of such actions was, according to the MK Manifesto, to “bring the government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late” rather than to initiate a revolution.

36 MK’s Operation Mayibuye was

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

The San and Battalion 31

95 The information below is drawn from a submission to the Commission by the !Xu & Khwe Vereeniging vir Gemeenskaplike Eiendom (the !Xu and Khwe Union for Common Property/Ownership). The submission suggests that the bulk of the approximately 350 !Xu and Khwe were forcibly recruited into 31 Battalion. One of the !Xu leaders, Mr Agostinho Victorino, is quoted as saying they were given two choices by the South African military – “either join the army or we’ll bomb your villages”. The submission also suggests that, within the battalion, the trackers were subjected to a regime of harsh discipline and that dissent was dealt with ruthlessly.

96 Two examples of the

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

worn right off the bodies.

122 Space does not permit a detailed description of the violence and torture used by Koevoet. However, the Kairos report contains extensive documentation on physical beatings, the destruction of property, sexual assault and various forms of torture (such as solitary confinement, hooding, electric shock, submersion in water, mock burials, mock executions, roasting over fire, and sleep, food and water deprivation) as a means of coercion, intimidation and the extraction of information. Rape was common, and women and girls of all ages were victims. In the Kairos documentation is an account of the rape of an eighty-year-old woman by a Koevoet member, and one referring to the rape of a four-year-old girl.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 2 The

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

the security police in Zeerust.

c Sympathisers amongst the residents of neighbouring states who were prepared to share information with and otherwise assist South African security. This applied, for example, to some white expatriates. A number of amnesty applicants from the South African security police have talked of help in the form of free accommodation at hotels and free meals at restaurants. They have told, too, of farmers whose properties abutted South African territory and who allowed security operatives through their fences. In an amnesty hearing, an eastern Cape security policeman, Colonel Barend du Plessis [AM4384/96] testified how their work in relation to Lesotho was facilitated by an informer network in the Maseru office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Further, there were police members in the BLS states who worked with South African security operatives for payment.

The extent of the above

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTABILITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD 1963–89, THE SADF AND THE SAP PLANNED AND ENGAGED IN A NUMBER OF UNCONVENTIONAL MILITARY OPERATIONS, CROSS-BORDER RAIDS, ABDUCTIONS, ASSASSINATIONS AND ATTACKS ON PEOPLE AND PROPERTY BEYOND THE BORDERS OF SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH ACTIVITIES OF THE SAP AND THE SADF LED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON A WIDE SCALE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES OF THE SAP AND SADF CONSTITUTED A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE FORMER CABINET, THE SSC AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SAP AND SADF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THESE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR MEMBERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE AFORESAID GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ SPECIAL OPERATIONS OF A SENSITIVE

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Vuyo Ntete (aka Fred Naledi).

434 In the initial damage report in the files it is stated that target identification was erroneous and that civilians were killed and private property damaged. A longer communication dated 14 June 1983 from the chief of the SADF (Lieutenant General Viljoen) to the chief of the army (Lieutenant General Geldenhuys) describes the final result of the attack as:

not merely a disappointment but

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990 PAGE 159

491 Vlakplaas operative Sergeant DJ 'Duiwel' Brits applied for amnesty for a 1985 attack on a house in Botswana alleged to be a transit facility. Explosives were placed and the property extensively damaged. The house was empty at the time of the attack. Brits was accompanied by seven other Vlakplaas members in this operation.

492 The Commission has uncorroborated

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

use of force on crowds

60 Under the Riotous Assemblies Act (1956), police were allowed to disperse a gathering by force, provided that a police officer above the rank of head constable had given three warnings to the gathering that force would be used if they did not disperse. It also required that the force used should be proportionate to the need and that lethal force could be used only if other means had not proved successful or if death, serious injury or damage to valuable property had occurred or seemed likely.

61 The Internal Security Act (1982) authorised a police officer to order a crowd to disperse and to use force to compel obedience to this instruction. This authority applied equally to legal gatherings if violence occurred or appeared imminent. The dispersal command was supposed to contain a time period before force was used and stated that, where a valid instruction had been given and was disobeyed, the police officer "may order the police under his command to use proportionate force, including ... firearms and other legal weapons". Firearms and other lethal means "shall not ... be used to disperse a gathering", unless lesser means had proved ineffective and actual or imminent violence by the crowd to persons or property was likely.

62 The enforcement provisions of

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

coercion', is nearly insuperable".⁵

64 Lethal force in the context of crowds and gatherings could be justified on two other legal grounds – the common law right to protect person or property and the right to use deadly force to effect an arrest under the Criminal Procedure Act (1977). Since the prohibitions on gatherings criminalised mere attendance, arrests at gatherings and the use of force in such situations were justified. Similarly, the use of force by the police often provoked the use of violence by members of the crowd, thus enabling the self-defence argument to apply.

The use of force on

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

DEFEND AND PROMOTE, PARTICULARLY INKATHA.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SPECIAL CONSTABLES AND MUNICIPAL POLICE WERE A PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE SECTOR OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND WERE THEMSELVES THE TARGETS OF VIOLENCE, RESULTING IN INJURIES, DEATHS AND THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY. WHEN THIS OCCURRED, AND THEIR OWN RIGHTS WERE VIOLATED, THEY DID NOT BENEFIT FROM THE SAME DEGREE OF PROTECTION AND INSURANCE AS THE REGULAR MEMBERS OF THE SAP.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990 PAGE 217

was the 'wet bag' method. Lieutenant Liebenberg [AM6369/97], Benzien's superior at the time, applied for amnesty for knowledge of torture. Major General Griebenauw, who gave corroborating evidence in the amnesty hearing, testified as follows: During my term in office in Cape Town, extreme pressure was placed by the Joint Security Management System on the Security Branch, in particular to stem the tide of murder and violence. And obviously I gave members under my command instructions to do everything in their power to apprehend people who were guilty of these things and to extract as much information as possible from the detainees so that the entire network operative in the country could be disrupted in time to prevent further loss of life. This was the only way in which we could protect lives and properties ... I was ... very much aware of the fact that members' success could be ascribed to the use of unconventional questioning or interrogation methods. It would have been naive of me to believe that they would extract information in any other way from a well trained terrorist and to do so quite quickly.

212 Amnesty applicant Gert Cornelius

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

97] and Brigadier JH Cronjé.

298 Bokaba stated that he and a Warrant Officer van Wyk recruited Jackson Maake sometime in 1986. Later, he handled Maake jointly with Hechter and Van Vuuren. Maake was sent to Botswana to infiltrate ANC networks but, on his return, Hechter suspected Maake of being a double agent. He was picked up, taken to a deserted property owned by the Pretoria Portland Cement Mine some five to ten kilometres outside Messina and interrogated. Maake denied the allegation that he was a double agent, but after being subjected to electric shocks confessed that he was working for the ANC and gave the name of Makupe as his MK contact.

299 According to Van Vuuren, they then went to the Security Branch offices and drew Makupe's file which confirmed that he was a courier for the ANC. Makupe was abducted, taken to the mine property and interrogated. He told the Security Branch that Harold Sefola was the MK operative who chose targets and acted as an ANC courier. Makupe was taken to a telephone box and instructed to call Sefola in Witbank, telling him that he would be collected by some ANC comrades

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

of whom were slightly injured.

514 This and the Khotso House incident described below are the only instances for which a member of the former government applied for amnesty for an unlawful act. Mr Adriaan Vlok and General JV van der Merwe rationalised this decision, saying that the May 1987 general election had sparked off new levels of resistance. Furthermore, a country-wide strike by railway workers had assumed violent proportions in attacks on railway property and the holding hostage of five strikebreakers by members of the South African Railways' and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU) at Cosatu house. Four of the hostages were subsequently taken from the building and killed. Vlok and Van der Merwe said also that the Security Branch was in possession of information showing that underground ANC members and trained MK soldiers were using Cosatu House as a base for planning, among other things, an attack on members of the police. Van der Merwe said that this view was shared with the intelligence community as a whole and the SSC structures.

515 According to both Vlok

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990

PAGE 309

as informers to the Security Branch received a monthly payment from the security police HQ in Bloemfontein. Eagles members themselves were targets of violence by UDF or ANC-aligned people. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE EAGLES YOUTH CLUBS WERE DIRECTLY CREATED AND SUSTAINED BY THE STATE AND ITS SECURITY FORCES. WHILE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSERVATIVE YOUTH GROUP WAS PERHAPS A LEGITIMATE, ALBEIT COVERT, ACTIVITY, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE EAGLES WERE GIVEN FREE REIN AND WERE ENCOURAGED AT TIMES TO TAKE VIOLENT ACTION AGAINST MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PROPERTY. FURTHER, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SECURITY BRANCH MADE USE OF THESE ANTI-UDF YOUTH TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST THE UDF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE EAGLES YOUTH CLUBS WERE THEMSELVES SUBJECTED TO VIOLENT ATTACKS IN EFFORTS BY UDF ALIGNED GROUPINGS.

Other vigilante groupings: The Phakathis

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

THE A-TEAM IN NATAL.

- IN THE CASE OF INKATHA AND THE BLACK CATS, MILITARY TRAINING AND WEAPONRY, THE PROVISION OF WHICH RESULTED IN AN ESCALATION OF CONFLICTS AND ENORMOUS LOSS OF LIFE, INJURY AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.
- THE INCORPORATION OF MEMBERS OF

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

FOMENT DIVISIONS AND SOCIAL CLEAVAGES.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN CERTAIN INSTANCES, SECURITY FORCES PLAYED A FACILITATING ROLE IN THE ACTUAL VIOLATIONS, AND THAT THE SYSTEMATIC FAILURE TO PROSECUTE INDIVIDUALS, ORGANISATIONS OR GROUPS WHO ATTACKED SUPPORTERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PROPERTY AMOUNTED TO AN ENDORSEMENT OF SUCH ACTIONS AND, IN SOME INSTANCES, A SUBVERSION OF JUSTICE.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

B dealt with 'Reactionary Groups');

c Section C: an operative unit responsible for anti-terrorism activities. d Section D dealt with state property, border posts, airports, etc. e Section E dealt with detainees; f Section F covered inter-departmental committees, library, research (By 1992 E is earmarked legal advisers);

g Section G was responsible

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

to be attacked and murdered.

81 In a section 29 hearing of the Commission, former IFP National Council member Walter Felgate said that he had personally advised Chief Buthelezi of the need for a defensive and pre-emptive capacity for Inkatha. He said that what was envisaged was a "strike capacity" for the IFP; not simply a defensive group to look after KwaZulu government VIPs and property.

82 The outcome of these

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

some released only during 1992.

111 In September 1991, the Skweyiya Commission of Enquiry, reporting to the ANC President, was set up to investigate allegations made by a group of thirty-two concerning poor conditions, maltreatment and the loss or destruction of property in the ANC detention camps.

112 The Skweyiya Commission heard

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 to 1990 PAGE 353

was also accused of carrying out acts of sabotage against army property, theft and sale of army property, breaking of Land Rovers and ambulances and other offences. The ANC Security Department's submission alleges that Mahamba became a fully-fledged member of the security police in 1976 and in that capacity passed on strategic information on ANC camps and residences to the security police, leading to the bombardment and destruction of Catengue Camp in 1979.

132 Several members of the

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

AFFILIATED TO THE UDF INCLUDING:

- THE KILLINGS (OFTEN BY MEANS OF 'NECKLACING'), ATTEMPTED KILLINGS, AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS, MEMBERS OF STATE STRUCTURES SUCH AS BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE, AND THE BURNING AND DESTRUCTION OF HOMES AND PROPERTIES;
- THE VIOLENT ENFORCEMENT OF WORKER

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

were set alight and destroyed.

235 A similar attack took place in Soweto in the early stages of student resistance. Dr Melville Leonard Edelstein [JB00786/01GTSOW], who was killed by student protesters during the Soweto uprising, was the Chief Welfare Officer with the West Rand Bantu Administration Board (WRBAB). The WRBAB, its staff and its property were perceived to be instruments of oppression and were the targets of attacks by the students. Violations committed during schools boycotts

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

reported to have assaulted people.

250 Councillors came under violent attack. For example, Mr Caesar Motjeane [JB 03870/01GTSOW] a community councillor at Sebokeng Zone 11, was stoned, hacked, shot and burned to death by alleged members of the UDF on 3 September 1984. Ms Maud Motjeane, his wife, claims that they had previously been assaulted by a mob. The family property was looted and burned.

251 By April 1895, twelve

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

many local authorities had collapsed.

252 In some areas, attacks on community councillors provoked organised resistance by councillors. For example, from October 1985, councillors in Phillipstown organised their own resistance force against residents. Clashes between this group and other residents resulted in assaults, destruction of property and even death. Police were allegedly colluding with the councillors in orchestrating attacks against residents.

Building "People's Organs for People's

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

killing of people by burning.

272 Except for a few cases discussed below, until 1977 the main target of arson attacks was government property such as Bantu Administration offices, school buildings, rent offices, beer halls and other government-related buildings. This was particularly so during the anti-pass campaign in 1960, the 1976 students' protests and the 1980 schools boycotts.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 4 The

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

and be branded a coward?

If need be we will call for an eye for an eye and for a tooth for a tooth. However much we loathe revengeful politics, if that is the only way we can survive these unwarranted attacks on us, whether through rhetoric or real force, we will rather go into that kind of political action for our survival. I believe we must prepare ourselves not only to defend property and life but to go beyond that and prepare ourselves to hit back with devastating force at those who destroy our property and kill us.

I have stated that our

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 to 1990 PAGE 475

the event, over 100 people were killed, some 3000 houses were destroyed by fire and approximately 30 000 people fled their homes because of the violence. The vast majority of the people killed and injured were from the non-Inkatha areas, and the vast majority of the property damaged burned and looted belonged to non-Inkatha supporters.

281 The Commission heard that

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 to 1990 PAGE 479

latter group is dramatically lower, the statements attribute twenty-four deaths to the comrades. Amongst residents who approached the Commission, at least thirtyfour victims had ties to the Imbokodo or to the former KwaNdebele government. Together, their statements document twenty murders, all of which involved the burning of the deceased's body. At least nineteen of the deponents further claimed that their residential and/or business properties were completely destroyed in arson attacks.

296 Despite the significant role

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

his role in the attack.

323 In the days following the abductions, police patrolled the Moutse area in an attempt to disperse community gatherings and diffuse resistance. At one such meeting in Keerom, two policemen allegedly fired into a crowd, killing one resident and injuring two more. The enraged crowd chased the two policemen, eventually cornering and killing them. The police responded to their colleagues' deaths with five days of house-to-house searches. Residents have alleged that the police assaulted them and looted their property in the process.

324 On April 28, clashes

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

cancelled some three months later.

331 Following the dispersal of the 14 May mass meeting and the attacks on Imbokodo members' properties that ensued, a virtual civil war spread across KwaNdebele. The Imbokodo responded to attacks on their members by organising counterattacks on their former villagers. These retaliatory raids targeted especially the youth, whom the vigilantes blamed for the attacks carried out against their own properties. The attack on Tweefontein on 12 June typifies such raids. Witnesses have described how Imbokodo members travelled in convoy through the village, firing indiscriminately at youth they encountered. Four young men were killed in the 12 June attack alone.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 5 The

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

Mandela's close relationship with it.

65 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied knowledge of the attack on Lerotodi Ikaneng and the alleged reasons for it. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR LEROTODI IKANENG, ONE OF THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE MUFC, WAS RESIDENT AT THE ORLANDO WEST HOME OF MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT IKANENG LEFT THE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA HOUSEHOLD IN AUGUST 1988, FOLLOWING THE ARSON ATTACK ON THE PROPERTY. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MEMBERS OF THE MUFC MADE SEVERAL ATTEMPTS ON IKANENG'S LIFE FOLLOWING HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE

MANDELA HOUSEHOLD. HE WAS ACCUSED OF BEING A POLICE INFORMER AFTER PROVIDING THE POLICE WITH A STATEMENT NAMING SIZWE SITHOLE AS THE MURDERER OF MR THOLE DLAMINI.
THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

instructions of Ms Madikizela-Mandela.

72 The assertion that the MUFC wanted to kill these two was supported by an alleged hit list found on the Mandela property during a police raid on 19 February. This list contained the names of Chili, Ikaneng and other youths, including Ms Albertina Sisulu's nephews, who had also had problems with the football club. Inexplicably, no subsequent investigations were conducted into this admission. The court found Sibusiso Chili guilty of murder, but accepted the mitigating circumstances that his life was under threat at the time. He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

73 Testimony from several witnesses

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

disband the club is inexplicable.

94 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied in her testimony that there was a close relationship between her and the youths who lived on or frequented her property. However, the testimony of former MUFC members, and of individuals who tried to dissuade her from this association, indicates that Madikizela-Mandela took a much more active interest than she has admitted. The MDM statement affirms this:

Not only is Mrs Mandela

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

by the ANC-aligned groups.

176 By late 1991 Ciskei had hired a private security company, Peace Force, to protect government property. Peace Force was given the use of the Ciskei's Wesley military

6 Inquest findings by Judge

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

from Sunday 25 March 1990.

190 In fact, the violence took place over many more than seven days. Over 100 people were killed, some 3 000 houses were destroyed by fire and approximately 30 000 people fled their homes as a result of the violence. The vast majority of the people killed and injured were from the non-Inkatha areas, and the vast majority of the property damaged, burned and looted belonged to non-Inkatha supporters.

191 The IFP did not

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

the scene of the conflict.

194 The version given to the Commission by special constables Nelson Shabangu, Nhlanhla Philemon Madlala and Riot Unit Constable Basil Harrington described open complicity between the police and IFP forces. The Commission heard that on Wednesday 28 March 1990, IFP leader Mr David Ntombela held a meeting of Inkatha supporters at his house in the Elandskop area. After this meeting, Ntombela instructed a member of the SAP Riot Unit to pick up a large group of special constables in a police vehicle and proceed to Gezubuso. Shabangu said that he drove a Riot Unit vehicle to pick up special constables. He met up with a large Inkatha crowd, including Ntombela and went with the group to the outskirts of KwaShange. There he watched with other members of his Riot Unit while the special constables attacked, burned and looted houses at KwaShange, and returned with stolen property. This was loaded onto a police vehicle and taken to Ntombela's home, along with cattle, which had been stolen from the residents of KwaShange. Fifteen people were killed in this attack.

195 There is evidence that

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

for the carrying of firearms".

197 In 1990, an amendment to the Natal Zulu Code of Law virtually legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the arming of the amaXhosi (chiefs). The department of the Chief Minister circumvented normal weapons' licensing regulations by making automatic weapons available to state functionaries for the protection of KwaZulu government property. G-3 semi-automatic rifles were issued to chiefs and headmen through the Department of the Chief Minister. These chiefs and headmen were in turn able to issue weapons, by way of permits, to their 'tribal police' or 'community guards'. By law, these weapons were to be used to protect KwaZulu government buildings and property. Evidence points to the fact that they were also put to use in clashes between ANC and IFP supporters.

Hostel violence

198 After February

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

Formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront

275 Racial tension mounted in a number of regions following the killing of Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani. Leading figures in the extreme right wing warned of retaliation in the event of reprisals following Hani's death. Heavily armed, flagcarrying AWB members and its Ystergarde drove around townships threatening residents that they would suffer the same fate as Chris Hani. The Boere Weerstandsbeweging warned that it would embark on a cleansing process, eliminating all black communists and agitators. The AWB Wenkommando promised merciless attacks on anyone who threatened the lives or property of whites. In a poster war, Mr Barend Strydom of the Wit Wolwe declared that his organisation would take up the battle with the ANC in the event of attacks on white citizens.

276 It was in the

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

of the youth executive disappeared.

316 During September 1990, Mr Johannes Masango was killed by two people in Johannesburg when they found him on their property (Van Deventer [AM2045/96]) In the same month Mr Abia Molise and two friends were thrown into a police van and tortured by alleged AWB members of the police in Bloemfontein.
317 In February 1991, Mr

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

were injured.

Pre-Election Bombings

366 A number of people were killed on 24 and 25 April 1994, when eleven members of an AWB cell went on a bombing spree of targets, mainly (black) taxi ranks. The eleven were part of a group of twenty-six found guilty on ninety-six counts of pre-election bombings, murder, and damage of property. Altogether twenty people died and forty-six were injured.

367 Bombs were placed at

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

3 CHAPTER 1 PAGE 6

25 Destruction or loss of material goods is the most common type of severe ill treatment, taking the form of arson, destruction of property and material loss. This was followed by injuries to the individual by means of shooting and beating. There were over 1 800 instances of incarceration under conditions which amounted to severe ill treatment.

B4B.1-1

Number of

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

to African women.

1957 1958

The Group Areas Act consolidates the law relating to the establishment of group areas and control of the acquisition of immovable property in those areas. Hendrik F Verwoerd becomes Prime Minister.

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 1 Appendix

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Commission by Kairos.

16 Detentions and arrests were carried out primarily by the police, although several deponents also referred to soldiers having been involved. Several cases involved police assaults on family members and destruction of property, apparently in an attempt to force people on the run to surrender to police. Detainees and convicted prisoners were held at many different venues. A key place of torture was, however, a temporary police station housed in tents in Mkambati forest. This appears to have become an established police station by the early 1970s.

17 Mr Clement Khehlana 'Fly'

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

both sides of the conflict.

72 The cases reported to the Commission included ten people killed by security forces outside of custody, eight deaths and disappearances in custody, three people killed by iKongo members, five permanent disappearances, seventeen judicial executions, approximately ninety people whose subsequent deaths were attributed to their treatment in custody, numerous cases of assaults and torture in custody, and various attacks on property both belonging to iKongo members and to those who supported Bantu Authorities. A total of fifty-three deaths was directly attributable to the conflict, and a further ninety deaths are believed by community members to have flowed from the conflict. Several deponents reported banishment to different areas.

