



## **REFERENCES TO THE WORDS “EDUCATION”:**

**Specifically:**

**Bantu Education – Black – Employment – Justice – Training - Unfair**

**Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission  
South Africa**

**Dr. Melike YILMAZ  
Research Coordinator**



**THE CONFRONTING  
ATROCITY PROJECT**

## August 2021

© Copyright, 2021, Centre for Human Rights and Restorative Justice (CHRRJ), McMaster University, Canada. All Rights Reserved.

This is an Open Access article, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, adaptation, and reproduction in any medium, provided that the original work is properly cited.

### **Note on access:**

This document is a research project prepared for the Centre for Human Rights and Restorative Justice. It can be downloaded from the research project's web page:

<https://truthcommissions.humanities.mcmaster.ca/>

### **How to cite in APA 7th edition:**

Yilmaz, M. (2021). References to the Words “Education”: Report of the Truth & Reconciliation Commission of South Africa. *Centre for Human Rights and Restorative Justice (CHRRJ) at McMaster University*. <https://truthcommissions.humanities.mcmaster.ca/>

### **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.

## **Table of Contents**

Researcher Notes

Word Frequency Query

Word Cloud

Tree Map

Word Tree References

Education

Bantu Education

Black

Justice

Training

Unfair

Work

References to Education

References to Bantu Education

References to Black

References to Employment

References to Justice

References to Training

References to Unfair

## **Researcher Notes on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report Details:**

- Pdf consists of 7 Volumes.
- Volume I, II, III, IV and V are published in 1998.
- Volume Six is published in 2003.
- Volume Seven is published in 2002.
- Volume One is pages between 1 and 512.
- Volume Two is pages between 513 and 1225.
- Volume Three is pages between 1226 and 1973.
- Volume Four is pages between 1974 and 2294.
- Volume Five is pages between 2295 and 2757.
- Volume Six is pages between 2758 and 3580.
- Volume Seven is pages between 3581 and 4554.
- Volume Seven is about the victims of Apartheid. The Commission dedicates this volume of the report to the victims of Apartheid.
- “The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Functional Structure” is found at Volume One Chapter 9.
- Foreword by Archbishop Desmond Tutu is in Volume One and Volume Six.