73 The roots of the

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

had been an ANC member.

75 iKongo members and supporters took action against chiefs and those they regarded as collaborating with them. It appears that property was initially the primary target: a large number of huts belonging to Bantu Authorities supporters were burnt down. A few months later, the chiefs and their perceived 'collaborators' themselves became the targets. Southall records that twenty-two people identified in some way with the authorities were killed by iKongo members. The Commission received several submissions relating to such attacks, including three killings.

76 Some families were caught

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Eastern Cape PAGE 54

some of those taken into custody were beaten at the time of arrest; some were tortured in detention. Family members who were suspected of hiding wanted people were assaulted by police. Statements to the Commission indicate that the vast majority of those detained and arrested were men. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE USED SEVERAL CHIEFS IN THE TRANSKEI REGION TO SILENCE POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO THE POLICY OF APARTHEID, USING METHODS INCLUDING BANISHMENT, FORCED REMOVAL OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR PROPERTY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

KD MATANZIMA ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A GROUP OF PEOPLE CALLING THEMSELVES 'IKONGO MEMBERS' WERE INVOLVED IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHEN THEY CARRIED OUT REVENGE ATTACKS ON PEOPLE WHO WERE ALLEGED TO BE SUPPORTERS OF THE BANTU AUTHORITIES, KILLING SOME AND BURNING DOWN THEIR PROPERTIES. THIS CONTRIBUTED TO A CULTURE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE IN THE EASTERN CAPE AND AMOUNTED TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH IKONGO MEMBERS ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

trial. Manqa told the Commission:

When the chief saw this, he took police and went to raid my house at three in the morning. They shot at my house, harassed my family, destroyed my property, stole R100 of mine and eventually shot me in the chest and left leg.

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 2 Regional

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

the military coup of 1987.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TRANSKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITY, THROUGH ITS PRESIDENT PARAMOUNT CHIEF KAISER DALIWONGA MATANZIMA, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ORDERING OR SANCTIONING VARIOUS ACTS WHICH AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS – INCLUDING THE DETENTION OF MR EZRA ZEERA MTSHONTSHI, THE DETENTION OF MR PHINDILE MFETI AND THE BANISHMENT AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTIES OF MR BANGILIZWE JOYI AND MR DALAGUBHE JOYI.

Unions

127 In Ciskei, the

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

Johannes Gottfried Raath [AM4397/96].

131 Between late 1980 and mid-1982, several bombings occurred around Port Elizabeth and East London, causing injuries and damaging property. Most of these acts can be attributed to MK units operating from Lesotho from the second half of 1981 until May 1983. In August 1981, a member of one of the units was killed in a series of clashes with police while trying to escape back to Lesotho (see below). Another cell member died in a sabotage attempt in January 1983 (see 1983–90); the rest of that cell were killed or put on trial.

132 In November 1980, MK

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

ARSON AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT).

ON THE EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION, VARIOUS ACTS OF KILLING, ABDUCTION AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY TOOK PLACE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CONFLICT AS A RESULT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE GROUPS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICY OF CONTRAMOBILISATION CAUSED VARIOUS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO BE COMMITTED FOR WHICH THE STATE IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Vigilantes in Ciskei

260 Over

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Appendix: Statistics PAGE 150

3 As in all other regions except Durban, beatings and incarceration were the most commonly reported severe ill treatment violations, followed by shootings. Arson and destruction of property were the next most common type of severe ill treatment.

B4C.3-1 Number of

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

victims, by office and sex

12 The trends in gross human rights violations in Natal over the Commission's mandate period show a marked increase in severe ill treatment from 1984, rising sharply between 1988 and 1990, and again from 1992 until the national elections of April 1994. A similar trend is indicated for politically motivated killings. Severe ill treatment accounted for the highest number of reported violations, followed by politically motivated killings. Together these two categories made up the overwhelming majority of violations. Moreover, over half of all violations reported nationally in these categories occurred in KwaZulu-Natal. Forms of severe ill treatment included arson, assault, stabbing, incarceration, shooting, burning and destruction of property. The most common form of severe ill treatment occurring in Natal was arson, rising significantly in the 1983–89 period and increasing dramatically in the 1990s. Incidents of shooting also rose dramatically during these two periods. Most of the politically motivated killings in the province were by shooting. Fatal stabbings also showed a steady increase.

Office Proportion of Proportion of

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

singled out as an enemy".

65 Inkatha moved to consolidate its position in the province by relying increasingly on 'traditional' authority for control. Additional powers granted by the state consolidated its power base and control over the population. The 'Inkatha syllabus' entered the educational system; rents and transport became sources of revenue for the KwaZulu government and townships came under the control of KwaZulu. Townships earmarked for incorporation became centres of conflict. The KZP came into being, initially to serve as a state guard to protect KwaZulu government officials and property. Chief Buthelezi, as both chief minister and minister of police, soon called for greater powers and more resources for the KZP.

66 In the meanwhile ANC

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

The Case of Harold Strachan

Shortly after this incident, an unknown person fired on Mr Harold Strachan at his home in Durban. Strachan pursued the gunman, who managed to escape in a vehicle registered to the Durban City Council. In the ensuing court case, evidence was led to the effect that the vehicle had not left the Council property on the night in question and the accused was acquitted. The night before judgement was handed down, shots

from an automatic firearm were again fired into the Strachan home. The gunman was seen fleeing in a green minibus.

82 A green minibus was

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

on the ground as follows:

I hardly need to emphasise that we need to be placed in a far better position to defend our property and the lives of our people from those kinds of attacks. We do not intend to be sitting ducks ... In fact, I believe that we must prepare ourselves not only to defend property and life but to go beyond that and prepare ourselves to hit back with devastating force at those who destroy our property and kill us.

It will be a sad

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

Natal and KwaZulu PAGE 219

178 In late 1985, Chief Buthelezi was alerted to alleged MK plans to assassinate him and turned to the government and SADF for assistance. His requests, as detailed in various military intelligence and State Security Council documents, included the training and deployment of a VIP guard unit, an intelligence structure, a KwaZulu army, the authority to issue firearm licenses, and a paramilitary force. In a Section 29 Hearing of the Commission, former IFP National Council member Walter Felgate recalled discussions in which he had specifically advised Chief Minister Buthelezi of the need for a defensive and pre-emptive capacity for Inkatha. What was envisaged, he said, was a 'strike capacity' for the IFP, not purely a defensive group to look after KwaZulu government VIPs and property.

179 One of the outcomes

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

period. He told the Commission:

During this period, there were literally hundreds of incidents where attacks were launched against UDF people, property or homes. It is impossible for me to record the extent of these attacks. The comrades responded by attacking us with equal vigour. A state of war existed between us. I often played a command role in directing our attacks. I did the following: arranged for arms and ammunition; distributed arms and ammunition; gathered fighting men; chose people who would lead the attacks and different aspects of the attacks; decided on the strategy of an attack; decided on the target or area to be attacked.

After the attack, I arranged

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

to neighbouring KwaHaza and KwaShifu.

On 5 December 1986, Inkatha held a rally in the Mphophomeni community hall attended by approximately 200 Inkatha supporters, mainly Youth Brigade members. On leaving the hall, they spread out throughout the township, assaulting residents and damaging property. Four prominent MAWU members, Mr Phineas Sibiyi [KZN/SW/001/PN], Mr Micca Sibiyi, Mr Simon Ngubane [KZN/NN/117/PM] and Ms Flomena

Mnikathi [KZN/NN/117/PM] were abducted and forced into the community hall, where armed men in KZP uniforms

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Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

the targets of violent attack.

224 In 1990, an amendment to the Natal Zulu Code of Law virtually legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the arming of the amaKhosi. The Chief Minister's department could issue G-3 semi-automatic rifles to chiefs and headmen for the protection of KwaZulu government property, thereby circumventing normal weapons licensing regulations. State functionaries were able, by way of permits, to issue these weapons to 'tribal policemen' or 'community guards'. By law, these weapons were to be used to protect KwaZulu government buildings and property. However, evidence points overwhelmingly to the fact that they were also used in clashes between ANC and IFP supporters.

225 Evidence has also emerged

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

who died in political conflict.

228 In 1990, three IFP residents of Mahwaqa ward, Mtwalume (South Coast), successfully secured a court interdict restraining their chief, Bhakizizwe Luthuli, and his supporters from threatening, intimidating, destroying their properties or engaging in any unlawful attacks on any persons resident in Mahwaqa ward [Case no 3046/90]. In their affidavits, Chief Luthuli was cited as the main aggressor who mobilised and led his amabutho to attack their homes on 3 March 1990 – leading to the destruction of more than 200 houses belonging to ANC supporters. Chief Luthuli was alleged to have ordered his people to kill all UDF children in his area. He was also alleged to have led armed men in three consecutive attacks at Mahwaqa between 23 and 25 March 1990, in which eleven people were killed.

229 On 14 September 1991

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

of these groups running around.

282 Former special constable Nelson Shabangu [AM3676/96] was also on duty when the fighting broke out. He told the Commission that he was directed to take his Riot Unit vehicle to pick up a group of special constables living in the valley. He then drove this group to the outskirts of KwaShange where he, together with other members of his Riot Unit, stood by and watched as the special constables attacked, burnt and looted houses at KwaShange. The special constables then returned with stolen property, which they loaded onto the police vehicle to be taken to Mr Ntombela's home. Cattle which had been stolen from the residents of KwaShange were also driven to Mr Ntombela's home. Shabangu told the Commission that a big party was held at Ntombela's house later, to which the police were invited. At this party they braaied the meat of cattle they had stolen.

283 Another former special constable

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

had almost completely broken down.

In not a single case that I have mentioned, from the murder of Angelica Mkhize and her daughter in 1987 up to the deaths of scores of people in the Seven Days War in 1990, has there been a prosecution. No one has been found guilty for all the murder, the arson, the damage to property, the theft, the intimidation, the assaults that have taken place in Vulindlela. It is little wonder that the province has experienced so much carnage, when the perpetrators know that they will never be caught and the victims know there will never be justice.

291 Mr David Ntombela was

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT AND ARSON.

THE COMMISSION FINDS IMPROBABLE THE EVIDENCE OF DIRECTOR DANIEL MEYER THAT THE POLICE ACTED IN AN IMPARTIAL AND UNBIASED MANNER AND DID EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT LOSS OF LIFE AND DAMAGE TO PROPERTY. ELEMENTS OF THE SAP RIOT UNIT 8, BOTH AT A SENIOR LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL OF THE SPECIAL CONSTABLES ATTACHED TO THE UNIT, DELIBERATELY ACTED, BY OMISSION AND COMMISSION, TO ASSIST AND FACILITATE ATTACKS BY INKATHA SUPPORTERS ON NON-INKATHA RESIDENTS DURING THE SO-CALLED SEVEN DAY WAR. THEY FURTHERMORE DELIBERATELY FAILED TO DEPLOY THE SADF IN THE CONFLICT AREAS, IN ORDER TO GIVE FREE REIN TO INKATHA FORCES IN THEIR ATTACKS ON NON-INKATHA RESIDENTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE RIOT UNIT CONSTITUTED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

with arson dominating the chart: ~

4 Arson was by far the most common type of severe ill treatment, with nearly 4 000 cases reported, followed by shooting, beating and stabbing. Material losses, destruction of property and burning also feature in the top eight types of severe ill treatment. All these reflect the nature of the violence in this area, in which whole communities were targeted.

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Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 336

townships, and later imposed hikes in rentals and service charges in order to meet their budget deficits, the protests erupted into conflict and violence, resulting in loss of life and the destruction of property.

32 It is important to

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

discussed in more detail below.

65 In August 1985, Mandela's home in Brandfort was petrol-bombed. Mr Mphithizeli Nelson Ngo, formerly a member of the SAP, told a hearing of the Amnesty Committee that all instructions to target Mandela's property in Brandfort came from Security Branch headquarters in Bloemfontein. The attacks had been intended "to scare her a bit". He said that it was known in Security Branch circles that Mandela's house was being used for meetings. The clinic was also believed to be a meeting place.

66 At the time of

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

attack, but become targets accidentally.

84 Some activists claimed that the police attempted to co-opt the support of their families as a means of pressurising them to stop their political activities or to return from exile. At least two witnesses reported that police had offered them money to travel to Lesotho and persuade their sons, exiled in that country, to return home. Reports were also received of detainees who were threatened with the lives of their families and friends at home if they failed to co-operate under interrogation. Family homes were regularly subjected to police raids in search of members who were politically active. Many reports described the personal injury and extensive damage to property resulting from such raids.

The case of Polediso Motsoeneng

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

the same premises (see above).

103 Statements indicate that police arsonists were usually identified as such and did not go to great lengths to conceal their identity while involved in such attacks or in their support of arson attacks by vigilante groups. In September 1987, however, police burned down Mr Isaac Modise's house in Tumahole with the alleged intention of implicating a certain activist, Mr Mkhonzi, whom they wanted to arrest. Modise refused to pretend that Mkhonzi was the perpetrator of the arson attack on his home [KZN/MP/031/BL]. Modise told the Commission that he was severely beaten by the police during this incident. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE SAP WERE INVOLVED IN UNLAWFUL ARSON ATTACKS ON THE HOUSES AND PROPERTY OF INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES SYMPATHETIC TO THE UDF, AS A MEANS OF EXERTING PRESSURE AND INSTILLING FEAR INTO LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

Cross-border activities

104 Refugees

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

1990 [KZN/ZJ/155/FS].

113 The Commission received further reports of arson attacks on the homes and property of town councillors. Victims reported that the attacks related to their refusal to resign their positions on councils and were part of a sustained campaign to force them to do so. In attacks such as these, perpetrators could not always be clearly identified. IN RESPECT OF THE ARSON ATTACKS ON THE HOUSES AND PROPERTY OF MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE DNP, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN PERSONS, AFFILIATED TO OR IN SUPPORT OF ORGANISATIONS OPPOSED TO THE DNP, ENGAGED IN UNLAWFUL CRIMINAL ACTS ARISING OUT OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE AND CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

114 The attempt by various

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

BOTSHABELO.

Contra-mobilisation and vigilantes

117 In 1984, councils and councillors became targets of opposition and sometimes violent attack by militant youths in Orange Free State townships. The UDF and its affiliates began to demand that councillors resign from and reject the system, which they saw as a poor substitute for full political rights for black South Africans. Orange/Vaal industrial triangle townships like Zamdela (Sasolburg) became sites of major protest during the second half of 1984. These protests gradually filtered into other towns and the province began to witness a number of attacks, some fatal, on councillors and their property.

118 The Commission has also

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

a "courageous and bold step".

120 As attacks on councillors increased, so did pre-emptive and retaliatory attacks on activists who were thought to be behind the boycott of rent and service charges and the destruction of the local authorities' property. Allegations of shootings by councillors themselves were also received by the Commission.

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Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 361

121 By January 1985, sixteen town councils across the country announced that they would set up municipal police forces to work in tandem with the police to safeguard residents, to protect municipal property and to enforce regulations and by-laws enacted by councils. These forces became known as the 'blou' or 'blue flies' because of the colour of their uniform.

122 From 1984, municipal police – trained, supervised and paid by the SAP – were assigned to work under black local authorities in townships around the country to protect council property, prevent and investigate crime and maintain law and order. Although they were not given extra powers in a state of emergency, they were empowered by the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 to do whatever was deemed necessary to restore law and order in an emergency.

The case of Manko Tsie

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State PAGE 362

councillor Albert Phakathi, (now deceased), the group later became known as the A-Team, after the popular American television programme. Several community councillors, including Phakathi and the mayor, Dr E B Tlali, were alleged to be part of the gang. Council property was used in its mission to 'clean up' organised resistance to apartheid. Other members of the gang were alleged to be jobless locals and Zulus recruited from outside the community. In the year before the emergence of the Phakathis, Thabong had become the

scene of a wave of student protest, developing into arson, stoning, and violent confrontation with the police. The Phakathis established a reign of terror in Thabong, meting out arbitrary assaults and severe floggings to residents.

126 By May 1985, the

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

Orange Free State

PAGE 364

130 When the local council imposed rent increases in Tumahole in July 1984, widespread protests resulted. Township residents clashed with civic organisations and the A-Team, supported by the police. Witnesses told the Commission that, in late 1985, vigilantes stoned and burned community leaders' houses and also stoned activists' homes, threatening families and assaulting primary school children. The property of police officers and councillors was also attacked during rent and consumer boycotts.

The attack on David Nhlapo

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

his role in these explosions.

150 Mr Aboobaker Ismael and Mr Mohammed Shaik have applied for amnesty in connection with several sabotage attacks, some of which occurred in the Orange Free State. In 1984, they caused an explosion on a pylon in Villiers, damaging the pylon and interrupting the power supply to the area. They also set a limpet mine in Kroonstad in the same year, causing damage to property [AM151/97].

151 Several arms caches were

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

businesses [KZN/JRW/087/FS].

171 Councillors and council property continued to be targeted, particularly after councillors allegedly started using vigilantes as rent collectors and to harass and intimidate defaulters.

The assault of Solomon Motlohi

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

The case of Koki Singonzo

In his statement to the Commission, Mr Koki Simon Singonzo said that his homes, taxis and business were stoned, petrol-bombed and attacked on a regular basis from 1990 to 1993 by members of the Mangaung Civic organisation and ANC because he refused to resign as a councillor. He said that one of his houses was destroyed in 1991 by an arson attack, and property was destroyed at three of his other houses during stone-throwing incidents and a petrol bomb attack in 1992. His three taxis were stoned and burnt in 1992 and, in the same year, customers were intimidated into a boycott of his business activities. The collapse in business led to the repossession of his supermarket and considerable personal losses [KZN/MT/015/BL].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

three in the Ficksburg area.

180 In March 1993, two APLA members, Mr John May and Mr William Mxhoshana, were convicted of attempted murder, the malicious destruction of property and the possession of illegal weapons in the December 1991 hand grenade attack on the Batho police station in Bloemfontein.

181 In January 1994, PAC

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

was banned completely in 1977.

28 In 1972 a vigilante group calling itself 'Scorpio' began distributing leaflets in Cape Town letter boxes. The campaign attacked white liberals, Jews and others and eventually escalated into violent attacks on property. Two white people were later convicted for these acts.

Overview of violations

29 Severe

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

killing Silika.

Peter Lathli Mabilo

Mr Peter Lathli Mabilo [CT04603] was shot dead on 21 August 1987 in Kimberley. The police (Unrest Unit together with Security Branch personnel) surrounded him in the house early in the morning. When he came out he allegedly threw something at them which they believed to be a grenade. They then shot him dead. The objects which he allegedly threw at them were an empty plastic cup and an old shoe. An F1 hand grenade was allegedly found in his pocket. No other arms or weapons at all were found on him or on the property. The ANC in the Northern Cape confirmed to the Commission that he had no weapons on him at the time, making the single hand grenade allegedly found in his possession suspect.

Nkululeko 'Solly' Mutsi and Anton

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

CAYCO could have been killed.

238 Other operations included 'Operation Apie', which involved placing a baboon foetus on the property of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and an arson attack on an Athlone printing press.

Bombings by the Security Branch

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

from Colonel Eugene de Kock.

241 There were, in addition, numerous arson attacks on properties housing antiapartheid organisations. During 1985, union offices in Cape Town were destroyed in an arson attack. An Observatory bookshop was firebombed in 1988. No amnesty applications were received for these attacks.

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

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permitting, or allowing any unlawful attack upon any person or property residing within or situate within the area known as KTC". It also directed the security forces to take all reasonable necessary steps within their powers to prevent any member of the SAP or the SADF or any other person from perpetrating any of the acts mentioned above.

263 Despite this interdict, thousands

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

should do.

The court case

269 KTC residents then instructed the LRC to sue the Minister of Law and Order for damages sustained during the attacks. The Supreme Court damages claim was on behalf of twenty-one parties whose respective claims exceeded R10 000.32 It was alleged that members of the SAP had made common cause and assisted the persons from inter alia Old Crossroads in destroying, damaging and/or causing the loss of the said dwellings and property. Alternatively, they had negligently failed to take reasonable steps to prevent the destruction of KTC.

270 The Minister of Law

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

WERE MOBILISED INTO ORGANISED VIOLENCE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BMW WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR A NUMBER OF VIOLATIONS THAT RESULTED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY, SERIOUS INJURY AND POSSIBLY DEATH. THEY WERE THEMSELVES THE SUBJECT OF EXTENSIVE TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AT THE HANDS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SPECIAL UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT UNDER CAPTAIN VAN BRAKEL RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS TORTURE, IN PARTICULAR THE SEXUAL ASSAULT OF SOME OF THE YOUTH.

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 5 Regional

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

CATALYST FOR THE OCTOBER CONFLICTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MILITANT CAMPAIGN ADOPTED BY THE ANC AGAINST THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL CONTRIBUTED TO THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE. THE FAILURE OF THE ANC TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM OR TO CONDEMN ARSON AND PHYSICAL ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS AND PROPERTY ASSOCIATED WITH THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL, CREATED A CLIMATE THAT ENCOURAGED AND ALLOWED SUCH ACTIONS.

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Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Western Cape PAGE 517

School student protest also became more widespread in the region, and repression of such protests remained harsh. Newspaper reports also indicate that the residents or ANC supporters engaged in attacks upon those seen to be collaborating with the state – primarily councillors or black police personnel. This mainly took the form of stoning and petrol bomb attacks on their property.