## Word Frequency Query

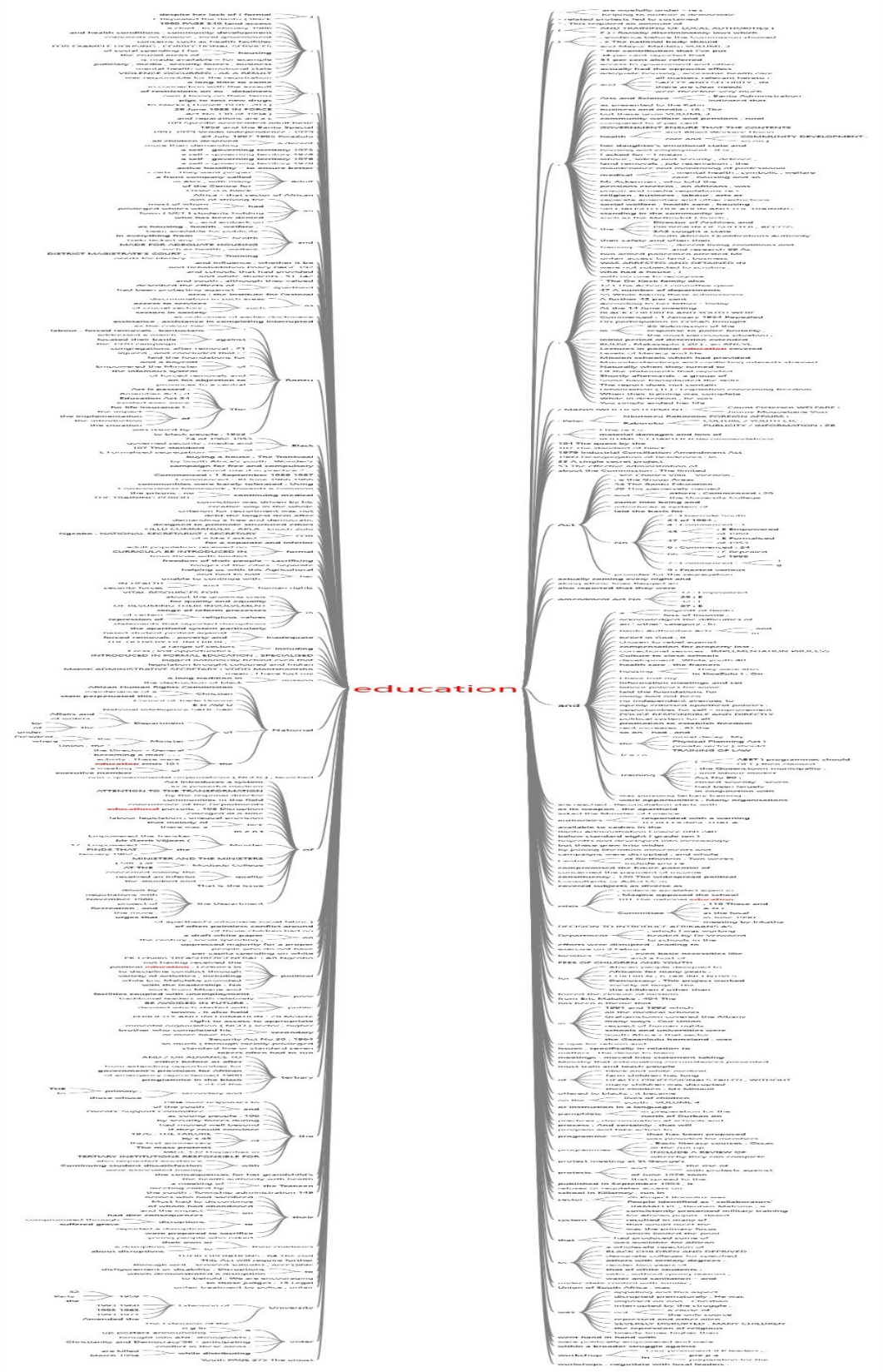
## Word Cloud



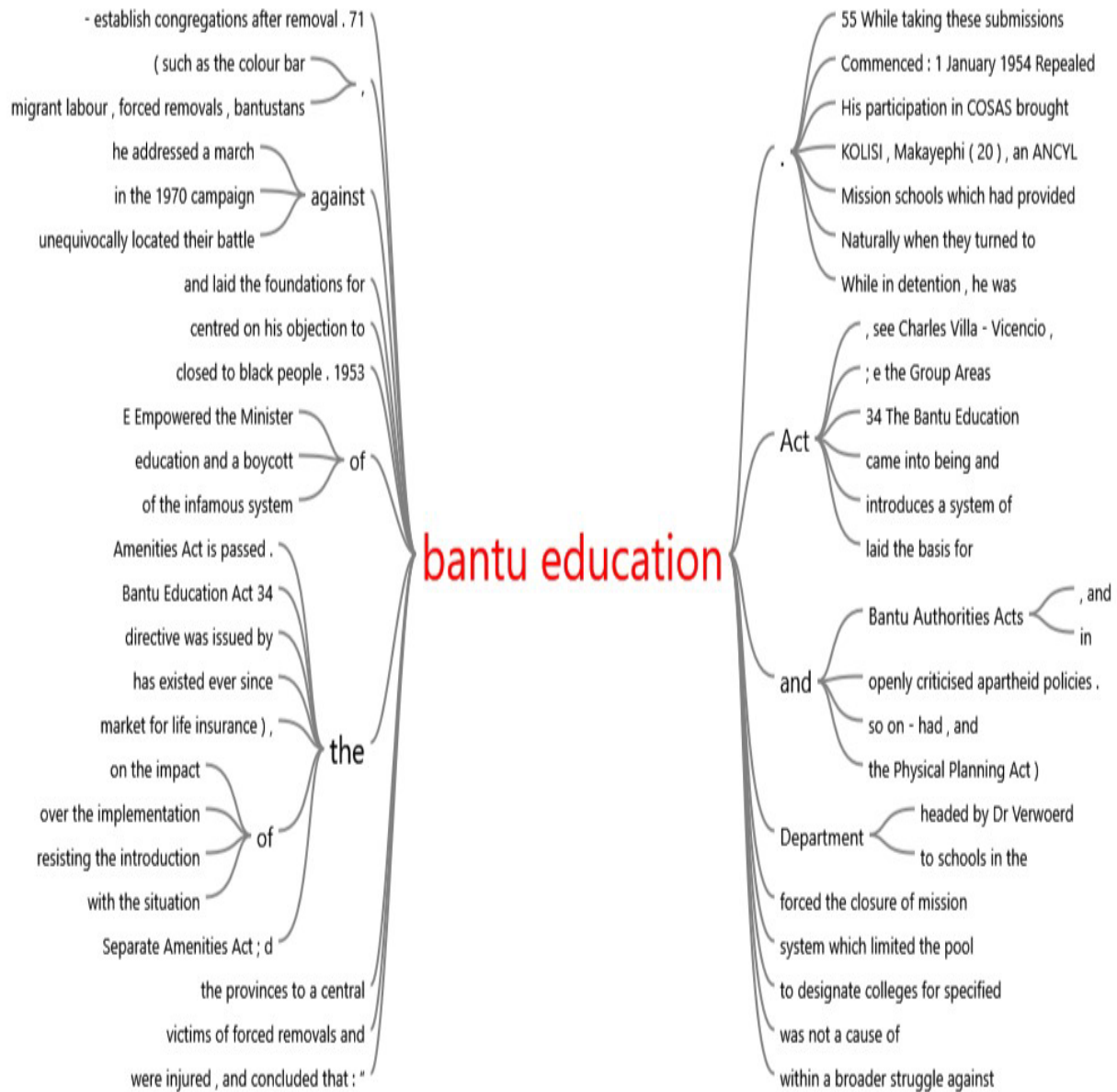
## Tree Map

## Word Frequency Query - South Africa Report

members	supporters	near	killed	natal	kwazulu	cape	inkatha	1986	allegedly	april	african	africa	beaten	time	area	commit		
								volume	page	violation	branch	rters	several	many	killing	died		
		political	people	injured	house	member	1992											
shot	police							state	operative	three								
					home	1993	also				septem	govern	made	octobe	1988	victim	numbe	
		conflict	attack	dead				death	june	1991								
support	commission				south	march	chapter				decemti	four	chief	hearit	perpet	febru	nation	
		amnesty	security	durban				1994	human	1985		august	novem	forces	later	commu	1989	group
					1990	granted	burnt	named	rights	july	violence	stabbe	attack	anua	attacks	port	peri	
														findings	victim			