451 In mid-July 1990

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Western Cape PAGE 519

of local popular bodies that was taking place in so many small rural towns in the Western Cape. The Mossel Bay Town Council consistently dealt with the management committee, an illegitimate apartheid body in the eyes of the residents. With the introduction of the Internal Stability Unit, the situation escalated into open conflict with extensive damage to property and looting. The conflicts lasted for three days resulting in two deaths, numerous injuries and several arrests.⁶⁸ The Commission took the town council to task, and also criticised the unrealistic demands of the Civic Association, which contributed to the escalation of conflict.

460 Forms of internal conflict

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

still living in that shack.

99 In total, fourteen statements were received referring to this conflict – eleven cases relating to destruction of property, one of severe beating, one of mental torture and one of severe ill treatment.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

with the government's security forces.

128 Clashes between the crowds and the police continued through the morning. Pupils began erecting barricades across the streets while hundreds of police reinforcements were rushed into the township. Pupils attacked property, including beer halls and bottle stores, and people, including employees of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), killing two WRAB officials, Dr Melville Edelstein [JB00786/01GTSOW] and Mr Esterhuizen.

129 Mr Murphy Morobe told

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

defence force among blacks.²⁹

279 The SADF's response was that the use of the army in civil disorder was not without precedent. The government had decided to use troops in Sebokeng because it felt that it was responsible for the protection

of all South Africans, their property and the property of the state. The troops had manned roadblocks, thrown a cordon around the townships, protected important points, supplied logistical support, and provided communication and reconnaissance flights. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND THE VAAL LOCAL AUTHORITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF THE RESIDENTS OF BLACK TOWNSHIPS IN THE VAAL IN THAT THEY ALLOWED AND IMPOSED INCREASES IN RENT AT A TIME WHEN THE TOWNSHIPS HAD NO INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE AVERAGE INCOME OF RESIDENTS WAS AROUND R264.00 PER MONTH. THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT THE REFUSAL OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT MOST RESIDENTS LIVED BELOW THE POVERTY LINE FURTHER CONTRIBUTED TO FUELLING INTENSE ANGER AGAINST THEM, WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUBSEQUENT VIOLENCE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE WAY IN WHICH THE CONFLICT WAS MANAGED BOTH BY THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE ORGANS OF THE FORMER STATE CONTRIBUTED TO AN ESCALATION IN VIOLENCE. AS A CONSEQUENCE, NINETY PEOPLE DIED AND COUNTLESS OTHERS WERE INJURED. THE PARTIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF BANTU AFFAIRS AND THE VAAL LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

booby-trapped grenades against activists.

364 In the 'credibility operations', informers who had infiltrated MK cells would be assisted with various sabotage operations in order to maintain their credibility. These sabotage acts primarily involved destruction of property but may have also led to loss of life. Most of these operations were carried out between 1985 and 1987 by a team consisting of black police informers and white Security Branch officers. In 1989 a slightly different team organised a more serious operation – the murder of three activists using booby-trapped limpet mines.

365 One of the victims

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

by the infamous necklace method.

463 At the hearing in Moutse, over 250 statements were made to the Commission regarding the conflict in KwaNdebele and Moutse in the mid-1980s. Collectively, the statements include almost 700 reports of gross violations. Of the 421 alleged incidents in which deponents have named perpetrators, over half list Imbokodo as the responsible organisation. These include allegations of Imbokodo involvement in seventeen deaths. 'Comrades' or ANC members are identified as alleged perpetrators in 14 per cent of the statements, including twenty-four killings. Amongst residents who approached the Commission, at least thirty-four victims had ties to Imbokodo or to the former KwaNdebele government. Together, their statements document twenty murders, all of which involved the burning of the deceased's body. At least nineteen of the deponents claimed that their residential and/or business properties were completely destroyed in arson attacks.

464 Vigilante activity was not

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

Zulu and chanting Zulu slogans.

579 Conflict had been brewing in Sebokeng for some time. Zulu-speaking people in the township gravitated towards the KwaMadala hostel as tensions between themselves and the ANC increased. Attacks were allegedly perpetrated against the property of IFP supporters and Zulu-speaking people.

580 Repeated complaints from residents

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

Soon afterwards, the attacks began.

586 The attackers started at the Slovo squatter settlement and then moved through the township, killing and injuring people and damaging property (at least fifty homes were attacked in the township). Twenty people died in Slovo Park.

44 There is some uncertainty

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

opportunities to 'accumulate' human capital.

e Heavy restrictions on the legal right of Africans to own property and conduct business deprived them of the opportunity to accumulate property and develop entrepreneurial and professional capabilities.

f While the prevailing power

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

of buildings, schools and institutions

70 Inevitably, faith communities were affected by Group Areas legislation; congregations were forced to relocate and historic buildings lost.²³ Among those mentioned in the submissions were the London Missionary Society church at Graaff Reinet (built in 1802) and the stone church at Majeng in the Northern Cape (built in 1874 and bulldozed in 1975). According to the submission of the United Congregational Church, the congregations of these churches were declared "trespassers in their own homes." The Moravian Church said it suffered the loss of a number of Churches, especially in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.²⁴ Churches were forced to sell properties at low prices - something which seriously hindered their efforts to re-establish congregations after removal.

71 Bantu Education forced the closure of mission stations and schools that had provided education for Africans for many years.²⁵ Several churches with a long tradition in mission education, such as the Methodist Church, the United Congregational Church and the Church of the Province lost large numbers of primary schools and many secondary schools as well. The Methodist Church spoke of losing Kilnerton and Healdtown, and the United Congregational Church of the loss of Adams College and Tiger Kloof. The Reformed Presbyterian Church spoke of the loss of Lovedale and Blyswooth to the governments of Ciskei and Transkei. Indeed many properties belonging to this latter church were in so-called 'white' areas and the church was forced by law (which prohibited ownership of such properties) to sell them.²⁶ Several submissions made reference to the closing of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice and the taking of its land.²⁷ Hospitals and other institutions were also affected by Group Areas legislation. One example of this is when the Seventh Day Adventist Church was forced to close its Nokuphila Hospital in Alexandra township.

23 The loss of a Mosque is, the MJC explained at the hearings, especially significant within the Muslim community. More than a building, it is a sacred site and must never be abandoned. Group Areas legislation was a direct attack on this principle, assuming that the sacrality of such spaces was transferable to wherever the state decided to resettle the community. 24 In addition to losing land and space, the churches were sometimes forced to relocate a distance away from where their members lived. 25 For a discussion on the impact of the Bantu Education Act, see Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid* (Cape Town and Mary-Knoll: David Philip & Orbis Books, 1988), page 95f. 26 The United Methodist Church claimed to have lost properties under the Holomisa regime in the late 1980s. 27 The Church of Scotland originally donated the land.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 3 Institutional

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

members in 'white' society. The

32 See the submission of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika, Messina. 33 The United Congregational Church, for example, testified at the hearings to the loss of its mother church in Cape Town over its support for the Programme to Combat Racism. 34 At the hearings, Bishop Dowling referred to the Catholic Defence League and Tradition, Family and Property - two groups that counterpoised themselves to the SACBC. Also worth mentioning in this regard is the Western Cape Council of Churches, set up by the state in counterposition to the SACC and the Western Province Council of Churches and linked closely with Joint Management Council structures. Michael Worsnip, 'Low Intensity Conflict and the South African Church', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*. 69 (Dec. 1989), page 94.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 3 Institutional

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

a post apartheid South Africa.

107 The Catholic church mobilised its own structures (Young Christian Workers, Justice and Peace groups and so forth) and opened its parish halls to popular organisations for meetings, gave refuge to activists on church property or helped them leave the country. It also participated in the Standing for the Truth campaign – an SACC initiative supported by other faith communities. Roman Catholic theologians, like Albert Nolan, were formative voices on the South African theological scene.

108 By 1988, the political

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

Institutional Hearings: Prisons PAGE 201

are recorded.³ Here again, the working group found itself in difficulty. In many cases reported to the Commission, it was not possible to determine under what legislation a detainee had been held – partly because there was no specific question to that effect in the initial questionnaire and partly because the victim's family often did not itself know. It was thus not possible to establish whether many individual cases were the result of 'political conflict', as was required by the mandate of the Commission. In addition, it is clear that many political cases were, in fact, treated as common law prosecutions, such as theft, arson, malicious damage to property and even murder. A senior government prosecutor, for instance, admitted that he "would preferably prosecute under the common law rather than under statutory law, because

nobody can really make propaganda against the common laws whilst you can make effective propaganda against the statutory [law]"4.

15 It was therefore decided

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

internal disorder in the Republic;

(d) on service in the preservation of life, health or property or the maintenance of essential services; and

(e) on such police duties

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

trapped by the security forces.

37 The submission of the Inter-Church Youth, based in the Eastern Cape, defended the involvement of young people in violence. Effectively, they saw themselves as 'soldiers' and 'heroes', fighting against an enemy. The submission conceded that youth were both directly and indirectly involved in killings and the demolition of property.

We were part of this

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

the chapter on The Mandate.

53 Damage to property was another very difficult issue, on which the Committee postponed a decision for many months. Arson was a frequent allegation, and at first it did not seem to constitute a gross violation in terms of the Act. The more it was discussed, the more it was seen as a deliberate tool used by political groupings to devastate an area and force people to move away, the more it became necessary to consider it seriously. Eventually a decision was taken: arson would be considered as 'severe ill treatment' if it resulted in the destruction of a person's dwelling to an extent that the person could no longer live there. The motivation for this decision lay partly in the result - the displacement of the person - and partly in the psychological suffering of a person experiencing the total loss of home and possessions. (It did not make it any easier to have to decide that a person who lost cattle or vehicles, which might constitute their entire livelihood, did not qualify as a 'victim' of a gross violation).

54 The delay in arriving

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

sanitary facilities, privacy, family visits.

Destruction of DESTROY Includes violations such as arson, destruction, property vandalism, theft, forced removal, eviction

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

by dismissal from work, harassment

threats, animals killed, visits, telephone calls, surveillance, boycott enforcement, pointing of firearms (not in custody), threat of violence. It does not include vandalism or arson. These come under Destruction of Property.

Other type of OTHER associated

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

conditions in Sebokeng in 1984:

All hell broke out. Property was destroyed, houses were burned and belongings were either destroyed by fire or carried away by the very same people who elected us. Some of our colleagues who were found at home were brutally killed.

154 For councillors, the consequence

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

the Skweyiya and Motsuenyane Commissions.

39 The Skweyiya Commission⁹ recommended that victims of "maltreatment during detention" should receive monetary compensation, appropriate medical and psychological assistance, assistance in completing interrupted education and compensation for property lost. The Motsuenyane Commission¹⁰ also recommended compensation to those who suffered human rights violations and assistance with medical expenses.

40 In the process of

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

find employment.

Housing Housing provision

113 It is recommended that specific attention be given to establishing housing projects in communities where gross violations of human rights led to mass destruction of property and/or displacement. The appropriate ministry should put the necessary mechanisms in place.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 5 Reparation

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

THE BORDERS OF THIS COUNTRY;

- ACTS OF ARSON AND SABOTAGE AGAINST THE PROPERTY OF PERSONS AND ORGANISATIONS OPPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY.

DURING THE PERIOD 1979–89

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

EXPLOSIVES AND DANGEROUS WEAPONS ACTS;

- MASS ATTACKS BY SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION ON COMMUNITIES INHABITED BY PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE, RESULTING IN DEATH AND INJURY AND THE DESTRUCTION AND THEFT OF PROPERTY;
- KILLING OF LEADERS OF THE

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

THE UDF. THESE ACTIONS INCLUDE:

- THE KILLING (OFTEN BY MEANS OF 'NECKLACING'), ATTEMPTED KILLING, AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS, MEMBERS OF STATE STRUCTURES SUCH AS BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE SAP, AND THE BURNING AND DESTRUCTION OF HOMES AND PROPERTIES;
- THE VIOLENT ENFORCEMENT OF WORK

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

under review by the Commission.

111 What is the relation between masculinity and violence? There have been many and varied efforts to explain male aggression: genes, hormones, socialisation, roles, essence, archetypes, peer pressure, status, careers, warrior mythology, the Oedipal complex and more. Patriarchy, the ideology of male domination, portrays men as protectors and defenders of women, property, territory and nation. Patriarchy is a significant explanation of the male's apparent propensity towards violence, but patriarchy as ideology itself requires explanation. It is beyond the scope of this report to explore the issue fully, but it remains an important part of the

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 7 Causes

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 8 Recommendations PAGE 308

ONE FACTOR MILITATING AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE IS THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF SERIOUS CRIME. SECURITY OF PERSON AND PROPERTY IS A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT. TO ADDRESS THE UNACCEPTABLY HIGH RATE OF SERIOUS CRIME, GOVERNMENT IS REQUESTED TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO THE INTRODUCTION OF COMMUNITY POLICING AT ALL LEVELS AS A MATTER OF URGENCY.

ANOTHER BARRIER TO THE CREATION

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

East London youth hearing stated:

This past week, we met in Burgersdorp to do what we call a reconciliation service where we were going to cleanse ourselves of the past deeds. We'd slaughter a goat and cleanse ourselves with the blood that is shed. In a symbolic sense we'd cleanse ourselves of the wrong deeds, even if they were justifiable... The following were acknowledged. That we as the Inter-Church Youth or the church within the youth have, in one way or the other, killed people or at least were involved in the process of killings. That we were involved in demolishing people's property... That we informed on others who ended up being tortured severely and

who died in the process. We watched hopelessly whilst people were being 'necklaced'. If we didn't do the 'necklacing', we would have gone to buy petrol, arrange tyres and be part of making petrol bombs etc. We were part of this as the church youth. One needs to emphasise that this was justifiable for the cause of the liberation of ourselves. We want to say we believe that 70 to 80 per cent of the young people who died during the period of the struggle, most of them were church going youth or were young people who believed in Christ, or who were baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit as it were. These people were all disappointed by the church. We are here to say that we take full responsibility for any human rights violations committed by our members. To families who

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

dignity is restored and protected.

108 In concluding this section, it is important to highlight, once again, the historical and moral basis for the above-mentioned demands for widespread reparations beyond the limited group of victims on which the Commission was required to focus. At the business sector hearing in Johannesburg on 11 November 1997, Professor of Economics, Sampie Terreblanche, listed the following seven reasons why "political supremacy and racial capitalism impoverished Africans and enriched whites undeservedly": Firstly, the Africans were deprived of a large part of land on which they conducted successful traditional farming for centuries. White farmers on the other hand had the privilege of property rights and access to very cheap and docile African labour, my father included.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation PAGE 409

Secondly, for decades, millions of Africans were paid exploitative wages, in all sectors of the economy but mainly in gold mining and agriculture. The fact that the Africans were politically powerless and economically unorganised might make them easy prey for super-exploitation [in favour of] the white workers. Thirdly, a great variety of discriminative legislation not only deprived Africans of the opportunity to acquire skills, but also compelled and humiliated them to do really unskilled work at very low wages. While discriminatory measures were often to the disadvantage of business, they were very much to the advantage of white employees. Fourthly, perhaps the greatest disadvantage which the prevailing power structures had for Africans is that these structures deprived them of opportunities to accumulate human capital, the most important form of capital in the twentieth century. For the first three quarters of the century, social spending, on education, pensions etcetera, on Africans, was per capita more or less ten to eight times smaller than on whites. In 1970, the per capita spending on white education was twenty times higher than the per capita spending on Africans. Fifthly, the fact that a legal right to own property and to conduct a business was strongly restricted in the case of Africans also deprived them of the opportunity to accumulate property and to develop entrepreneurial and professional capabilities. The position of whites was again the complete opposite. They enjoyed property rights, they deprived Africans of their land, they had access to capital and the opportunity to develop business organisations, entrepreneurial capabilities, and etcetera. Sixthly, the liberation struggle and the resistance against it had a devastating effect on the poorer 60 per cent of the African population. Their income, already very low in 1975, decreased by more or less 35 per cent from 1975 until 1991. The fact that the poorer 40 to 50 per cent of the total population, more or less eighty million people, cannot satisfy their basic human needs on a regular basis, makes it so much more urgently necessary

to do at least something meaningful to improve the quality of their poverty. Seventhly, it was not only individuals that have been impoverished and destroyed by the racist system, but also African societies, while it also prevented the South African people from becoming a society. We can put forward a strong argument, that the depravation, the repression and the injustices inherited in the racist system not only impoverished the African population but also brutalised large numbers of Africans. After decades of apartheid and the struggle against it, South African society is a very disrupted and divided society; not only along racial and ethnic lines but also because of seemingly irreconcilable values and attitudes.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

in line with APLA policy.

46. In dealing with the APLA applications, the first issue the Committee had to resolve was whether these were bona fide operations associated with the liberation struggle. The Committee adopted the approach that amnesty would be refused if the applicants were unable to satisfy the Committee that the property involved had either been handed over to APLA or used in accordance with APLA policy in furtherance of the liberation struggle.

31 Volume One, p. 1

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

A G E 6 0

House unusable and damaged neighbouring properties and vehicles. There was a high risk to passers-by who could have been killed or injured; there were blocks of flats in the immediate vicinity which were inhabited; there was a flow of pedestrian traffic in the area which was very high till the early hours of the morning. The effect of the explosion was unpredictable. Colonel Eugene de Kock, who led the SAP bombing team, foresaw the possibility of loss of life as did Mr Vlok, who considered it a miracle that no one was killed. The group of policemen who carried out the task did so armed with automatic assault rifles with orders to shoot – if necessary – even at fellow policemen. As a result of the blast, a number of persons were injured (though not seriously). The inherent risk in unleashing a devastating explosion in a high-density area in the circumstances described above, involved the risk that persons might be killed. This risk was inevitably foreseeable and was in fact foreseen; the bombing was nevertheless ordered and proceeded with by the perpetrators with reckless disregard of the consequences.

During his pre s i

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

A G E 6 1

Cabinets should be allowed to speak for themselves. In his oral submissions to the Commission on 14 May 1997, Mr de Klerk stated that the bombing of Khotso House was not a gross violation of human rights as there was serious damage to property, but nobody was killed, or seriously injured.

The Commission finds that the

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

nally.

Article 22: Restitution should, wherever possible, restore the victim to the original situation before the violations of international human rights or humanitarian law occurred. Restitution includes: restoration of liberty; legal rights; social status; family life or citizenship; return to one's place of residence; restoration of employment and return of property.

Article 23: Compensation should be

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

and killed.

Intimidation and disinformation

46. The majority of the ninety-one incidents in this category relate primarily to the so-called Stratcom activities of the Witwatersrand Security Branch. Acts of intimidation included harassing individuals by damaging their property; constant and obvious surveillance; making threatening phone calls, and firing shots at houses or throwing bricks through windows. Apart from one or two isolated incidents, no similar applications were received from regions outside of the Witwatersrand, despite the fact that such forms of intimidation were fairly routine elsewhere.

47. The twenty-five incidents

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

tions

124. Several applications related to activities in the mid-1970s by Stratcom operatives. These applications provided details of a range of threatening actions including vandalising cars and property and making threatening phone calls. Condoned by commanders, this behaviour developed into more serious attacks such as throwing bricks through windows, blackmail, loosening bolts on car wheels and firing shots at homes.

Credibility operations

125. Attacks on

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

shots at homes.

Credibility operations

125. Attacks on installations were used to provide credibility for deep-cover agents and sources. This was the method used by the SIU during the 1980s. Applications were received from members of the SIU for approximately fourteen credibility operations, including several grenade attacks on houses using modified grenades, as well as a range of attacks on installations. These included blowing up railway lines, attacks on administration board offices and detonating dummy explosive devices on the property of a councillor and a university official. A more serious operation included the placing of explosive devices outside migrant hostels.

Illegal weapons

126. Amnesty applications

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

killed near Nietverdiend (see above).

c In the same month, Messrs Jackson Maake, Andrew Maponye Makope and H a rold Sello Sefolo were abducted and taken to an abandoned Portland Cement Company property near Pretoria. Here they were interrogated and shocked with high voltage electricity until they were dead, one by one. Mr Sefolo, the last to die, witnessed the deaths of Mr Maake and Mr Makope. The bodies of the three were taken and placed on a landmine on an abandoned road in Bophuthatswana. The landmine was then detonated.^{8 3}

d Shortly after the above

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 3 1 6

always a gap when someone dies but at that time I did not have a problem. If it was possible I would kill even ten people because I did not have a heart at that time. I was hurt because of my parents that were killed. I did not have a heart. I was going to do whatever so as to protect myself. (Hearing at Johannesburg, 02 F e b r u a r y 1999.) MR SIBEKO: A re you by any chance saying the way you were so affected or the way this violence affected you there was no other way in which your community and yourselves could have defended your property without resorting to arm s ? MR MBAT H A: No, there was no alternative because the violence affected everyb o d y, young and old. It is like something that creeps so that when it crawls into a group of people it just destroys every b o d y.

POPULAR PROTESTS 1990–1994

203

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

e rmaritzburg, 3 February 1999.)

232. Most ANC perpetrators were themselves victims of the conflict. Several had lost members of their families in the violence. They were often refugees, having been violently evicted from areas, their homes and property destroyed. Some had narrowly escaped death themselves. These applicants repeatedly described the failure of the security forces and the judicial system to take steps against the IFP or other perpetrators. As a consequence of the failure and betrayal by state structures, applicants took up arms in the belief that they were compelled to do so to secure and protect their own lives and pro p e r t y. This 'right to self defence' did not re q u i re ANC policy appro v a l .

233. Applicants also interpreted many

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 3 3 5

269. Mr Avhaphani Joseph Lukwa [AM3278/96] and Mr Tshamano Edson Tshibalo [AM3277/96] killed nine people and burnt eleven properties at Folovhodwe and Muswodi Dipeni areas, Venda, on 10 March 1990. The two were part of a larg e c rowd that went from house to house. They even targeted Ts h i b a l o 's own f a t h e r 's house. Their applications were refused due to lack of full disclosure [A C / 2 0 0 0 / 0 9 4] .

270. Mr Josia Mauludzi [AM3282

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

special revolver for this purpose.

205. The farm of Mr RJJ Fourie was identified as a target by Mr Leeuw and Mr Nkgwedi: Mr Nkgwedi had grown up on the farm. The four applicants went onto the farm property and observed Mr Fourie and his companion leaving, apparently on their way to town. They also noticed that Mr Fourie had left the gate open. The applicants closed the gate so that, on his return, Mr Fourie would be obliged to stop and open it. They then positioned themselves in the bushes adjacent to the gate and waited for the couple to return. When Mr Fourie stopped to open the gate as anticipated, one of the applicants shot him in the back of his head. His companion, Mrs May, remained in the car, which the attackers then drove to the farmhouse.

206. The applicants searched the

Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

examine them on these claims.

208. The applicants testified that they were instructed to take the property and hand it over to their commander, Mr Jan Shoba, who would sell it in order to obtain money for their struggle. They had also intended to hand the vehicle to him. However, they testified that they were arrested two days after the robbery and before they had had the opportunity to hand the property over. The applicants were all convicted and sentenced to terms of between nine and fifteen years' imprisonment.

V O L U M

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

goals.

No distinction was drawn between what might have been property for military use and property taken for personal gain. The Committee is therefore faced with the dilemma that the act does not authorise us to grant amnesty in respect of a portion of a sentence. Having found that the murder of Mr Fourie and the robbery of the firearms were offences associated with a political objective, the Committee is obliged to grant amnesty in respect thereof. No provision is made in the Act for dealing with offences which have elements of criminality as well as political motivation in it. [AC/1999/297.]

211. Amnesty was granted to

Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

follows: Absence of political motivation

256. Mr Stephen Vusumuzi Dolo [AM0320/96] applied for amnesty for malicious injury to property when he wrecked his cell at the Burgersdorp prison on 12 August 1992 in an apparent effort to force the authorities to allow him to join other awaiting-trial prisoners. He testified that he was suspicious of the motives of the prison authorities and believed they were keeping him separately in order to intimidate him.

257. The Amnesty Committee was

Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

re to declare specific acts

275. The APLA High Command [AM7832/97] submitted an application for amnesty without specifying individual names in order to accept collective responsibility for 'any act, omission, offence or delict committed by members of the PAC as a result of which people died, others were injured and property was damaged'.

V O L U M

Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

not ask God for victory'.

I could think of no other measure to enable us, as a group of young people, to state our case. And in those days the powerful regime of the National Party destroyed us and we had no access to the press and the media, who to a great extent did not support us. The power and the force of the communism and the liberalists and the way it could be seen in the press as a cancer. We did not want to injure, cause injury to Professor van Jaarsveld; we did not want to cause damage to the property of the University; we never wanted to injure anybody from the audience. (Klerksdorp hearing, 10 May 1999.)

90. TerreBlanche testified

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

different course to that planned.

After this incident, I and my ex-wife suffered various attacks in retaliation to this action which were launched by the Black community against us. After court sittings, mini buses would turn up at our house and the house; our vehicle and our caravan would be stoned and damaged, and the grass on my property and other things were also set alight.

On the 26th of March

Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

and political chaos as possible.

252. Bombing sprees were simply campaigns of terror. The Committee heard that the primary objective of these campaigns was the establishment of a volatile state. The strategy adopted was to bomb state property as well as residential areas,

V O L U M

Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

in chambers.

Explosion in Bronkhorstspuit

272. Two BWB members from Cullinan, Mr Leo Hendrik Froneman [AM0395/96] and Mr Pieter Johannes Harmse [AM3275/96], also a commander in the BRL, were jointly convicted for an explosion at an Indian business complex in Bronkhorstspuit on 17 September 1993. One police officer, Mr Abraham

Labuschagne, died in the explosion and six people were injured. Froneman was convicted of culpable homicide for which he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Harmse was convicted of murder, attempted murder, the unlawful possession of explosives and malicious damage to property and was sentenced to an effective eighteen years.

273. The bomb was homemade

Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

Eastern Cape during August 1993.

278. De Jongh, who held the rank of Commandant in the AWB, assisted two other members of that organisation to bomb two premises. The first bombing took place during the night of 13 August 1993 at the premises of Mr Wiseman Zitembile Sana in Queenstown; the second occurred on the night of 14 August 1993 at the premises of Mr Johnson Dumile Sateni in Hofmeyr in the Eastern Cape. The bombings caused damage to both properties but did not result in any bodily injury. The Committee found that both bombings were executed in support of the AWB with a political objective associated with the conflicts of the past. Amnesty was granted [AC/1998/0029].

279. An AWB colonel, Mr Jan

Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 5 0 5

304. Mr Etienne Jacobus le Roux [AM6467/97] and Mr Johan Wilhelm du Plessis [AM6480/907] were granted amnesty for violations arising from an explosion in Bree Street, Johannesburg on 24 April 1994. The explosion killed seven people: Mr Jostine Makho Buthelezi, Mr Makomene Alfred Matsepene, Mr Goodman Dumisani Ludidi, Ms Gloria Thoko Fani, Ms Susan Ann Keane, Mr Peter Lester Malcolm Ryland and an unidentified man. At least thirteen other people were injured in the attack. The applicants were also granted amnesty for malicious injury to property and the unlawful possession of explosive devices and material [AC/1999/0342].

305. Le Roux and Du Plessis were granted amnesty for violations arising from an explosion at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg on election day, 27 April 1994, in which at least ten people were injured. They were also granted amnesty for malicious injury to property and the unlawful possession of explosive devices and material [AC/1999/0342].

306. Mr Etienne le Roux, Mr Jan Bastiaan de Wet [AM6466/97], Mr Johannes Abraham Vlok [AM7888/97] and Mr Johan du Plessis were granted amnesty for violations arising from a bomb explosion on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Transvaal on 25 April 1994. Ten people were killed by the bomb: Mr Phillip Nelaphi Nkosi, Mr Mbulawa Jonathan Skosana, Mr Lucas Shemane Bokaba, Ms Gloria Khoza, Mr Fickson Mlala, Mr Mbereyeni Marcus Siminza, Mr Paul Etere Ontory, Mr Thulani Buthelezi and Ms Thoko Rose Sithole. At least seven other people were injured in the explosion. The applicants were also granted amnesty for malicious injury to property and the unlawful possession of explosive devices and material [AC/1999/0342].

307. Mr Johan du Plessis

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

iciency;

b a d d ressing the legal situation of persons unaccounted for and the consequences for family members, including property administration, g u a rdianship and parental authority;
c ensuring that children receive

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

a c h e s .

a Articles 50, 51, 130 and 147 specify the following grave breaches of the four Geneva Conventions respectively: wilful killing; torture or inhuman t reatment; biological experiments; wilfully causing great suffering; causing serious injury to body or health, and extensive destruction and a p p ropriation of property not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly.

b The following are considered

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

a b o v e .

53. The Commission based its findings on the evidence it received both through the human rights violations and the amnesty processes. However, partially because the UDF had already disbanded by 1991, and because no central s t r u c t u r e existed to encourage amnesty applications, the number of amnesty applications received do not tally with the figures that the Commission r e c e i v e d in respect of violations. The Commission received eighty-five applications, which included fourteen acts not considered to be gross human rights violations. The remaining seventy-one applications dealt with offences ranging from arson aff e c t i n g o v e r n m e n t property to gross human rights violations in which people were killed.

54. Whilst it was not

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

her in the following way:

We got information that Ms Ntiki was at her home together with the police with intention of removing her property. We rushed to the place and when the police

V O L U M

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

Notes

Capital employed Accumulated funds

Employment of capital Property, Plant and Equipment

Net current assets Current assets

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

to complete the outstanding work:

The work plan shows that the absolute minimum time to complete the outstanding tasks would be up till December 2000. This would include the preparation and organisation of the intellectual property gathered during the TRC process, prior to handing it over to the Department of Justice and National Archives. It will also include the writing of the codicil and its handover to the President.

While it is important that

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

Notes

Capital employed Accumulated funds

Employment of capital Property, plant and equipment

Net current assets Current assets

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

GE454

MLUNGU, Khayelihle Muzi (11), was shot in the leg when Inkatha supporters attacked and burnt down his family home at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1989 during intensifying political conflict in the area. MLUNGU, Ledia, was injured when IFP supporters aided by members of the SAP opened fire on residents in Ivory Park, Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992 during a boycott of IFP-run local taxis. Five people were killed and eight injured in the attack. MMAKO, Mareka Simon, a 'comrade', was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during tension over proposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. MMAKO, Peter Moleko, was shot dead in February 1990 by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, when the NUM called a march to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela. MMAKOLA, Swazile Elizabeth (52), was assaulted by members of the SAP at her home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 6 July 1992, immediately after returning home from an operation. The police, accompanied by a named local councillor, were looking for Ms Mmakola's son. Ms Mmakola's home and property were allegedly damaged and looted in the incident. There was intense political conflict in the area at the time including at the funeral of a local MK operative at which a number of residents were arrested and reportedly assaulted. MMAKOLO, Magoshi Doctor (10), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Pietersburg, Tvl, in 1986. MMAKOU, Monageng Patrick Xoliso, an MK operative from Temba, Bophuthatswana, was killed on 4 June 1980 when the house in which he was staying in Manzini, Swaziland, was bombed. The operation was undertaken by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch in retaliation for the MK attack on the Sasol refinery a few days earlier. A seven-year-old boy, Patrick Nkosi, son of another MK operative, was also killed in this operation. One member of the SAP was granted amnesty for his role in the operation (AC/2001/087). MMALEDIMO, Thomas Tumsih, an MK operative, was abducted by members of the SAP in Ga-Phasha village, Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in 1978. He has not been seen since. MMATLADI, Patrick, was shot dead on 31 July 1993 during ongoing political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters. MMELA, Abram Modige (17), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Lebowa Police in 1986 in Motetema, Lebowa, in an attempt to extract information about political activists in the area. Mr Mmela is confined to a wheelchair as a result of the beating. MMELESI, Elizabeth Sojakgomo (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Kimberley, Cape, on 27 January 1990, while participating in a protest march against a visiting overseas cricket team who were breaching the international sports boycott against South Africa. She was then arrested for public violence and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

VOLUME

Name: References to Redistribute in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 7 references coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

who are not developed.⁴
Reconciliation and redistribution
24 The broad challenge of

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Concepts and Principles
PAGE 116

52 This means that one must guard against such simplistic platitudes as 'to forgive is to forget'. It is also crucial not to fall into the error of equating forgiveness with reconciliation. The road to reconciliation requires more than forgiveness and respectful remembrance. It is, in this respect, worth remembering the difficult history of reconciliation between Afrikaners and white English-speaking South Africans after the devastating Anglo-Boer/South African War (1899-1902). Despite coexistence and participation with English-speaking South Africans in the political system that followed the war, it took many decades to rebuild relationships and redistribute resources - a process that was additionally complicated by a range of urban/rural, class, and linguistic and other barriers. Reconciliation requires not only individual justice, but also social justice.

■ AMNESTY, TRUTH AND JUSTICE 53

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

black victims. He argued that:

A very high rate of economic growth was maintained in the 1950s and 1960s. During its heyday of state and racial capitalism, the racial disparity ratio between white and African incomes became much larger. While the per capita income of whites was 10,6 times higher than African per capita income in 1946/47, white income was fifteen times higher than in 1975. If ever there was a period of upward redistribution of income (mainly from Africans to Afrikaners), then it was the period of high growth in the 1950s and 1960s. Given the power structures of white supremacy and racial capitalism, it was a period of high growth with a 'trickle-up' effect.²⁰

110 Professor Francis Wilson points

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

needed to rebuild this country.

152 Leaving aside the debate as to the morality of payment or non-payment, it has been suggested that cancellation of the debt could have certain adverse consequences for economic growth. Advocates for continued payment confirm the point made by the Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee that a significant part of government debt is owned by domestic financial and commercial institutions. Cancelling it, they say, would erode their asset base, harm shareholders, pensioners (in cases where debt is owned by

pension funds) and possibly employees. To the extent that such debt cancellation would undermine the level of confidence in government stock, it would also result in higher borrowing costs on new debt issues – or even an inability to market any debt domestically or abroad. This would severely constrain any subsequent attempts at redistribution on the part of the state. A very careful analysis of the costs and benefits of this proposal is, therefore, required.

153 However, given the crippling

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

the life of the patient.

31 Between 1960 and 1994, the Department of Health failed to use its resources to provide the best possible public health service. Probably the greatest problem in the health sector was the maldistribution of resources. Because of apartheid restrictions on where people could live and work, it was very easy for the Department to ensure that the distribution of resources favoured white people. By far the largest proportion of government funds was spent on the white population, despite the endemic poverty and socio-economic deprivation of the majority black population. In 1985, for example, annual per capita health expenditure according to race was R451 for white people, R249 for Indian people, R245 for coloured people and R115 for African people (see Figure 1). Since black hospitals were regularly overcrowded and white hospitals underutilised, the funding should have been redistributed to provide better overall care. The silence of the Department about the effects of socio-economic conditions on the general health of the population was deafening.

Figure 1 PER CAPITA HEALTH

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

TRAUMA CENTRES AND COUNSELLING INITIATIVES.

Redistribution of skills and resources 34 The Commission recommends that:

RELIGIOUS GROUPS UTILISE THE SKILLS

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

THE IMBALANCES OF THE PAST.

THE LAND BANK PRIORITISE LAND DEVELOPMENT WHICH FAVOURS THE DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND TO LANDLESS PEOPLE.

Affirmative action and skills training

Name: References to Resource in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 193 references coded [0.37% Coverage]

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Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

may the Commission's greatest legacy.

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

6 Others will inevitably critique

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

inevitable ending for South Africa.

23 Another reason why Nuremberg was not a viable option was because our country simply could not afford the resources in time, money and personnel that we would have had to invest in such an operation. Judging from what happened in the De Kock and so-called Malan trials, the route of trials would have stretched an already hard-pressed judicial system beyond reasonable limits. It would also have been counterproductive to devote years to hearing about events that, by their nature, arouse very strong feelings. It would have rocked the boat massively and for too long.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 1 Foreword

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Foreword by Chairperson PAGE 17

70 We believe we have provided enough of the truth about our past for there to be a consensus about it. There is consensus that atrocious things were done on all sides. We know that the State used its considerable resources to wage a war against some of its citizens. We know that torture and deception and murder and death squads came to be the order of the day. We know that the liberation movements were not paragons of virtue and were often responsible for egging people on to behave in ways that were uncontrollable. We know that we may, in the present crime rate, be reaping the harvest of the campaigns to make the country ungovernable. We know that the immorality of apartheid has helped to create the climate where moral standards have fallen disastrously.

71 We should accept that

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Historical Context PAGE 40

70 Beyond them, however, were more formidable opponents. Originally southwardmoving migrants themselves, these were now independent and, in some cases, powerful nations; state systems with hierarchic authority structures and deeprooted military traditions. Like the northward-moving migrants, they farmed land, exploited natural resources and raised stock. Conflict was inevitable and, contrary to the myth propagated by some schools of local historiography, it did not take the form a series of one-sided victories and defeats.

71 The reality is that

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

function in a decentralised manner.

5 The full Commission held its second meeting on 22 - 26 January 1996 when a wide range of topics was discussed and decisions were made. After reviewing and discussing the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act), the Commission agreed that it would maintain regional offices in four centres, namely Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and East London. It agreed further that the headquarters of the Amnesty Committee would be in Cape Town, while the headquarters of both the Human Rights Violations Committee and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee would be in Johannesburg. There was a series of discussions on the role of the Investigation Unit, the management of information, the need for a sophisticated database, a media and communication strategy for the Commission, and the need for the safety and security of Commission staff and resources. An organisational plan outlining the staffing structure of the Commission was tabled and discussed, and the Commission agreed to advertise for staff without delay. Other matters discussed included the recording and transcription of meetings and hearings, and assistance offered by international donors.

6 The third full meeting of the Commission was held on the 13 and 14 February 1996. This meeting approved a full staffing plan together with job descriptions and the appointment of a finance manager, a head of research, a human resources manager and a human resources officer. The finance manager was mandated to draw up a budget without delay. Finally, the meeting agreed that the following commissioners would be responsible for the Commission's regional offices: Dr Wendy Orr (Cape Town), Dr Fazel Randera (Johannesburg), the Revd Bongani Finca (East London) and Mr Richard Lyster (Durban).

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 3 Setting

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

motive (section 1(1)(ix).

43 This definition is a reminder that the responsibility for building the bridge between a dehumanising past and a just and democratic future does not belong to the Commission alone. Furthermore, in making its own limited contribution, the Commission had to walk a tightrope between too wide and too narrow an interpretation of gross violations of human rights. The Commission would have neither the lifespan nor the resources to implement a broadly constituted interpretation. Too narrow an interpretation, on the other hand, might have added insult to the injuries and injustices experienced by the many victims who would have been excluded.

44 Segregation policies and practices

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

by any organisation or group

26 Earlier definitions of crimes against humanity presumed that such crimes could only be committed by a government or those acting on behalf of a government. Implicit in this approach was an assumption that only an institution with the power and resources of a government would have the capacity to commit crimes on the scale necessary to qualify as crimes against humanity. Over the past fifty years, it has become clear that certain organisations or groups outside government are capable of committing crimes on a large scale or in a systematic manner. The Commission therefore endorsed the definition of crimes against humanity contained in the 1996 ILC Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind which includes acts committed by non-state actors.

Persecution

27 Clause (e) of

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

promoting national unity and reconciliation.

8 A major source of conflict in public debate concerned the question of amnesty. As already mentioned, the decision to grant amnesty was a feature of the negotiated political settlement and became a central responsibility of the Commission. Many participants, however, saw a contradiction between the work of the Human Rights Violations Committee, which devoted its time and resources to acknowledging the painful experiences of victims of gross violations of human rights, and the work of the Amnesty Committee, which freed many of the perpetrators of these violations from prosecution (and from prison) on the basis of full disclosure.

9 This tension was deepened

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Reconciliation between victims and perpetrators

16 The contribution of the Commission to reconciliation between specific victims and perpetrators was necessarily limited (by its time frame, mandate and resources). In some cases, however, the Commission assisted in laying the foundation for reconciliation. Although truth does not necessarily lead to healing, it is often a first step towards reconciliation. Father Michael Lapsley, who lost both arms and an eye in a near

fatal security police parcel bomb attack in Harare in 1990, told the Commission: "I need to know who to forgive in order to endeavour to do so".

Reconciliation at a community level

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

postamble to the interim Constitution.

25 Gross socio-economic inequalities are the visible legacy of the systematic, institutionalised denial of access to resources and development opportunities on grounds of colour, race and sex. But they are also the less tangible consequences of centuries of dehumanising devaluation of 'non-Europeans', 'non-whites' and 'non-males'. The Mandate chapter explains the limited focus of the work of the Commission in this broader context.

26 Many years ago, Albert

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Concepts and Principles

PAGE 116

52 This means that one must guard against such simplistic platitudes as 'to forgive is to forget'. It is also crucial not to fall into the error of equating forgiveness with reconciliation. The road to reconciliation requires more than forgiveness and respectful remembrance. It is, in this respect, worth remembering the difficult history of reconciliation between Afrikaners and white English-speaking South Africans after the devastating Anglo-Boer/South African War (1899-1902). Despite coexistence and participation with English-speaking South Africans in the political system that followed the war, it took many decades to rebuild relationships and redistribute resources - a process that was additionally complicated by a range of urban/rural, class, and linguistic and other barriers. Reconciliation requires not only individual justice, but also social justice.

■ AMNESTY, TRUTH AND JUSTICE 53

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

society. Two arguments support this.

75 First, by indemnifying the state in this way, prolonged litigation is avoided. Such litigation is likely to lead to a preoccupation with anguish and rancour about the iniquities of the past and may thus divert the energies of the nation from the long-term objectives of national reconciliation and the reconstruction of society.¹⁷ Second, the achievement of reconciliation and the reconstruction of society demands that the limited resources of the state be deployed in a way that brings relief and hope to as many South Africans as possible. Faced with competing demands between the formidable claims of victims of gross human rights violations and their families, and the desperate need to correct massive wrongs in the crucial areas of housing, education and health care, the framers of the interim Constitution favoured the reconstruction of society.

76 The immunity awarded to the state does not remove the burden of responsibility for state reparations. It does, however, give the new, democratic government discretion when making difficult choices about the distribution of scarce resources between the victims of gross human rights violations (who fall within the

mandate of the Commission) and those many victims who fall outside of the Commission's mandate. The Minister of Justice has said:

We have a nation of

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

as Judge Mahomed has said:

take many years of strong commitment, sensitivity and labour to 'reconstruct our society'...developing for the benefit of the entire nation the latent human potential and resources of every person who has directly or indirectly been burdened with the heritage of the shame and the pain of our racist past.¹⁹

78 Through the Committee on

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

This responsibility lies with government.

93 The plight of those who, through the legacy of apartheid, need assistance in the form of social spending (for housing, education, health care and so on) must also be remembered. The provision of reparations to the (relatively) few victims of gross human rights violations who appeared before the Commission cannot be allowed to prejudice apartheid's many other victims. The need to provide reparations for the former cannot be allowed to constitute so great a drain on the national fiscus that insufficient resources remain for essential social upliftment and reconstruction programmes.

94 Beyond these considerations, it

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

of verifying and corroborating statements.

45 Finally, in the last quarter of the Commission's life, it became evident that the Amnesty Committee would require considerable investigative support in order to deal with the large number of people who had applied for amnesty. Again, the Investigation Unit was required to shift resources to meet this institutional need. The shifting priorities of the Commission and their impact on its methodology are discussed in greater detail in the analysis section of this chapter.

46 In addition to assisting

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

was driven by public hearings.

61 The prioritisation of hearings meant that a large proportion of the time, energy and resources of the Commission was devoted to this activity. Commissioners and committee members spent a significant percentage of their time preparing for hearings and presiding over them. Regional office staff provided the necessary logistic and administrative support for hearings. Researchers provided background briefs on the communities in which hearings were held, and the Investigation Unit allocated a large number of investigators to the task of locating victims and transporting them to and from hearings.

62 The holding of hearings throughout the country, and the public attention they attracted, resulted in a dramatic increase in awareness about the Commission and its work. This, in turn, resulted in a significant

increase in the number of victims wishing to provide statements to the Commission. At the same time, the Commission initiated the designated statement taker programme (see above), which also resulted in a large increase in the numbers of statements made. This large influx of statements put considerable pressure on the staff and infrastructure of the Commission, which had, up until then, been oriented towards the holding of hearings and not the processing of large numbers of statements. It quickly became clear that staff and resources should be allocated towards the Commission's information management system and that functions associated with the holding of hearings should be scaled down.

The statements phase

63 As

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

logistics officers, secretaries and investigators.

66 By 1998, the Commission devoted virtually all of its resources to ensuring that statements were properly processed and corroborated so that findings could be made, and that amnesty applications were dealt with as expeditiously as possible. By the end of its term of operation, the Commission had succeeded in making findings in respect of all statements submitted to it, but had been unable to hear and decide upon all amnesty applications.

67 Once the Amnesty Committee

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

CAME TO THE COMMISSION? Introduction

1 In order to establish as complete a picture as possible of the conflicts of the past, the Human Rights Violations Committee focused the bulk of its energy and resources on gathering and processing statements from deponents²¹. The corroborated allegations of gross violations of human rights contained in these 21 000 statements form the basis for the Human Rights Violations Committee's conclusions about the nature of the conflict.

2 The purpose in describing

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

TO ANOTHER PERSON, SEX UNSPECIFIED

33 Non-fatal human rights violations include attempted killings, torture, severe ill treatment and abductions.

34 The large numbers of victims of unspecified sex are a consequence of the time-pressures on Commission staff to load the data onto the computer systems. With more time and resources, this data can be improved. However, it is very likely that the proportion of men to women victims amongst those of unspecified sex is the same as that where the sex is known, so the overall results are not likely to be significantly affected by the unknowns.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 6 Methodology

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

were indiscriminately affected.

Concluding remarks

28 The Commission did not try to carry out a census of violations of human rights. It had neither the time nor the resources to do so. Consequently, we will never know exactly how many people suffered during the mandate period.

29 Instead, the Commission appealed

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

the disclosure of the truth.

14 The court held that the postamble permitted the granting of an amnesty for any civil liability to the state, entitling Parliament to adopt a wide concept of reparations. This would allow the state to decide on proper reparations for victims of past abuses, having regard to competing demands on the limited resources of the state. Further, Parliament was authorised to provide for individualised and nuanced reparations that took into account the claims of all victims, rather than preserving state liability for provable and unprescribed delictual claims only. In this regard, Judge Mahomed noted, the families of those whose fundamental human rights were invaded by torture and abuse were not the only victims who have endured "untold suffering and injustice in consequence of the crass inhumanity of apartheid which so many have had to endure for so long". Indeed:

Generations of children born and

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

7 Legal Challenges PAGE 177

concept of "reparation", which would allow the state to take into account the competing claims on its resources but, at the same time, to have regard to the "untold suffering" of individuals and families whose fundamental human rights had been invaded during the conflict of the past (para 45).

15 The negotiators of the

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

and cross-examination of perpetrators.

53 The judgement imposed an administrative and logistic burden on the Commission, requiring it to employ further staff and allocate further resources to identify and trace implicated persons. In many instances, the alleged perpetrators were no longer in the same employment as previously and their addresses were not easily available.

54 In addition, the Commission

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

over more than three decades?

13 Given the constraints imposed by time and resources, such a task was not feasible and more narrowly defined parameters had to be identified. Therefore, the investigation was limited to the destruction of state records for a number of reasons. First, their status as public records accords them a high level of public interest. Second, statutory regulation of record keeping by state structures provides a comprehensive

measure against which to judge the management of records, including their authorised and unauthorised destruction. Third, state records constitute by far the largest coherently defined aggregate of records. Fourth, scrutiny of state records offers a high level of insight into the system that gave rise to so many of the gross human rights violations under the spotlight of the Commission. And finally, the destruction of state documentation probably did more to undermine the investigative work of the Commission than any other single factor.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 8 The

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

in more detailed case studies.

22 Owing to constraints of time and resources, all possible deceptions relating to records-management could not be explored. The joint investigative teams simply had to rely on the integrity of those appointed by the management structures of the SAPS, the SANDF, the Department of Correctional Services, the civilian
3 The State Archives Service

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

certificates were seldom complied with.

61 The result of the destruction was a massive purging of the NIS's corporate memory. This was supplemented by the unauthorised ad hoc removal of documents by individuals for their own purposes. Any attempt to quantify this phenomenon was beyond the resources of the joint investigative team. Very little pre-1990 material survives in the paper-based, microfilm and electronic systems. The one seemingly intact series of records are the minutes of senior management meetings for the period 1980 - 1994. Other documentation from the period 1990 - 1994 was substantially sanitised.

62 It is clear that

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

terms of the Archives Act

84 No state has the resources to preserve permanently all the records generated by it. The information 'explosion' of the second half of the twentieth century has made it essential that rigorous selection policies be applied to records which have served their shorter term functional and accountability purposes. In the United States, for example, between 1950 and 1985, the authorised destruction of 120 million cubic metres of federal records took place.²³ The selection policies of some countries' national archives secure for archival preservation as little as 1 per cent of all state records²⁴; the SAS estimates that the policies implemented in South Africa between 1960 and 1994 secured the preservation of approximately 15 per cent of state records.

85 In this period, huge

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Destruction of Records

PAGE 232

resources and an abrogation of responsibility led to its failure even to detect the routine destruction of classified records by the security establishment in the pre-1990 period. In the 1990-1994 period of mass destruction, SAS intervention achieved little. It followed up every case of alleged illegal destruction, engaged the security establishment in debate around the issue, registered its disagreement with the two 1991 legal opinions, and forced revision of the NIS's 1994 Guidelines for the Protection of Classified Information. However, it was hamstrung by the government's disregard for accountability, by its junior status within government, and by a leadership that was apparently intimidated by the security establishment. The evidence suggests that, while junior staff was pushing for decisive action, the leadership chose not to act. For instance :

a In June 1992, the

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

relate to society.

Financial accountability

18 The chief executive officer was responsible for ensuring that the Commission was adequately resourced and that its obligations with respect to financial practices and reporting procedures were met. In order to ensure sound fiscal management, a director of finance and support services was given responsibility for refining the Commission's salary structure, preparing the Commission's revenue and expenditure forecasts and estimates, budgeting for funding proposals and preparing annual budgets for each year of the Commission's operation. In addition, monthly financial statements were prepared and presented at the meetings of the Finance Committee and the Commission.

19 The director of finance

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

accounting officer of the Commission.

22 Human resources were delegated to the human resources director. VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 9 Report of the Chief Executive Officer and Chief Accounting Officer PAGE 247

Developing an integrated plan of

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

an integrated plan of action

23 In order to meet the statutory goals and objectives of the Commission within limited time and financial resources, controls were necessary. In order to identify its critical strategic activities, therefore, the Commission prepared an integrated action plan. Its purpose was to ensure that the Commission anticipated rather than reacted to the demands of its mandate.

24 This careful planning manifested

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission's operational policies and procedures

30 Operational policies and procedures (such as financial controls, human resources policies and procedures) were developed and adopted in order to enhance the Commission's decision-making process and to ensure that such processes and activities were rationalised, anchored and undertaken within reasonable and clear guidelines. This allowed for better co-ordination of efforts to achieve the Commission's statutory objectives.

Ensuring that the Commission enjoyed

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

j Victim status and enquiries.

k Human resources-related activities, including staff profiles, staff complement, challenges by staff.

l Financial activities, including forecasts

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

precedent and required ongoing adjustments.

48 The Commission, while of the utmost national significance, was only one of many critical national priorities requiring funding from the national fiscus. Like many other projects, therefore, the Commission was restricted by limited national resources. This resulted in drastic cuts to the budget which made it impossible to negotiate with staff, especially regarding salaries and the termination of contracts.

Bidding/tendering

49 Owing to

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

KARIEM HOOSAIN AND W GREYVENSTEIN
HUMAN RESOURCES SANDRA ARENDSE
REGIONAL MANAGERS WESTERN CAPE
COMMISSIONS

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

provided training to these volunteers.

13 The fragmented nature of service provision posed a challenge for the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, and attention was given to establishing constructive relationships and alliances. Thus, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee established an audit of existing resources, including existing service organisations and their capacity. This information is included elsewhere in the final report, along with recommendations to the President on essential services that are needed and where they should be located.

14 All regions established NGO and CBO networks, although the success of these varied from region to region, depending on the availability of community resources. In rural areas, churches, family structures and traditional support systems were used in the absence or scarcity of formal NGOs and CBOs.

15 Many of the deponents

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

the Commission's chief executive officer.

15 The financial director's activities were diversified to include support services, and the description of the portfolio changed to director of finance and support services. At a later stage, human resources were added to the portfolio.

■ EXPENDITURE

16 In the early

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

and determine its staffing requirements.

18 The design and development of the organisational plan was a particularly difficult challenge. After extensive consultation with, amongst others, the vice-chairperson of the Commission, the human resources director and consultants, the first major substantive organisational plan was compiled over a weekend in late February 1996.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 11 Finance

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

package with no benefits attached.

21 The human resources director, the financial director and the Commission's consultants assisted in developing a staffing plan and salary structure. The job evaluation and remuneration structure was based on the Paterson plan.

22 Remuneration specialists provided information

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

ELEVEN

Management and Operational Reports

HUMAN RESOURCES DEPARTMENT

■ INTRODUCTION 1 The tasks of the Human Resources Department were: a policy development, implementation and maintenance b recruitment and selection of staff c administration and maintenance of salary structures, procedures and systems d staff management
e strategic planning and implementation

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

applied in making all appointments.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 11 Human Resources Department PAGE 319

■ POLICY AND PLANNING

3 The

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

PAGE 319

■ POLICY AND PLANNING

3 The human resources function was considered by the Commission to be central to the operations of what was to become a people-intensive organisation. One of the first appointments made by the commissioners, therefore, was that of director of the Human Resources Department – before even the chief executive officer took up his position or offices had been established. The role of the director was to develop strategies and draw up policies and practices.

4 Thus, from February to

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

the life of the Commission.

8 Personnel (or human resource) policies and procedures integrated public and private sector practices with the requirements of the Commission's founding legislation, and were constantly amended and updated in line with new legislation or the Commission's requirements.

9 Job descriptions were developed

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

in response to changing requirements.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 11 Human Resources Department PAGE 320

10 Because the Human Resources Department was based in the national office, the regional managers were empowered and mandated to perform general human resource functions in the regions, including recruitment and selection.

11 The Commission's staff formed

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

out plan was adjusted accordingly.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 11 Human Resources Department PAGE 321

Volume ONE Chapter ELEVEN

Management

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

by a deputy national director.

4 The regional heads oversaw staff, resources, communication, planning and operations. In these matters, the regional head's primary line of responsibility was to the national director. The regional heads, however, were also required to keep regional management properly informed of matters relating to the effective functioning of the region.

5 The Unit staff included

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

11 Investigation Unit PAGE 330

27 Between September 1996 and February 1997, the Investigation Unit reformulated its approach and reorganised itself in keeping with the general recognition within the Commission of the need to focus resources not only on public hearings, but also on processing the large numbers of statements received. And again, once the amnesty application deadline date had passed and the extent of work in amnesty matters became apparent, the Investigation Unit adapted and organised itself to serve these new needs.

■ DEVELOPING PROCESSES AND PHASES OF

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

exchange of information and reporting.

29 To facilitate the management function of the Investigation Unit, day-to-day contacts were established with the chief executive officer and the Finance, Human Resources and Research Departments.

30 As seen above, the

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

form the subject of 'investigations'.

40 At a strategic planning meeting convened by the Commission in September/ October 1996, it was recognised that more resources needed to be devoted to the process of making findings in respect of all the statements received. It was accepted that public hearings should be more focused and geared towards particular events or institutions. It was also agreed that there was a need to strengthen truth-seeking efforts by utilising the investigative powers of the Commission to encourage persons to apply for amnesty.

■ SECOND PHASE: TACKLING THE BIG

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

could be refined and improved.

47 It was at this stage, for example, that the national special investigation team was decentralised, and its members and resources were reallocated to regional investigation units. Regional units became responsible for investigations in their regions and reported results to the deputy director, who had to oversee the integration of material provided and to advise and co-ordinate the 're-tasking' of investigators.

■ THIRD PHASE: AMNESTY AND THE

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

its life until April 1998.

49 The Investigation Unit was under great pressure to ensure that its corroborative work could be completed. The Unit was operating under a policy injunction determined in August 1997 that resources should be allocated to two areas of work: corroboration of statements and amnesty-related investigations.

All other work, including the 'special' human rights violations investigations, was brought to completion as rapidly as possible.

50 Given these pressures and

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

evidence at section 29 hearings;

g handling legal aspects of human resources up to and including representing the Commission at the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration at the Labour Court;

h responding to all legal

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

time of finalising the report.

■ HUMAN RESOURCES-RELATED LEGAL MATTERS

13 The Legal Department also handled human resources-related legal matters such as staff contracts and discipline.⁴

■ THE LEGAL AID BOARD

14

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

Department PAGE 361

Media Liaison

42 An embryonic media liaison function was started during the week before the establishment of the Commission and was developed into a Media Liaison Department between the first meeting of the Commission on the Day of Reconciliation (16 December) 1995 and the move into the national offices in Cape Town in February 1996. A Communications Department was established later, after the chief executive officer, the financial director and human resources director had been appointed and formal Commission structures began to emerge.

43 Following the resignation of

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

before and after the hearings.

7 Such interventions included the preparation and briefing of witnesses before hearings, the containment and advocacy of witnesses during hearings and, after the hearings, the debriefing and referral of witnesses to regionally appropriate service providers who had a knowledge of local resources and who followed up accordingly.

8 The development of the

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

10 The witness support strategy represented a creative and successful response to the problem of service delivery for witnesses in need of urgent follow up. During hearings, the Commission's briefers provided direct support to witnesses. Outside of hearings, they tried to perform a co-ordinating role, auditing regional support services, enlisting the involvement of community briefers, training them in debriefing skills and monitoring the referral process. Community briefers also assumed the critical task of supplying longer-term support to people in need. As local service providers, community briefers endeavoured to ensure that people received the sustained interest and support that they required, although they met with different levels of success. The ability to provide ongoing support to those in need of counselling was ultimately, however, beyond the resources of the Commission.

■ MAKING STATEMENTS

11 People who

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

not part of its mandate.

22 It should be noted, however, that the Mental Health Unit identified the mental health of perpetrators as an essential concern in respect of the wider goals of national reconciliation. Pursuing this, however, would have resulted in further pressure on limited resources and services available to victims. In addition, there was the danger of creating a public perception of bias and inequity.

23 Nevertheless, a commitment to

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

the Destruction of Documents).

■ WORKSHOPS

24 A number of ad hoc workshops was held with resource people outside of the Commission on research-related topics. These included workshops on children and youth, the health sector, the military and security, the homelands, the white right wing and the media. Several regional workshops were also held in each of the Commission's designated regions where and when this was regarded as necessary. In addition, seven national research workshops were held. A number of additional ad hoc meetings were held to deal with specific matters of concern.

■ STAFFING AND CONTRACT WORK

25

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

apparent after work had begun.

Accommodation, resources and equipment

19 The national finance director managed the allocation of office space and resources for the Western Cape regional office. This removed much of the responsibility from the regional manager and allowed the region to focus on other aspects of the work such as planning the work of the region.

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

to maintain effective cost controls.

21 A policy of frugality and conscientious cost saving guided the allocation of resources, and the region put in place systems to monitor the use of equipment like vehicles and cell phones.

Methodology and assessment of work

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

white people at the hearings.

32 Statement takers felt that many more statements could have been taken if more resources had been available for publicity and education about the Commission. The limited media and communication budget was a true constraint.

33 It was also regrettable

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

concerning gross human rights violations.

42 Section 29 enquiries proved a valuable mechanism for conducting investigations. Due to logistical, budgetary and resource constraints, they were limited in the regions to cases chosen for in depth investigation such as the 'Gugulethu

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 12 Cape

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

in Oudtshoorn in February 1997.

49 The post-hearings stage included individual follow-up of people who had testified, as well as referrals. In addition, community workshops were held after each of the public hearings. These focused on the community's experiences of the Commission's activities in the area, possible ways forward and workshoping of possible human and financial solutions that could be implemented using local resources. In many instances, these workshops became the vehicle to start addressing the issue of reconciliation in a community. For example, the hearing in Paarl and the special reparation and rehabilitation programme in Oudtshoorn focused specifically on ways in which reconciliation and rehabilitation could be addressed, and on how to initiate discussions and make constructive links to the everyday experience and life of people in these communities.

50 The teams met weekly

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

forces in human rights violations.

54 Hearings were scheduled to fit into the national schedule that allocated one week per month to each region to avoid competition for the media, commissioners' time and other resources. Some hearings (in the south-west Cape, West Coast and central Karoo) were cancelled because there were not sufficient statements to justify a hearing. Research had already indicated that these geographical areas would not

yield a significant number of statements on gross human rights violations. In addition, the statements collected reflected a number of violations falling outside the Commission's mandate.

55 Area hearings dealt with

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

tasks, this too proved impossible.

66 The socio-economic realities in rural areas added a particular dynamic to partnerships with NGOs and community-based organisations based there. NGOs in the vast rural areas of the Karoo, the southern and northern Cape and the West Coast and Namaqualand are severely under-resourced in contrast to NGOs in urban areas. They were particularly concerned to receive payment for their work. They were also often less able to provide the necessary services. It proved, for example, very difficult to set up support networks for deponents in the Karoo, where there was no NGO working in the mental health care field and where government services were scarce.² Thinly spread Commission, church and other resources made it impossible to provide coherent services in these areas.

67 Organisations (especially in rural

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

Town Office Report PAGE 408

69 In the early stages, the Cape Town regional office identified the possible positive aspects of using designated statement takers recruited from local organisations. Local statement takers enjoyed levels of trust in their communities and had a good understanding of and were proficient in the language of the community involved. Thus, the regional office gave the go-ahead for the training of volunteers in the Peninsula as well as in the areas where the first three hearings were planned (George, Worcester, and Kimberley). The regional office also spearheaded the training manual for statement takers. Lack of resources, however, led to the suspension of most of these activities until the formal introduction of the designated statement taker programme.

70 Support networks extended not only to people invited to testify at hearings, but enabled statement takers to refer people who made statements to appropriate organisations and individuals. Informal referrals were also discussed at case conferences on a basis of urgency. A good example of such a network was the Mental Health Response set up in the Cape Peninsula. Unfortunately this type of network only functioned in the greater Cape Town area because of the lack of resources in rural areas.

71 Community briefers were also

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

amnesty and section 29 hearings.

Accommodation, resources and equipment

17 The regional office was

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

acquisition of furniture and fittings.

18 The necessity for a satellite office in Bloemfontein quickly became evident. Staff from the main regional office tried to visit the satellite office regularly and to keep in touch, but staff in Bloemfontein often felt unsupported, under-resourced and out of touch with regional work. Despite these drawbacks, work done in the Bloemfontein office was extremely effective.

Methodology and assessment of work

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

process rather difficult to implement.

22 The Commission was, in many respects, a very hurried process. To investigate and produce a satisfactory product in only two years was very difficult both in terms of time and resources. Even at a very late stage of operations, attempts to interpret the Act revealed that practical implementation of some aspects was impossible, despite several changes to the Act and to the regulations. Furthermore, owing to delays in appointments of staff and in the full operation of the database, the office only began working at full capacity in June 1996. Then, in July 1997, hearings and proactive statement taking had to stop, as the Commission began to release staff in the gradual process of closing down. This meant that, although the legislation provided for a two-year life span, the Commission was only fully operational for just over a year.

23 As in other regions

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

English speakers.

Income/poverty profile

9 The Eastern Cape Province is the second poorest of the nine South African provinces (following the Northern Province). Unemployment is estimated at 65 per cent of the economically active population. The 1991 Development Bank figures show that over half the adult population received no formal education. Levels of literacy and life expectancy are lower and levels of poverty higher in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province than in any other provinces. This poverty is concentrated in the former homeland areas, which are under-resourced and lacking in infrastructure and basic health care facilities.

■ METHOD OF WORK Commissioners allocated

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

almost all members of staff.

Accommodation, resources and equipment

14 After some teething problems

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

some of the Commission's hearings.

44 In general, the East London office was extremely fortunate in the support it received from communities. However, staff did encounter a number of problems in outreach and fieldwork, including a great deal of ignorance about the Commission. Amnesty issues particularly needed explanation. Many NGOs in the region were closing down, and those that remained often did not have the resources to help. Some found

that communities strongly associated the Commission with the government, rather than seeing it as an independent body. Finally, statement takers found that, in some areas, branches of the ANC were promoting the Commission as an instrument of their own party rather than as something for all.

45 A substantial number of

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

held in the different areas.

3 The biggest challenge facing the Johannesburg office was how, with limited human and logistic capacity, to deal with the large population and the wide scope of human rights violations that occurred in this region. The office was allocated a similar staff component to the other regional offices, even though the area it served houses over half the nation's population. However, through a combination of creative strategies and hard work by the Commission's staff, the Johannesburg office managed to cover a good many areas that would otherwise have remained untouched. Yet, because of the shortage of resources, the office was not able to cover the full area comprehensively.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 12 Johannesburg

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

and 7 per cent Indian.

Accommodation, resources and equipment

16 The Johannesburg office had

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

Johannesburg Office Report PAGE 441

39 Briefers were the primary interface between the Commission and witnesses at hearings. They provided emotional support to witnesses before, during and after testifying and by so doing carried out the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee's mandate regarding rehabilitation. The Reparation and Rehabilitation regional coordinator oversaw the work of the briefers. The briefing team, in turn, was responsible for informing deponents that they would be testifying at hearings and ensuring that they arrived. In addition to providing individual support to witnesses who testified at hearings, briefers prepared resource lists of support services, including counselling centres, hospitals and government social workers, to which they could refer witnesses after hearings. Community briefers provided post-hearings support, complemented by the resource list.

40 The communications officer took

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

persons except where otherwise indicated.

1 We acknowledge the work of the following in the compilation of this chronology: Meryl Federl, Zubair Khan, Humphrey Mashiyane and Khotso Ramolefe in the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand; Paula McBride, Sharon Ekambaram, Britta Strietzel, Holger Kreuzkamp and Jennifer Llewellyn. The library resources of the law firm Denys Reitz are also gratefully acknowledged.

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

1973: The regionalisation of conflict

50 Prior to the 1960s, the South African government saw the southern African region as an exploitable resource, a source of cheap labour and a ready market for the country's products. The continued subordination of the region could be ensured and was achieved through institutions like the Southern African Customs and Monetary Union which came into existence in the early twentieth century.

51 This attitude began to

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

their association with state representatives.

150 In Natal, the anger of UDF-supporting youth became focused on Inkatha members, who often served as the equivalent of councillors in KwaZulu, controlling local resources and operating under a system of patronage. This conflict became violent in 1984 and escalated towards the end of the decade. After the unbanning of the ANC and the transformation of Inkatha into the Inkatha Freedom Party (in 1990), the prevalence of weaponry led to the further escalation of conflict. The ANC denied that it ever engaged in a policy of attacking members of other political parties, including the IFP. However, during the period when the ANC was still banned, many people from Inkatha and other rival political groupings, such as AZAPO, were attacked by UDF supporters. Such actions were often perceived as ANC attacks.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 1 National

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

told a section 29 hearing:

Out in the commandos, in the commands, in the territorial areas of the country the army was in charge whenever there was a crisis. The Defence Force would take charge because of our arrogant stance of "we know how to plan..." The police jump in a van and go and try and solve a problem and they normally end up in an ambush and run away. While the military have a much more structured role, and we have the force levels to our capability and we have the resources. And we assume that superior part and role. And in most areas where former Western Front guys were in charge of commands, that was obvious that the army was always controlling the situation.

158 This shift is further

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

liberation and mass democratic movements.

161 Fifth, there was an increasing emphasis on co-ordination of security action, and significant resources were poured into the NSMS. The inter-departmental committee on security was upgraded and by 1987 was co-ordinating the activities of regional Joint Management Committees (JMCs), under the full-time direction of the Deputy Minister of Law and Order. JMCs were fully activated and thirty-seven 'hotspots' were designated as 'oilspots' where security would be normalised before urban renewal projects put in place.

Indeed, the new strategic direction was characterised by the idea that reforms did not go hand in hand with law and order but could only be implemented once political stability had been achieved.

162 At the same time

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

DCC operative Geoffrey Burton Price.

209 Despite this array of intelligence resources, a striking feature of the cases presented below is the high number of instances in which the victim or target of the violation turned out to have been the wrong one. The Bheki Mlangeni case is perhaps the best known.

210 Before moving to the

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

van Staden and Dave Martin.

391 Despite the 'resignations' of the CCB's top leadership, they were still able to call on the resources of both Special Forces and MI. These included:

a The chemical and biological

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

requests for various toxic substances.

b The explosive and other technological resources of the Electronic Magnetic Logistical Component (EMLC). This was a division of the SADF which developed specialised weapons in the form of letter, car and briefcase bombs, as well as explosive gadgets like umbrellas and radios. Colonel 'Hekkies' van Heerden was the technical specialist at Special Forces' headquarters, and the link to the EMLC.

c The intelligence collected by

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

jacket and a face guard.

43 During the 1980s, the riot policing function was expanded and separated from 'normal' police work, and resources were concentrated around what increasingly became a central police role. The first state of emergency was declared in 1985, and the National Security Management System (NSMS), established in 1979, fully activated in 1985/6. This provided a new context for riot control which was in line with the state's highly militarised and co-ordinated approach to what was being described by the liberation movement as a 'people's war'.

44 Despite the expansion of

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

with all security aspects relating

to a revolutionary onslaught and should therefore have the full capacity required” (Commission translation). This should include a unity of command; the full intelligence capacity to deal with national security; the full permanent and part-time operational capacity to deal with a domestic revolutionary onslaught and the full capacity to launch communication operations and psychological warfare. It was the army’s view that, if a ‘third force’ was limited to dealing with unrest, it should be created as part of the SAP. If, however, it was intended to deal with the total revolutionary onslaught, it should resort under the SADF because of its greater and more sophisticated resources.

4 ‘Third Force’ here refers

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS USE OF DEADLY FORCE WAS THE PRODUCT OF THE RACISM AT THE CORE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ORDER IN THE MANDATE ERA, AIDED AND ABETTED BY INAPPROPRIATE TRAINING, POOR AND INAPPROPRIATE RESOURCING AND A WIDESPREAD LACK OF ACCOUNTABILITY ON THE PART OF THE SECURITY FORCES FOR ACTIONS DIRECTED AT BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

to the end of 1982.

463 As conflict escalated towards the mid-1980s, the SADF appears to have established a target identification workgroup. One of its initial members, Captain Henri van der Westhuizen, established a sub-group in the Eastern Transvaal in late 1986, drawing on the resources of the NIS, the Security Branch and Military Intelligence. The Eastern Transvaal was seen as the buffer between South Africa and Mozambique and Swaziland and thus the primary infiltration route of MK personnel from those countries. Members of the Eastern Transvaal group included: then Warrant Officer FHS ‘Lappies’ Labuschagne (Security Branch) [AM5005/97], Henri van der Westhuizen (Military Intelligence), and Mr Daan du Plessis (NIS). As Swaziland was a police responsibility, this group, according to Van der Westhuizen, operated under the overall command of the divisional Security Branch commander Brigadier Schalk Visser and subsequently Brigadier Daan Siebert. Later Van der Westhuizen assisted in establishing a group in Ladybrand (OFS) which had responsibility for developing targets in Lesotho. This group was chaired by Ladybrand Security Branch commander Frik Fouche, with Paul Oeschger as the SADF representative. Similar networks were set up in Zeerust (Western Transvaal) with responsibility for Botswana, where the SADF was represented by Captain HC Nel; and in the Northern Province where Leon Nefdt served as the SADF representative. The Northern Transvaal group had responsibility for Zimbabwe and Nefdt apparently drew extensively on Daan du Plessis who had allegedly developed an extensive source base in Zimbabwe. Nel was also responsible for developing targets in Angola.

464 According to Captain Henri

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

Security goals of South Africa).

569 Project Kampong, under which regional projects fell, was a sub-project of ANCOR. In the Eastern Cape, an extensive network of MI-funded front companies were established from 1985 onwards with the aim of building an anti-revolutionary base of support. The Eastern Cape COMOPS unit was awarded the 'Vrede Sabel/Peace Sword' for four years in the late 1980s as the most successful region in this field, an honour previously awarded to the South West African component. Projects included Pullin (East Cape Sports Foundation), Lactone (Lion Life Resource Corporation), and Vallex, and they received funding through the SADF or the STRATCOM branch of the SSC.³² The above projects did not

32 The (empty) files of

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

and supporters (see Volume Three).

602 The amnesty application and testimony of Mr Frank Sandy Bennetts [AM4059/96] describes the close working relationship between the different branches of the SAP, particularly the Riot Unit and the Security Branch, and the A-Team. He stated that protection and patrols, as well as resources such as petrol, were offered to the A-Team. Members of the A-team were used as informers and for identification purposes.

603 Bennetts told the Commission

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 and 1990 PAGE 311

RESOURCES TO BE GIVEN TO VIGILANTES, INCLUDING THOSE DIRECTLY USED TO CRUSH ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY, SUCH AS THE EAGLES.

- IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING, THE PROVISION OF

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

the 1980s.

Conflict with Inkatha

71 Violent conflict between supporters of Inkatha and supporters of the UDF broke out in parts of Natal in the early 1980s and escalated rapidly over the next ten years. The role of the ANC in this conflict is difficult to determine. On the one hand, many of the conflicts were local battles over resources, control and patronage of Inkatha officials (who controlled, amongst other things, local government,

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 4 The

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

into an already volatile situation.

41 In short, both the independent and the self-governing homelands were subjected to an excess and overlap of security forces, each with their own command and control structures accountable to different political masters. This redundancy in policing, military and intelligence structures led at times to political infighting, competition for resources and a proliferation of security operations.

Homeland police forces

42 As

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

in the KZP.

Homeland armies

82 Like their police counterparts, the independent armies of the TBVC homelands also increased in size from their humble beginnings in the late 1970s. However, as the following tables show, homeland armies generally enjoyed less personpower and financial resources than their colleagues in the police did.

Size of TBVC armies relative

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

while 'maintaining law and order'.

89 However, the overall significance of the role of homeland armies in the political calculus of the homelands proved most important. At various times, all four of the independent homelands witnessed coups of varying success. Although the immediate reasons advanced for the coups varied, several threads run through the different experiences. First, homeland armies generally played a much more prominent role in coup attempts than their police counterparts. Second, corruption within homeland administrations was frequently cited as a motivating factor. Finally, coups exposed the fractured and weak nature of homeland administrations. More often than not, coups originated with the cleavages already present in regimes with questionable legitimacy. As an important elite within homeland politics, and one of the few institutional actors with sufficient resources to mount a political challenge, homeland armies were often forced into the role of king-maker or king-protector. Of course, homeland armies were not alone in this regard. Ultimately the South African state, through the SADF, remained the final arbiter in times of political uncertainty.

Responsibility for gross violations of

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

personal influence on both organisations.

198 Inkatha dominated the KwaZulu government (both its executive and its bureaucracy) to the extent that the government and Inkatha became interchangeable concepts. The organisation effectively ruled the KwaZulu government as a one-party state and used KwaZulu government resources and finances to fund Inkatha partypolitical activities and in the execution of gross human rights violations against non-Inkatha supporters. The KZP came into existence in 1981 and was disbanded in 1994 following the April 1994 elections. Chief Buthelezi was the only ever serving Minister of Police in KwaZulu. Violations committed by the KZP are dealt with later in this report.

199 Both South African government

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

the South African security forces

233 By 1985, Inkatha supporters found themselves increasingly under attack by virtue of the positions they held within local government and homeland structures. Threats of assassination against Chief Buthelezi in 1985 prompted the Inkatha leader to turn to the South African government, in particular to the SADF, for

assistance to take on the ANC/UDF. Contact with the central government had of necessity to be secret given Chief Buthelezi's public stance towards the South African government. During the latter half of the 1980s, Inkatha began to draw increasingly upon the support of the South African government, and to rely more heavily on the South African and KwaZulu government's infrastructure and resources. In the process, its aggression turned away from the apartheid state and became directed at those who were advocating alternative structures and thus threatening its power-base.

234 The South African government

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

bias, incompetence and general misconduct

263 In June 1992, the Durban branches of the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) published a report entitled *Obstacle to Peace: the Role of the KwaZulu Police in the Natal Conflict*. In the report, the HRC and LRC used court records, affidavits, witness statements and other documents to describe numerous abuses by the KZP, which contributed to the conflict in Natal. Among the abuses documented were the following :

a Murder and assault of

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

and leaders of the party.

283 As such, hit squad members had access to KwaZulu government resources, such as vehicles, arms and ammunition. A measure of protection from prosecution was made possible through the collusion of the KZP as well as instruments of the state security forces. Further, Inkatha officials conspired with senior KZP officials to set up hit squads to eliminate ANC/SDU elements. The activities of the hit squads operating in the Esikhwini area near Richards Bay, the New Hanover area of the Natal Midlands, and the activities of a hit squad known as the Black Cats in Wesselton and Ermelo in the Transvaal are documented in other sections of the Commission's report.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 5 The

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

operation in any great detail.

340 From the second half of 1986, the KwaNdebele Police (KNP) made extensive use of emergency regulations to detain a large number of KwaNdebele and Moutse residents. The Legal Resources Centre, which represented a number of detainees and closely monitored developments on the ground, has estimated that KwaNdebele at one stage had the highest detention per capita figure in the Republic. Even high-ranking officers in the SAP security branch objected to the detention practices of the KNP. For example, a security branch major who operated in KwaNdebele told the Parsons Commission that more than 2 000 residents had been detained in the homeland in the period August 1986 to 1989. Although he felt that unrest had almost completely dissipated after Ntuli's death, he noted with alarm the KNP's increasing use of emergency detentions. For example, the major reported that in mid-January 1988, the KNP had 191 emergency detainees still in custody, a figure exceeded only by two other police divisions in South Africa. Whether or not these specific assertions are accurate, it is certainly clear that emergency regulations were

widely used by the KNP. It is equally apparent that detention provisions were frequently abused for political gain.

341 In KwaNdebele, two families

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

location of former MUFC members.

19 The Investigation Unit was constrained by insufficient personnel, time and resources. Initially, it received very little co-operation from the police regarding access to dockets and statements, receiving more information only in early 1998 when its mandate was coming to an end. It was thus not able to follow up all witnesses and leads.

20 The public hearing process

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

were killed in this attack.

195 There is evidence that police provided logistic support to Inkatha members, gave them ammunition, took part in the attacks side by side with them, refused to deploy Defence Force resources in areas where attacks were taking place, and made them available only to ensure that Inkatha members were not attacked on the Edendale road.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 7 Political

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

a Mr Chonco.

Hit squads

205 Hit squad activity became widespread in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. From information received by the Commission, it would appear that the hit squad operations were predominantly supportive of the IFP, drawing in officials of the KwaZulu government, the KZP and senior politicians and leaders of the party. As such, hit squad members had access to KwaZulu government resources such as vehicles, arms and ammunition. A measure of protection from prosecution was made possible through the collusion of the KZP and instruments of the state security forces.

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Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

Transition 1990-94 PAGE 702

Klenz, Mr Leonard Veenendal and Mr Darryl Stopforth, who undertook sabotage actions. According to CCB intelligence officer Chris Nel, the entire resource base of the CCB was used in Namibia. CCB operatives from all regions were deployed in Namibia and were offered production bonuses. Aside from the Lubowski assassination, the Commission is aware of at least two other assassination plans – that of Mr Daniel Tjongarero and Ms Gwen Lister.

534 With the elections over

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

this remained the dominant perspective.

537 By the 1990s, then, a clear pattern of security force conduct had emerged that crossed the boundaries of legality and was condoned and in some instances encouraged as part of state policy. A network of security force operatives, bound by blood and secrecy, had emerged, with informal channels of communication and in possession of, or with access to, material resources and weaponry. While the new De Klerk government significantly dismantled many of the formal securocrat structures, little obvious attempt was made to dismantle these networks or to change the mindset of operatives intent on continuing an all-out war on the ANC

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Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

singled out as an enemy”.

65 Inkatha moved to consolidate its position in the province by relying increasingly on ‘traditional’ authority for control. Additional powers granted by the state consolidated its power base and control over the population. The ‘Inkatha syllabus’ entered the educational system; rents and transport became sources of revenue for the KwaZulu government and townships came under the control of KwaZulu. Townships earmarked for incorporation became centres of conflict. The KZP came into being, initially to serve as a state guard to protect KwaZulu government officials and property. Chief Buthelezi, as both chief minister and minister of police, soon called for greater powers and more resources for the KZP.

66 In the meanwhile ANC

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

detention by the security police.

109 For the most part, these organisations were based in the main urban centres of the province and functioned to promote social justice and democracy in all arenas of civil society. Diakonia in Durban and the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA) in Pietermaritzburg worked to promote social awareness in the churches. The Black Sash and paralegal organisations such as the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) offered basic legal advice and support to ordinary people. The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) monitored developments in military conscription and offered advice to conscripts. Some organisations were set up to offer careers advice to school leavers and to address the problems of inequity in the educational arena. Others were set up in response to crisis situations brought on by intensified police repression and the repeated imposition of rule by emergency. Among these were the Detainees’ Parents’ Support Committee and the Education Crisis Committee.

110 These and other NGOs

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

a number of ‘vigilante’ and

28 Legal Resources Centre (Durban) & Human Rights Commission (Durban), *Obstacle to Peace: The Role of the KZP in the Natal Conflict*. Joint Report. June 1992, p. 137. 29 Legal Resources Centre (1992) p 136.

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

of the suffering and loss.

199 According to researchers³⁹, Durban's squatter population grew from around half a million in 1979 to 1.3 million in 1985. This influx exacerbated the struggle for access to basic resources such as water, land and employment. Amongst those making their way to the city were thousands of Pondos streaming in from the Pondoland area of the Transkei in search of employment. Easily distinguishable from Zulus as a group, they were resented for encroaching on scarce resources. Land was allocated informally by powerful local figures and councillors controlled

38 Headed 'Probleemontleding van die

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

tribal policemen or community guards.

231 ANC-aligned SDUs emerged in the mid-1980s following a decision by the external mission of the ANC to become more involved in internal politics. The SDUs underwent formal paramilitary training under MK, primarily outside South Africa's borders. Informal training was conducted in a number of local communities as well as in the Transkei. The ANC gave arms and assistance selectively to areas hardest hit by violence, such as the Transvaal and Natal. The SDUs also drew upon community resources to arm and sustain themselves. The Commission heard that arms were also procured for some ANC-aligned union leaders. Amnesty applicant Alexander Erwin⁴³ [AM6091/97] told the Commission that in 1988 he was in command of a defence operation for NUMSA leaders in the province. Weapons procured under his command were used in offences committed in various places around the province.

232 The SDUs were most

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

Mvuyane was found to be

46 Legal Resources Centre (Durban) and Human Rights Commission (Durban), Obstacle to Peace: The Role of the KZP in the Natal Conflict. Joint report. June 1992, p. 209.

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 3 Regional

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

once the fighting had passed.

287 In accordance with the law, the SADF was only deployed in support of the SAP during the Seven Day War. At a joint planning committee meeting between SAP and SADF officers, a decision was taken to deploy the Defence Force resources on the lower Edendale Road to ensure that the road to Pietermaritzburg stayed open. Throughout the week, Defence Force personnel (approximately 100 men) and six military vehicles did not venture beyond Edendale Road. Brigadier Swanepoel, the Commanding Officer of the Pietermaritzburg-based Group 9 at the time of the Seven Day War, told the Commission that he had realised that the situation was bad. He said that he had contacted the SADF headquarters requesting more troops and calling for

urgent "intervention on a senior level". The additional troops, four companies from the Transvaal, arrived in mid-April 1990.

288 By the end of

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

PAGE 268

Hit-squad Activity

293 Hit-squad activity became widespread in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. From information received by the Commission, it would appear that the hit-squad operations undertaken by the 'Caprivi trainees' and other political networks were predominantly supportive of the IFP, drawing in officials of the KwaZulu government and police force, as well as senior politicians and leaders of the party. As such, hit-squad members had access to KwaZulu Government resources such as vehicles, arms and ammunition. A measure of protection from prosecution was gained through the collusion of the KZP and the SAP with the activities of hit networks.

294 The killing of two

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

jackets and were speaking English⁵⁷.

369 From about 1991, the SDUs in Richmond were torn by internal conflict, the culmination of which were the killings of a popular leader in the area, Mr Mzwandile Mbongwa and others, allegedly by SDU members mainly from the Magoda area.⁵⁸ On the surface, the conflict appeared in part to turn around a power struggle in the SDU and a battle for resources (such as weapons) between units of the SDUs in

56 Sunday Tribune, 17 November

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

defend them from IFP attacks.

373 According to evidence supplied to the Commission, it was decided that, in under-resourced areas such as Ndaleneni, R50.00 would be collected from each household to purchase firearms. The evidence places Nkabinde at the centre of this project. Money was collected and a number of AK-47s were purchased.

374 Throughout the early 1990s

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

found his badly mutilated body.

394 Conflict broke out in Bhambayi, an informal settlement at Inanda, north of Durban, in December 1992. The conflict, triggered by competition for limited resources in the settlement, divided the community into two ANC-supporting factions, which came to be known as the 'Greens' and the 'Reds'. In time, the smaller 'Green' faction felt itself being increasingly marginalised by the local (Bhambayi) and regional (Durban) ANC leadership. As a result of the high level of conflict, an ISU base was set up nearby and there were continuous ISU patrols in the settlement. As the 'Greens' were in the minority and occupied a small area in the heart of the settlement almost completely surrounded by the 'Reds', the ISU tended to position itself on the border

between the two factions. This led to accusations from the 'Reds' that the ISU had sided with the 'Greens'. In addition, there were numerous allegations that ISU members themselves were carrying out attacks on the 'Reds'. These allegations of collusion only served to heighten the division between the two factions and further to marginalise the 'Greens'.

395 In April or May

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

the Transvaal and northern Cape.)

10 QwaQwa was concentrated around Witsieshoek, near the meeting point of the Orange Free State, Natal and Lesotho. It was originally designated as the homeland for the Southern Sotho people of South Africa, but only a small percentage of its intended citizens lived there. The territory covered only 183 square kilometres and was noted for its social hardships, including overcrowding and poverty, soil erosion and a lack of natural resources.

11 QwaQwa became a self

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

harassing and victimising student leaders.

135 Conflict between the Eagles and members of youth organisations began in Brandfort in 1985. The Commission heard that the Eagles would disrupt community meetings convened by youth organisations to discuss concerns such as health facilities, education and rent increases. At the time, Ms Winnie Mandela (see above) had become an important mobilising agent for 'comrades' in the area. In one incident, 'comrades' who had gathered at her house were attacked by a force of Eagles, backed up by the police. Other townships around the province also experienced conflict between 'comrades' and the Eagles clubs, with deaths reported on both sides. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE EAGLES YOUTH CLUB WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP AND WAS RESOURCED AND CONTROLLED BY THE STATE IN THE FORM OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE ADMINISTRATION BOARD. THE CLUB WAS ESTABLISHED AS PART OF THE STATE'S PREVAILING COUNTER-MOBILISATION STRATEGY IN TERMS OF WHICH SURROGATE OR 'MIDDLE' GROUPINGS WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WERE IDENTIFIED AS ALLIES OF THE STATE IN ITS 'TOTAL STRATEGY' RESPONSE TO CIVIL UNREST.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

Inter-Group Conflicts: Contra-mobilisation

242 The state's strategy of contra-mobilisation sought both to build anti-liberation movement forces by covert means and to foster divisions within communities. In the Western Cape, the social divisions between the more 'traditionalist' sectors of African townships in hostels and squatter camps and the more permanent township dwellers offered the potential for successful contra-mobilisation. From 1986 onwards the state poured resources into those sectors of the townships that were prepared to adopt a pro-government stance. Illegal actions committed by these groups were permitted, ignored and promoted, particularly if they targeted supporters of the liberation movements.

243 As described above, the

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

of the leftist press.²⁸

262 When it became apparent that KTC was facing a similar threat of destruction by the witdoeke, the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) applied for an urgent Supreme Court interdict against the police and witdoeke restraining them from unlawfully entering KTC and destroying the camp. A temporary interdict was granted on 26 May²⁹, restraining the SAP from “participating in, assisting in, encouraging,

28 'WPGBS 22/7/7

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

Crossroads and Khayelitsha, 1986–1989

273 In line with the McCuen ‘oilspot strategy’ through which politically compliant communities were rewarded, the state made available millions of rands for upgrading Crossroads. ‘Mayors’ Ngxobongwana and Hoza were able to consolidate their control of their camps in conjunction with the local authorities – the Crossroads Town Council and the Lingeletu West Town Council in Khayelitsha respectively. These areas were to remain ‘sealed’ to the resistance movements until the end of the decade, although elements of opposition in Khayelitsha did exist. As ‘mayors’, Ngxobongwana and Hoza were able to draw upon the resources of the Town Councils to extend their patronage base.

274 These two leaders were

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

particularly volatile in its affiliations.

334 ANC branches and activists were to experience strong and at times violent conflicts with the Lingeletu West town councillors who had ruled Khayelitsha virtually unchallenged during the late 1980s. ANC branches embarked on strenuous campaigns to dislodge this town council which they considered illegitimate. Significantly, however, the Lingeletu West town councillors were able to access the necessary resources and protection to counter such threats to their position. They were armed with weapons, had the logistical support of Lingeletu West town council resources such as transport and communications, and used the Lingeletu West security guards and the special constables as their armed guards.

335 The councillors elected in

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

attacks on small police stations.

205 The Commission received a number of statements from residents of Venda who were detained and tortured after helping insurgents to re-enter the country in 1980 and 1983. Local residents, particularly black subsistence farmers who owned orchards, played a crucial role in facilitating the work of insurgents by allowing them to hide arms caches on their land and providing essential resources such as food. By these means, political activists would also pass on essential intelligence information to insurgents, such as details affecting their movement into the country – for example, details about the movements of Venda and South African security forces and the levels of the Limpopo River.

206 Residents who assisted insurgents

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

for long periods of time.

250 Also notable in this period was an increase in covert operations carried out by the security forces, as in 'Operation Zero Zero' where eight young East Rand activists died after being given booby-trapped grenades by Vlakplaas operative Joe Mamasela. Covert operations led to a general escalation of violence on the East Rand, including the 'necklacing'²⁴ of a young woman, Ms Maki Skhosana, who was accused of being involved in the youths' deaths. In the wake of Ms Skhosana's highly publicised killing, State President PW Botha declared a state of emergency. Amnesty applicants to the Commission revealed that actions such as in 'Operation Zero Zero' were sanctioned at the highest levels of government. Security force members involved in covert operations had direct access to government resources and infrastructure which enabled them to counter opposition through unlawful actions, including murder and abduction.

251 During the 1980s, all

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

of Black Cat members.⁷⁰

700 The 1992 Goldstone enquiry into the Black Cat gang confirmed the involvement of Inkatha in its activities. The Commission heard evidence that the Black Cats, supported by certain community councillors, received military training from Inkatha at the Mkhuze camp in 1990. Trained gang members were then sent to Ermelo to assassinate people affiliated to the ANC in the area. One of the perpetrators, Mr Israel Hlongwane, stated that both white and black SAP personnel met with him to assist with resources and ensure that the murder of ANC members was covered up. He also said that the mayor and certain councillors supported him with monthly cash and groceries while he was in Ermelo to eliminate ANC members.

70 Amnesty hearing pending at

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

Regional Profile: Transvaal PAGE 720

Commission that the police assaulted members of his family when they arrived at his home. In the early hours of the morning, Blose was released. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BLACK CATS WAS A GANG OPERATING IN WESSELTON AND IN ERMELO. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GANG WAS SUPPORTED BY COMMUNITY COUNCILLORS AND RECEIVED MILITARY TRAINING FROM INKATHA IN A CAMP IN KWAZULU-NATAL. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GANG, TOGETHER WITH A NUMBER OF CAPRIVI TRAINEES, ATTACKED ANC MEMBERS AND ASSASSINATED THEM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BLACK CATS WERE SUPPORTED BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP IN TERMS OF RESOURCES AND IN COVERING UP THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN ANC KILLINGS. MEMBERS OF THE BLACK CATS GANG HAVE APPLIED FOR AMNESTY FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE BLACK

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

and the amount steadily escalated.

713 In addition, SDUs became increasingly embroiled in internal conflict and territorial disputes, leading, in the most extreme circumstances, to the mass execution of rival units. The SDUs also increasingly took on the role of self-appointed 'community police', often becoming violent moral arbiters in community disputes. In theory, SDUs were community-based neighbourhood patrols and permitted as such under the National Peace Accord. In practice, however, there was no satisfactory system of control and accountability. SDUs easily degenerated into bands of armed young men using their guns to control territory, women and resources. SDUs were infiltrated by numerous police informers and, in many instances, drifted into criminal practices. Towards the end of 1992, the ANC took steps to halt the extortion, car hijackings, rape, robbery and summary executions that had become associated with the SDUs. These steps were only partially effective.

714 The Commission received approximately

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Commission PAGE 10

Community Law Centre; Development Action Group; Legal Resources Centre; Black Sash; NGO National Coalition; National Land Committee; National Literacy Co-operative: Peoples' Dialogue; Urban Sector Network Corbett, M M

CURAMUS: Botha, J H Deegan

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Commission PAGE 11

Langeveld, L J Ledgerwood, T Legal Resources Centre Lichtenberg, E K W Liebenberg, I Lowenstein International Human Rights Law Clinic of Yale Law School, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and others Magistrates' Commission McBride, P and Ekambaram, S McNally, T P Melamet, D A Minnaar, A Moll, P G Mtetwa, C J Nathan, L

National Association of Democratic Lawyers

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearing: Business and Labour

■ INTRODUCTION

1 At the heart of the business and labour hearings lay the complex power relations of apartheid, the legacy of which continues to afflict the post-apartheid society. These include the consequences of job reservation, influx control, wages, unequal access to resources, migrant labour and the hostel system. Adjacent to these historic developments were industrial unrest, strikes and the struggle for the right to organise trade unions.

2 The hearings illuminated the

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

one needs the closest attention.

122 Unfortunately, the business submissions provided no specific details about this. Nevertheless, a few comments are in order. Where participation by business in the JMCs resulted in, or facilitated, subsequent

human rights abuses by the security establishment, there is a clear case to answer. Where such participation resulted in the channelling of resources to townships, the moral issues are more opaque. While JMC-facilitated development in townships was certainly motivated by counter-revolutionary aims, there is an important difference between counterrevolutionary strategies based on providing infrastructure to people, and strategies based on torture and repression. Again, not all businesses played the same role in the process.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 2 Institutional

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developed over time.

Alternative institutions

83 Among the oldest ways that black people expressed protest was through the creation of separate, black institutions, under black control and using black cultural resources. This is the heritage of the African Initiated Churches that dates back to the early part of the century. Although African Initiated Churches were originally concerned mainly with creating an alternative to white churches, the state responded violently by repressing early movements such as the Israelites. If nothing else, this demonstrates the state's awareness of the role of religion as a tool supporting or destabilising its grasp on the hearts and minds of its subjects. More recently, the African Initiated Churches addressed black needs by instilling pride and moral discipline – a position strongly stated in the submissions of the Zion Christian Church and the amaNazaretha. The engagement was not so much with state ideology as with subverting the symbolic support of white domination.

Petitions, letters and private appeals

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

to implement the report's recommendations.

89 Throughout the 1970s, the Council of Churches published materials expressing its opposition to apartheid and envisioning a post-apartheid society. In its submission, it highlighted the 'Resolution on Conscientious Objection' (1974) which, amongst other things, questioned the appointment of military chaplains to the SADF, and the 'Resolution on Non Co-operation' which urged Christians to withdraw from state structures. Two statements issued in the turbulent 1980s were notable. The first was the 'Call for Prayer to End Unjust Rule' which mobilised Christian symbolic resources against the 'Christian' state. The second was the 'Lusaka Statement' of 1987, which urged the churches to support the efforts of liberation movements, and occasioned "fierce opposition" from SACC members.³⁸ Theology was a battleground, and the term 'heresy' was used not only against those who contested classical dogma and its interpretation, but also against those who contested the meaning of such dogma in practice. The influence of Dr Allan Boesak, then President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), in promoting the adoption of the resolution declaring apartheid a heresy by the WARC in 1982, and subsequently by the World Council of Churches (WCC) and many of its member churches, was of far-reaching significance in the struggle against apartheid.³⁹

90 The 'Kairos Document', another

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

must attempt to alter it.

2 All branches of the legal profession and interested organs of civil society were invited to make submissions on the role played by lawyers between 1960 and 1994. Those who responded to the Commission's invitation are listed elsewhere in this volume. The Commission was deeply disappointed that judicial officers (both judges and magistrates) declined to attend the hearing and that their responses took the form of a few written submissions. The representative bodies of the rest of the profession were slightly more forthcoming: written and oral submissions were received from the General Council of the Bar (GCB), the Association of Law Societies (ALS) and the Society of Law Teachers. Several individual practitioners also submitted their views, as did the 'alternative' lawyers' organisations – the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL) and the Black Lawyers Association (BLA). The Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) also made significant submissions. From government, the Minister and Department of Justice put forward their views in submissions, and several attorneys-general also attended. Amnesty International and the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation gave the Commission the benefit of their views.

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the health care system today.

26 It is important to note that racial discrimination and the lack of appropriate health care provision predated the National Party (NP) and formal apartheid. Indeed, the effective rejection of the recommendations of the Gluckman Commission took place before the NP was voted into power. However, during its first decade in power, the NP made no significant changes in the provision of public health care, except to reduce expenditure on public health on which mainly black people were dependent: expenditure was, for example, reduced by 8 per cent for the period 1950-55.¹³ Hence, by 1960, the health care of black South Africans had been prejudiced by years of unequal allocation of resources – based on the assumption that 'natives' required less sophisticated health care than whites and a complete lack of coherence in or centralisation of health policy development.

9 Pillay, The Politics of

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

the life of the patient.

31 Between 1960 and 1994, the Department of Health failed to use its resources to provide the best possible public health service. Probably the greatest problem in the health sector was the maldistribution of resources. Because of apartheid restrictions on where people could live and work, it was very easy for the Department to ensure that the distribution of resources favoured white people. By far the largest proportion of government funds was spent on the white population, despite the endemic poverty and socio-economic deprivation of the majority black population. In 1985, for example, annual per capita health expenditure according to race was R451 for white people, R249 for Indian people, R245 for coloured people and R115 for African people (see Figure 1). Since black hospitals were regularly overcrowded and white hospitals underutilised, the funding should have been redistributed to provide better overall care. The silence of the Department about the effects of socio-economic conditions on the general health of the population was deafening.

Figure 1 PER CAPITA HEALTH

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

the Department of Health today:

The exact effects of segregation and inequitable distribution of health resources based on race are impossible to calculate in terms of exact morbidity and mortality. However, this, together with the indignity of racially based services, resulted in abuse that cannot be allowed to be repeated.

33 The Department was also

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

The Health Sector PAGE 131

and, in turn, for many aspiring medical students living outside Natal (as it was then) to attend medical school. UND was far from their homes and many did not have the financial resources to pay accommodation and travel expenses and academic fees. A small number were, however, able to attend white universities if they could convince the Education Ministry that extenuating circumstances prevented them from attending UND. The number of black medical students increased from the early 1980s, after the Medical University of Southern Africa (MEDUNSA) was established. This was part of the apartheid plan to keep blacks (especially Africans) out of white universities, while at the same time ensuring a supply of black doctors to care for the black population.

62 The lost opportunities that

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

the obstetrics and gynaecology wards.

65 Black students had to do their clinical training in black hospitals, whereas white students could choose from any of the teaching hospitals. Since most of the training institutions are attached to white hospitals, black students had to travel long distances for their training. Heads of department usually chose to be based at the white hospitals, which limited the access of black students to the best and most experienced teachers. Since black hospitals lacked the resources of the white hospitals, many of the black students felt that they were deprived of the opportunity to use new technology or to see 'first world' diseases.

66 Conditions in the black

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

Complicity of the medical schools

71 While some medical schools did start to speak out against the inequities of apartheid medicine, especially in the latter part of the period under review, they were generally complicit in committing human rights abuses by helping to create and perpetuate the racist environment in which health professionals were trained. Greater efforts should have been made by the lecturers and administrators to provide equal educational opportunities for all students. The medical schools could have challenged more vociferously the issue of segregated facilities, hospital rules concerning the treatment of patients, the lack of promotion of black doctors and the unequal resource allocation to black and white teaching hospitals. In addition, they could have encouraged their students to question the validity of the system and taught them how to maintain their integrity as doctors by upholding international ethical standards for the profession. Finally, they could have been more vocal in encouraging the professional organisations to take a stand against

apartheid medicine and the injustices within the profession that stemmed from the maldistribution of resources.

■ THE ROLE OF THE NURSING

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

ROLE OF MENTAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

77 The area of mental health has historically been neglected in South Africa. Very few psychologists and clinical social workers were trained, resource allocation was notoriously inadequate and very few attempts were made to provide culturally appropriate mental health care to all South Africans.

78 The training of clinical

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

healing.

The impact of trauma

93 At the time of the Commission, most South Africans were still experiencing the consequences of trauma. It was clear that mental health services were not yet geared to address this need. This point was discussed at a mental health workshop conducted by the Commission which dealt with the psychosocial and emotional needs of communities and individuals who had been identified by the Commission and other victim support agencies. The view was also expressed that mental health services historically received little or no resources and that the impact of poor mental health is far-reaching. In addition, the traditional paradigm used to understand trauma was Euro-American. The indigenous wisdom in South African cultures had been marginalised and its richness ignored. An aspect of trauma that also deserves attention is its impact on families and communities at a multigenerational level so that intervention strategies incorporate the family in its entirety.

Psychiatric patients remain a vulnerable

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

OUT OF HEALTH SECTOR HEARINGS

138 Health professionals who were named in submissions as having contravened ethics or acted unprofessionally will be referred to the appropriate disciplinary body, together with as much information as is available, for further investigation and suitable action. The Commission has neither the resources nor the time to conclude investigations to the point where individual findings can be made.

The Commission finds that

139

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

address crucial patient-care issues.

143 The former government, and more specifically the Department of Health, failed to provide adequate health care facilities to black South Africans. Health care resources were thus unequally distributed and

inappropriately allocated and used. Certain aspects of health care provision have been particularly underresourced – for example, mental health care and primary health care.

144 District surgeons, with few

Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

The Health Sector PAGE 156

d draw attention to the lack of facilities and resources in institutions providing health care to black patients;
e conduct proper investigations into

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

Department approved publication in advance".

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

59 This affected not only

Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

EXPERIENCE OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

11 The South African social fabric was shaped by apartheid laws and structures that exposed the majority of South Africa's children to oppression, exploitation, deprivation and humiliation. Apartheid was accompanied by both subtle and overt acts of physical and structural violence. Structural violations included gross inequalities in educational resources along with massive poverty, unemployment, homelessness, widespread crime and family breakdown. The combination of these problems produced a recipe for unprecedented social dislocation, resulting in both repression and resistance.⁴ This contributed to a situation that made possible the gross human rights violations of the past.

12 Many white children, on

Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

making findings in their case.

30 One of the significant features of the hearings was the simultaneous translation into any of the local languages being used. As the months progressed, the interpreters rapidly developed their skills and sensitive understanding. When the Commission ends, they will continue to be a valuable resource to the country.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 1 Analysis

Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

co-operation of most parties.

39 A further cause for some concern is the inequality in legal representation afforded to various parties. This has a negative affect on victims particularly. This concerns the vexing question of severe constraints on public resources or even the lack of such resources. This affects the issue of legal representation because the Commission's legal assistance scheme operates on a very limited budget, which prescribes tariffs for legal services very much in line with the government's legal aid scheme. These tariffs are notoriously low compared to the fees lawyers are able to demand on the open market. The more highly skilled lawyers are thus not easily attracted to work involving such limited tariffs. Most of the victims who participate in hearings are compelled to rely on the Commission's legal assistance scheme, since they are unable to fund legal representation from their own resources. This also applies to indigent applicants for amnesty. On the other hand, present or former state employees or members of liberation movements qualify for legal assistance by the state in terms of a special dispensation. The appearance of such persons before the Commission or its Committees is funded by the State and the State Attorney arranges their legal representation. Lawyers who appear on these instructions are allowed substantially higher tariffs than those provided for by the Commission's legal assistance scheme. These lawyers also have better resources at their disposal to prepare for hearings and represent their clients. In many instances, senior counsel handles these cases. The inherent inequality and unfairness of this situation is self-evident. Although the Committee is grateful to the many legal representatives who have, despite these hardships,

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 3 Interim

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

never be the same again.

b The second feature is what is called disrupted attachment. This is often exacerbated by an inability to turn to others for help or comfort in the aftermath of trauma. It thus represents the loss of an important resource that helps

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 4 Consequences

Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON COMMUNITIES

135 Apartheid's racial and ethnic-based social engineering resulted in both the construction and destruction of communities. Legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and influx control laws were all attempts to define and regulate communities. Apartheid created communities that were racially, linguistically and ethnically determined. Resources for the development of these state-defined communities were differentially allocated resulting in the deprivation, particularly, of African communities. These racial categories were adopted by communities themselves, resulting in generally understood divisions between white, African, Indian and coloured groups.

136 Clearly, differences of various

Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

of Human Rights PAGE 166

182 Through apartheid, the white community retained political and economic power. The unequal distribution of resources meant that white communities benefited through well-serviced suburbs, accessible

education, access to government and other employment opportunities and countless other advantages. Whilst only a minority of white people engaged in the direct perpetration of violence, many gross human rights violations were committed in order to retain these benefits.

183 The mobilisation of members

Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

five components: Urgent Interim Reparation

25 Urgent interim reparation is assistance for people in urgent need, to provide them with access to appropriate services and facilities. It is recommended that limited financial resources be made available to facilitate this access.

Individual Reparation Grants

26 This

Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

AND REHABILITATION POLICY

Development-centred

46 This policy is development-centred. Central to the approach is a focus on resources, knowledge and choice. Development is not about provision of resources to passive individuals, but rather about actively empowering individuals and communities to take control of their own lives. In adherence to this principle, it is essential to provide individuals with sufficient knowledge and information about available resources and to help them utilise those resources to their maximum benefit.

47 Implementation must be a

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

development initiatives.

Simplicity and efficacy

48 The policy should be simple, efficient and fair to ensure that the allocated resources are utilised to the maximum benefit of the recipients.

Cultural appropriateness

49 The services

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

impact on communities.

Capacity development

51 Those community resources that are developed should focus not only on delivery of services, but also on local capacity building, to ensure sustainability of programmes.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 5 Reparation

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

on socio-economic circumstances.

Rationale

68 The individual reparation grant is an acknowledgement of a person's suffering due to his/her experience of a gross human rights violation. It is based on the fact that survivors of human rights violations have a right to reparation and rehabilitation. The individual reparation grant provides resources to victims in an effort to restore their dignity. It will be accompanied by information and advice in order to allow the recipient to make the best possible use of these resources. Thirty-eight per cent of the Commission's deponents requested financial assistance to improve the quality of their lives. In addition, over 90 per cent of deponents asked for a range of services which can be purchased if money is made available – for example, education, medical care, housing and so on.

Formula for calculating Interim Reparation

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

six years.

Administration/President's Fund

75 The grant will be funded and administered by the President's Fund. The President's Fund will accrue resources through allocations from the national fiscus, international and local donations and earned interest on the funds. Based on the given policy and formula, and estimating 22 000 victims, the total cost of this policy will be R477 400 000 per annum or R2 864 400 000 over six years. The figure of 22 000

12 Rural versus urban to

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

can access counselling.

Skills training

104 Community members should be trained in a variety of skills to enable them to assist victims of human rights abuses. These should include crisis management, critical incident briefing, trauma awareness training, referral skills and knowledge of available resources.

Specialised trauma counselling services

105

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

national, provincial and local levels.

b The national implementing body should be located in the office of the State President or Deputy President. The body should not be allocated to one particular ministry, as its functions will require access to the resources, infrastructure and services of a number of ministries (such as housing, health, welfare, and education).

c The national body should

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

cross-examine witnesses at hearings.

48 The judgement imposed a huge administrative and logistic burden on the Commission, requiring it to employ further staff and allocate further resources to identifying and tracing implicated persons. In most instances, the alleged perpetrators were no longer in the same employment as previously, and their addresses were not easily available. In addition, the Commission had to contend with alleged perpetrators demanding to be heard at the same hearings as victims and demanding the right to cross-examine witnesses.

49 It was, however, only

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

those areas, in sufficient detail.

57 The substantial violations that were perpetrated, primarily by security force members, in areas such as Venda, Lebowa and Bophuthatswana are dealt with only cursorily. In short, the Commission did not have the resources or sufficiently qualified personnel to make a significant research or investigative impact in these regions. If one considers that the northern areas of the country included seven homelands, each with their own security forces and vigilante groupings, and were served by the modest resource capacity of the Johannesburg office of the Commission, the omission is understandable.

The constraints imposed by its

Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

to its policies and strategies.

72 Secondly, the Commission is of the view that the measures used to assess the actions of a legally constituted and elected government cannot be the same as those used in the case of a voluntary grouping of individuals who come together in pursuit of certain commonly agreed goals. A state has powers, resources, obligations, responsibilities and privileges that are much greater than those of any group within that state. It must therefore be held to a higher standard of moral and political conduct than are voluntary associations operating within its political terrain – particularly where they operate underground with limited communication and less-developed structures of accountability.

73 Third, the Commission has always been violation driven. Its task in this respect was to identify those responsible for gross human rights violations. Having identified the former state and the IFP as undoubtedly responsible for the greatest number of violations, the Commission directed its resources towards the investigation of those bodies.

74 It would, however, be

Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

an incitement to unlawful acts.

91 This led to a blurred distinction in the minds of the security forces between persons who posed a real danger to public safety and those who simply opposed the policies of the government, and consequently between those who might be legitimate targets of military action and those who were not. The sheer scale of resistance, the time-consuming and resource-intensive nature of prosecutions and the widespread reluctance of ordinary people to testify in courts of law resulted in a shift to unlawful methods of combating resistance. This shift was

Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

Findings and Conclusions PAGE 229

and their security forces that dominated the political landscape, in KwaZulu it was Inkatha, renamed in 1990 to the Inkatha Freedom Party. The IFP dominated the KwaZulu government – both its executive and its bureaucracy – to the extent that the government and the IFP became interchangeable concepts. The organisation effectively ruled KwaZulu as a one-party state. It further used KwaZulu government resources and finances to fund its party political activities as well as actions constituting gross violations of the human rights of non-Inkatha persons.

112 Both South African government

Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

failures and apologised for them.

154 The following are the main findings of the Commission in respect of the health, faith, media and judicial sectors. It should be noted that more comprehensive and specific findings are contained in the various sector reports in Volume Four. Finally, the Commission had neither the time nor the resources to explore the area of civil society exhaustively. As indicated earlier, a number of crucial sectors, such as education, were not subjected to scrutiny. Many of the findings set out below apply in general terms to such sectors.

The health sector

155 Little

Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

HEALTH OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS.

SEGREGATED HEALTH CARE AND UNEQUAL BUDGETARY ALLOCATIONS WERE DETRIMENTAL TO THE PROVISION OF HEALTH CARE IN QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE TERMS AND RESULTED IN GROSS INEQUALITIES IN TERMS OF FACILITIES, RESOURCES AND TRAINING.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IS A FORM

Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

or no contribution to reconciliation.

5 History will judge whether or not this particular criticism is accurate. It is, nevertheless, worth making two points in this regard. The first is that, while truth may not always lead to reconciliation, there can be no genuine, lasting reconciliation without truth. Certainly, lies, half-truths and denial are not a desirable foundation on which to build the new South Africa. Second, it is readily conceded that it is not possible for one commission, with a limited life-span and resources, on its own to achieve reconciliation against the background of decades of oppression, conflict and deep divisions.

6 The Commission accepts that

Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

DEFINITION, WOULD BE LABOUR INTENSIVE.

IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CREATE A MEANINGFUL HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE WITHOUT HIGH PRIORITY BEING GIVEN TO ECONOMIC JUSTICE BY THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS. RECOGNISING THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE PUBLIC SECTOR ALONE TO FIND THE RESOURCES REQUIRED TO EXPEDITE THE GOAL OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE, THE COMMISSION URGES THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN PARTICULAR TO CONSIDER A SPECIAL INITIATIVE IN TERMS OF A FUND FOR TRAINING, EMPOWERMENT AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED AND DISPOSSESSED IN SOUTH AFRICA.

FURTHER, THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT A SCHEME BE PUT INTO PLACE TO ENABLE THOSE WHO BENEFITED FROM APARTHEID POLICIES TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS THE ALLEVIATION OF POVERTY. IN SUBMISSIONS MADE TO THE COMMISSION, A WEALTH TAX WAS PROPOSED. THE COMMISSION DOES NOT, HOWEVER, SEEK TO PRESCRIBE ONE OR OTHER STRATEGY, BUT RECOMMENDS THAT URGENT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN BY GOVERNMENT TO HARNESSING ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES IN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY.

RECOGNISING THAT RACISM UNDERLIES MANY

Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

OPEN, CLEAN AND TRANSPARENT GOVERNANCE.

THE GOVERNMENT RE-EXAMINE THE REFORM AND STRENGTHENING OF STATE INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO REINFORCE THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS BUREAUX IN GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND TO INCREASING THE RESOURCES GRANTED TO INDEPENDENT WATCHDOGS, ESPECIALLY THE OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR.

HUMAN RIGHTS CURRICULA BE INTRODUCED

Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

PRINCIPLES OF OPENNESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY.

AS THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION AND ITS REPORT ARE VITAL RESOURCES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, GOVERNMENT ENSURE THAT THE CONTENTS OF THE REPORT ARE MADE AS WIDELY AVAILABLE AS POSSIBLE TO ALL SECTORS AND LANGUAGE GROUPS OF OUR COUNTRY. THIS COULD BE DONE IN PARTNERSHIP WITH CIVIL SOCIETY AND SHOULD INCLUDE AUDIO AND VIDEO TAPES, TO ENSURE THAT THOSE WHO CANNOT READ OR WRITE HAVE ACCESS TO THE REPORT.

ACADEMICS, JOURNALISTS AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

Reference 172 - 0.01% Coverage

TRAUMA CENTRES AND COUNSELLING INITIATIVES.

Redistribution of skills and resources 34 The Commission recommends that:

RELIGIOUS GROUPS UTILISE THE SKILLS

Reference 173 - 0.01% Coverage

LEADERSHIP SKILLS TO DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES FROM DIFFERENT RACIAL AND CLASS GROUPS SEEK WAYS OF SHARING MATERIAL RESOURCES.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES UNDERTAKE A 'LAND

Reference 174 - 0.01% Coverage

RETURNED TO ITS RIGHTFUL OWNERS.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES CONSIDER CREATING A GENERAL FUND, TO BE FINANCED IN PROPORTION TO THEIR RESOURCES, THAT CAN BE USED FOR THE VICTIMS OF PAST ABUSES.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES EXPLORE WAYS, IN

Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

41 The Commission recommends that:

A "BUSINESS RECONCILIATION FUND" BE ESTABLISHED. THE TRUSTEES OF THIS FUND WOULD BE REQUIRED TO GENERATE RESOURCES TO BE USED, ON A TARGETED BASIS, TO INITIATE, SUPPLEMENT OR COMPLEMENT OTHER DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS. BASED ON CRITERIA RELATED TO SPECIFIC EPISODES OF PAST SUFFERING OR THE PARTICULARLY HARMFUL EFFECTS OF APARTHEID, THE FUND COULD PROVIDE NON-REPAYABLE GRANTS, LOANS AND/OR GUARANTEES TO BUSINESS-RELATED FUNDING FOR BLACK SMALL ENTREPRENEURS IN NEED OF EITHER SPECIFIC TRAINING SKILLS OR CAPITAL FOR THE LAUNCHING OF A BUSINESS. THE FUND SHOULD NOT SEEK TO REPLACE OR COMPETE WITH EXISTING SCHEMES OF A SIMILAR NATURE,

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 8 Recommendations

Reference 176 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 8 Recommendations PAGE 319

BUT RATHER TO AUGMENT THEM. IT SHOULD HAVE A SMALL, EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION, HAVE A LIMITED LIFE-SPAN AND BE FUNDED FROM PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESOURCES. FOREIGN DONORS SHOULD ALSO BE APPROACHED FOR FUNDING. BUSINESS SHOULD PROVIDE THE NECESSARY ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT SKILLS REQUIRED TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE INITIATIVE.

Banking 42 The Commission recommends

Reference 177 - 0.01% Coverage

A UNIT WITHIN THE SAPS.

THE ICD BE GIVEN THE CAPACITY, RESOURCES AND AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT PROACTIVE INVESTIGATIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF OVERALL POLICING POLICIES AND PRACTICE, AS WELL AS TO RESPOND TO COMPLAINTS.

Public order policing

71 Undue

Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

90 The Commission recommends that:

THE DISPARITIES IN HEALTH CARE RESOURCE ALLOCATION BE REDRESSED, WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE URBAN AREAS AND TOWNSHIPS, AS WELL AS BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS. THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH A ONCE-OFF TAX, OR SLOWLY OVER TIME.
ALL EMPLOYEES OF STATE-RUN

Reference 179 - 0.01% Coverage

PUBLICATIONS AND LOCAL BROADCASTING STATIONS.

THE ESTABLISHED PRESS PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN HELPING TO ENCOURAGE A VARIETY OF MEDIA SOURCES BY, FOR INSTANCE, FUNDING AND RESOURCING ALTERNATIVE PUBLICATIONS. COMMUNITY PUBLICATIONS SHOULD BE DEVELOPED ALONG THE LINES OF LOCAL, PROVEN GRASSROOTS MODELS LIKE GRASSROOTS, SOUTH AND SAAMSTAAN. MODELS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS ZIMBABWE AND PAPUA NEW GUINEA SHOULD ALSO BE EXPLORED.

Media self-regulation 97 The

Reference 180 - 0.01% Coverage

FEATURES OF THE NATIONAL ACT.

THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDE THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES WITH THE RESOURCES IT REQUIRES TO IMPLEMENT THE ACT. THE POWER TO INSPECT GOVERNMENTAL BODIES, FOR INSTANCE, IS RENDERED MEANINGLESS IF THE RESOURCES TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT ARE NOT MADE AVAILABLE.

THE GOVERNMENT TAKE STEPS TO

Reference 181 - 0.01% Coverage

D) OF THE ARCHIVES ACT).

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES BE GIVEN THE NECESSARY RESOURCES TO TAKE TRANSFER OF, PROCESS PROFESSIONALLY AND MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC, THE RECORDS OF THE COMMISSION (WHICH IN THEMSELVES FILL MANY GAPS IN SOUTH AFRICA'S SOCIAL MEMORY).

108 Responsibility for developing and

Reference 182 - 0.01% Coverage

ADDED.

Apologies to neighbouring states

113 The Commission received a number of statements from citizens of neighbouring countries, including Namibia, alleging that they had suffered gross violations of their human rights as a result of actions of representatives of the previous South African government. The Commission, lacking the resources and time to address such claims, has not made findings on such violations, nor is it recommending that reparations be paid to the victims. However, the Commission recommends that:

Reference 183 - 0.01% Coverage

term process with many dimensions.

2 With its short lifespan and limited mandate and resources, it was obviously impossible for the Commission to reconcile the nation. The following selected moments from the life of the Commission do, however, express significant steps in the reconciliation process. Some are beacons of hope. Others warn of pitfalls. Together they constitute signposts on the long road towards making individual, communal and national reconciliation a living, lasting reality in South Africa.

3 Clearly, everyone who came

Reference 184 - 0.01% Coverage

the white Afrikaans-speaking community.

If we look at [the section in our submission on] ... omissions and commissions, it is clear from the submission, if we look back with the benefit of hindsight, that the AHI committed major mistakes. Firstly, we deal with support for separate development. As explained before, the AHI supported separate development in the belief that it would bring about acceptable results for all in the country. This it didn't do. Separate development in the end meant social engineering with brutal human costs and enormous wastage of resources.

As a business organisation, we

Reference 185 - 0.01% Coverage

a part of facilitating that.

106 At the faith community hearing in East London from 17 to 19 November 1997, Chief Rabbi Harris described some of the concrete work that members of the Jewish community are engaged in, born of a sense of shared responsibility for past wrongs while at the same time being sensitive to the pitfalls of patronising charity: In the Jewish community, we are developing a programme called Tekun. There [was] a great deal of hot air yesterday and this morning about what ought to be done, but there have been very few practical examples which are influencing the grassroots ... Tekun is a Hebrew word meaning repairing, trying to put things right. It is a wonderful exercise; we are trying to apply Jewish resources, skills, expertise and know how, to be of maximum benefit to the upliftment programme. One instance is food: the Jewish housewife, when she shops, is asked to buy an extra tin or extra packet. She is buying half a dozen tins, buy a seventh tin. A dozen packets of something – buy a thirteenth packet. That goes in a separate part of the trolley, goes to the nearest Synagogue... We have many projects. I give you one instance on welfare. Nokatula, which is a home for the physically and mentally handicapped in Alexandra township, is constantly visited by the Selwyn Segal Centre, which is a similar home for physically and mentally handicapped people in Johannesburg. We share expertise and facilities, and we all go together to Camp David at Magaliesberg. May I point out that here we are not being patronising. I know it sounds terribly patronising. We are trying to empower people to help themselves, and that's why we are handing over the skills. We have a major agricultural project at Rietfontein. It is an educational experience in farming, based on the success

Reference 186 - 0.01% Coverage

responsibility to be of help.

107 At the hearing on the legal system in Johannesburg, the Natal Law Students said: One of the more significant ways in which those who enjoyed the benefits of the past could make amends is to provide service to the community whom they allowed to be subjugated. As students, we can say that we do not want the money of these practitioners, we do not want them to go on their hands and knees and beg for forgiveness, we do not want any more platitudes and token gestures. The apology of the Pretoria Bar, amongst others, is noted. However, we need to go beyond this and ask ourselves, what are we going to do in concrete terms to redress the imbalances, to demonstrate that we really are sorry? The law clinic suggests that these practitioners share their skills and resources. In concrete terms, all it requires is for each governing body to co-ordinate a programme where private practitioners volunteer their time to university law faculties, university law clinics and other community service organisations. If each governing body were to organise such an effort to ensure that more pro bono work and a greater degree of community service are carried out, then we would have gone beyond platitude to really transforming our society, to ensure that resources are shared, skills are shared and that human dignity is restored and protected.

108 In concluding this section

Reference 187 - 0.01% Coverage

and on a social basis.

128 Mr Charles Narkin, representative of Western Cape Provincial Administration, Mental Health Services, said: We had a meeting of about thirty people, nearly all of whom were from Oudtshoorn, and our mandate was to try and present a working programme that we can begin to implement with almost immediate urgency. This group decided that they want to try and develop trauma services within their existing resources. There was an acknowledgement that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission cannot in the short term put up any reparation money. They cannot put up a lot of mental health resources. We must turn to the resources within Oudtshoorn and the resources within the Southern Cape. So, the decision was that there would be two types of processes that will happen. First of all, the existing mental health workers will put the word out that ... people who have suffered from various forms of trauma [should] please feel that the health and the mental health services have an open door to receive them.

And this would also possibly

Reference 188 - 0.01% Coverage

perpetrators and not the victims.

A longer-term reconciliation initiative would need to take the consultation process two steps further. It needs to engage with less developed community structures or networks that do not have a formal voice. Particularly in a community with a history of intense conflict, certain interest groups may not have organised and mobilised, because of fear and/or because of lack of resources. Unless there is assistance for the articulation of these interests, the process will not reach all sectors of the community.

Past conflicts have not disappeared

Reference 189 - 0.01% Coverage

I Lax

The Amnesty Department

9. The Act made no provision for an administrative component for the Committee. It was left to the Committee to secure the services of professional and administrative personnel to assist it in executing its mandate. Resources were initially shared with other components of the Commission. This hampered the Committee in setting up the independent administrative, investigative and corroborative mechanisms it needed.

10. In April 1996, a

Reference 190 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Interim Constitution^{2 1}

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However, the judgment noted that the 'postamble' made provision not only for amnesty, but also for a reparations process: The election made by the makers of the Constitution was to permit Parliament to favour 'the reconstruction of society' involving in the process a wider concept of 'reparation' which would allow the state to take into account the competing claims on its resources, but at the same time, to have regard to the 'untold sufferings' of individuals and families whose fundamental human rights had been invaded during the conflict of the past.^{2 2}

15 Administrator of the Transvaal

Reference 191 - 0.01% Coverage

need to be considered.

12. However funds are generated or redirected from other budgets, it is important that we do not forget the high levels of emotional pain in our country and the fact that we need to build up services to deal specifically with these. Public sector mental health provision is inadequately resourced at present and there is insufficient training and ongoing support for frontline helpers across a range of sectors including education, labour, safety and security, defence, health, and welfare. Resourcing is an issue, and there is a lack of creative thinking about making services physically, linguistically and culturally acceptable to communities. Professional mental health and welfare organisations should be encouraged to share information on successful projects, on methods of assessing impact and on improving the cost-effectiveness of such endeavours. Professional services should act in concert with community-based services. The combination of professional expertise and community-driven support is likely to provide the most cost-effective, helpful and culture-friendly mix.

VOLUME

Reference 192 - 0.01% Coverage

on vehicles, homes and buildings.

216. Erasmus, Bellingan and Pollock all testified that one of the aims and strategies of Stratcom was to sow division among 'the enemy'. According to Bellingan, intelligence reports were used to expose ideological rifts in organisations and then find ways to exploit the differences. The effect would be to 'divert their time and effort and resources away from us and as far as possible, against each other'.

217. Several of the incidents

Reference 193 - 0.01% Coverage

had been acting without authorisation.

23. H o w e v e r, the high rank of the state personnel involved, their easy access to funds and resources, and evidence emerging from amnesty applications by former security force personnel negate this argument. One cannot but draw the conclusion that the former state was centrally involved, not only in sanctioning this tactic, but also in planning and providing funds and re s o u r c e s.

24. When governments are addressed

Name: References to Tenure in South Africa Report

<Files\\South Africa Report> - § 9 references coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 68 of 1986

1946 Asiatic Land Tenure (and Indian Representation) Act No 28: P

Granted Indians separate representation by three white members of Parliament and two senators in the Central Parliament. This chapter of the law was rejected by the Indian population and the Act was repealed by the Asiatic Laws Amendment Act No 47 of 1948. The chapter on land tenure was repealed by the Aliens Control Act No 96 of 1991. Commenced: 6 June 1946

1948 Nationalist Party comes to

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Amendment Act No 47: P

Repealed the chapter on Indian representation of the 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure (and Indian Representation) Act. Commenced: 12 October 1948

Repealed by s 55 of

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

13 Apartheid Legislation PAGE 493

1992 Land Tenure Act No 11: Commenced: 21 January 1994

1992 Intimidation Act No 13

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

consequently, an effective logistical network.

120 General Magnus Malan, chief of the SADF and, from 1980, Minister of Defence, was first exposed to the theories of counter-insurgency in the United States where he completed the regular command and general staff officer's course in 1962–63. As officer commanding of South West Africa Command from 1966–68, he acquired first-hand experience of a war conducted largely on the principles of counter-insurgency. During his tenure as chief of the army (1973–76), a series of joint inter-departmental counter-insurgency committees was established to

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 1 National

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

from "multiple injuries" in "Pretoria".

184 A reading of the files reveals that the three whites were all active members of Special Forces. Given their short tenure in the SADF, they had considerable experience of SADF special and clandestine

operations. There is nothing in these records to suggest that these three soldiers were in any way rogue operators engaged in an unauthorised mission.

185 In an interview with

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

307 Moutse is home to one of the region's longest-established communities. Members of the Bantoane, the largest chieftaincy, have lived in the area since the latter half of the eighteenth century. Although their ancestors are Setswana speakers from what is today Botswana, the Bantoane have resided in the area long enough to claim, albeit without proof, that their present boundaries were personally laid down by Paul Kruger. Throughout this century, a number of other ethnic groups have settled in Moutse. According to the 1980 census, 58 per cent of the population was Sotho, 38 per cent was Ndebele and 3 per cent was Shangaan/ Tsonga. Because of the area's early settlement, 53 per cent of the land was held under individual or communal freehold tenure. The rest of the area was Trust land. By the mid-1980s, the 66 000-hectare region contained forty-three villages with approximately 120 000 residents. Under separate development, three tribal and three community authorities had been designated and jointly formed a regional authority. The Bantoane (later renamed the Moutse) Regional Authority was a constituent part of Lebowa when the territorial authority was established in 1962.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 5 The

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

1946

1947 1948

1949 1950

Asiatic Land Tenure Act is passed. The police crush a strike by African mineworkers. The Security Branch of the South African Police (SAP) is formed.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

succumbing to pressure from government.

115 The Afrikaans media (at least until the last few months of PW Botha's tenure as State President) chose to provide direct support for apartheid and the activities of the security forces — many of which led directly to gross human rights violations.

116 The employment practices of

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

and two leaders of evidence,

5 The present chairperson, Mr Justice Hassen Mall, retired from active service as a judge during the course of his tenure of office as chairperson of the Committee.