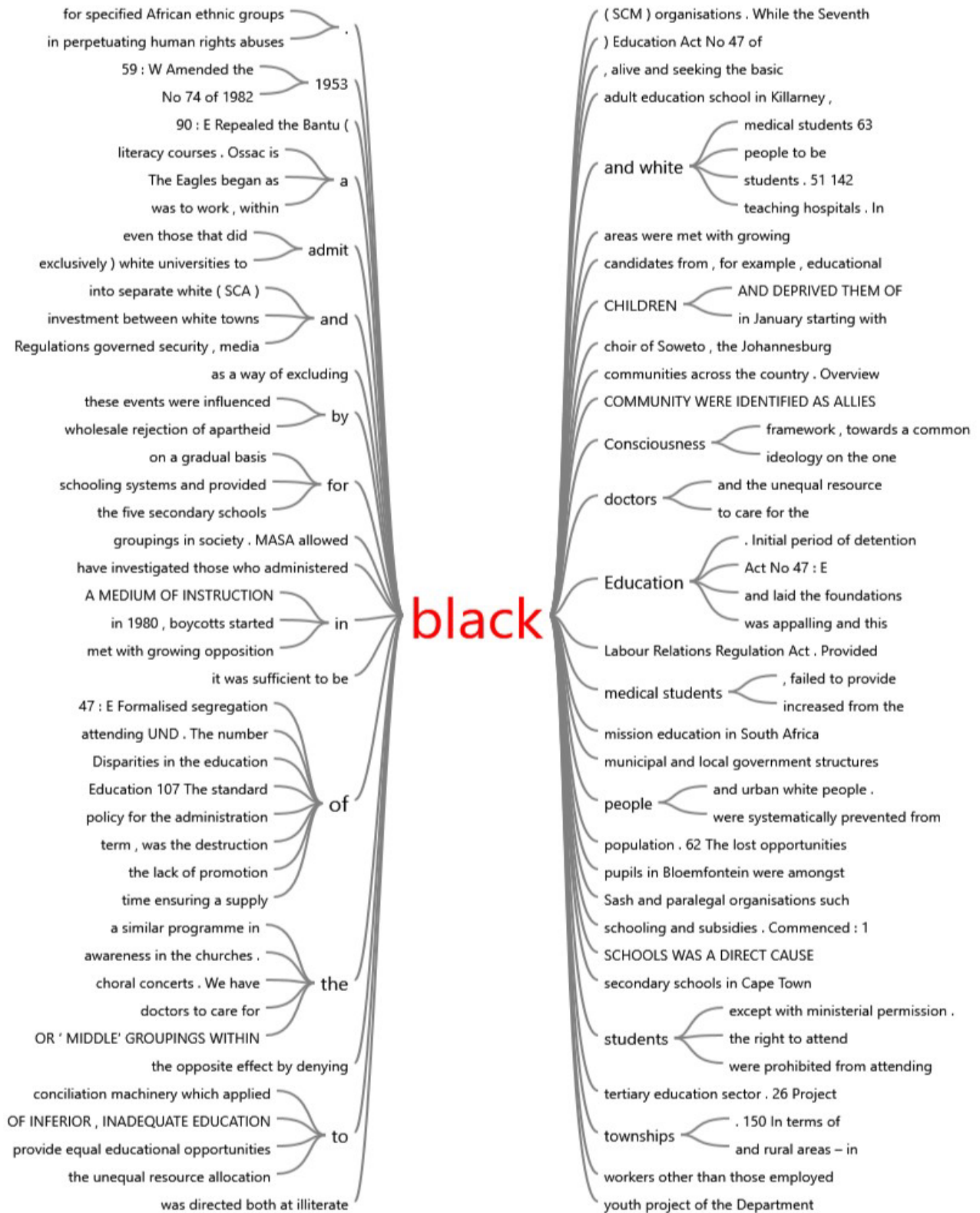


# Text Search Query - Results Preview



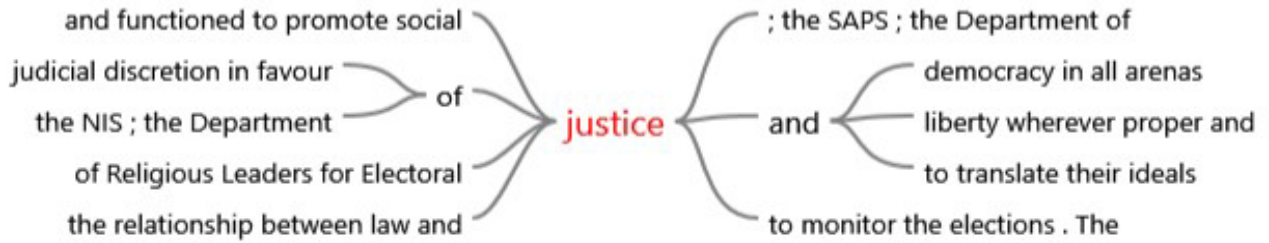


## Text Search Query - Results Preview





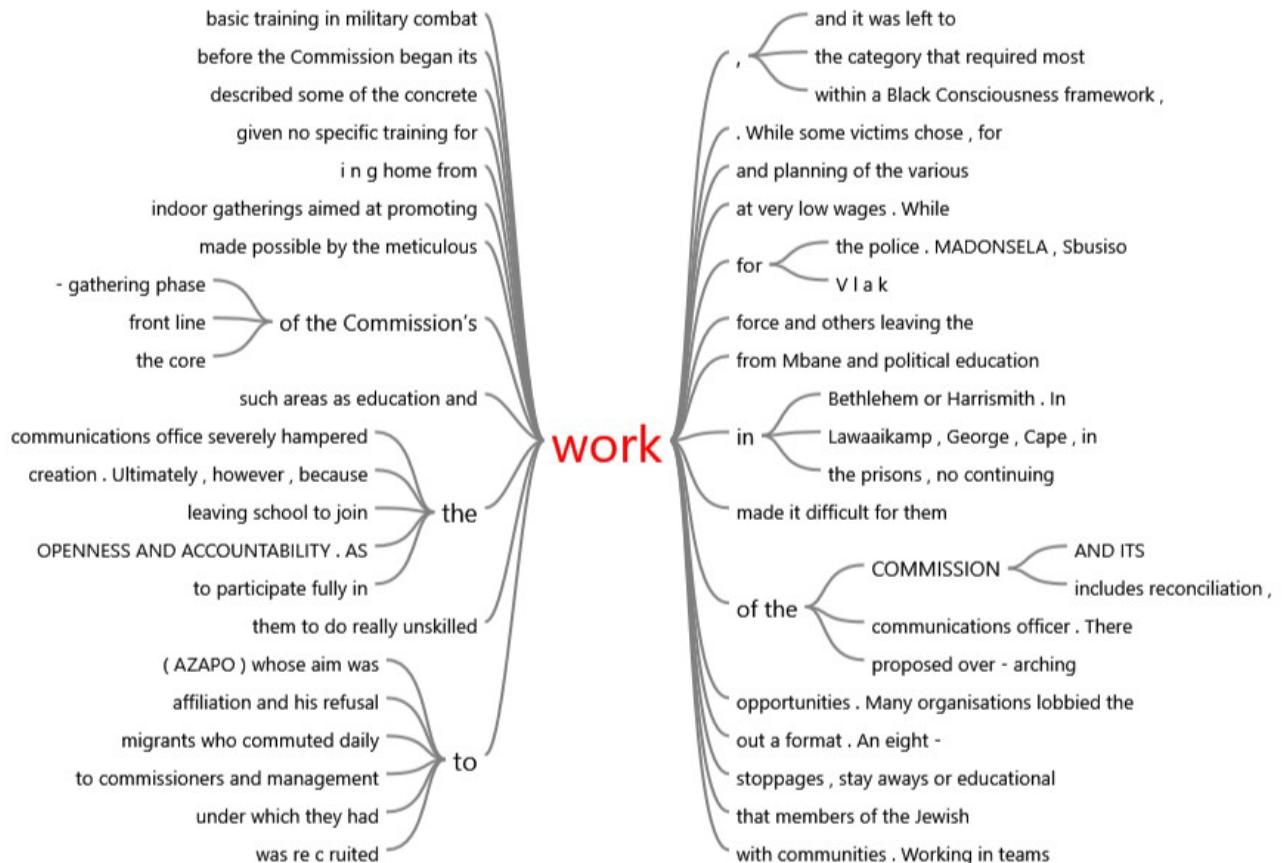
### Text Search Query - Results Preview



### Text Search Query - Results Preview



### Text Search Query - Results Preview



# Text Search Query - Results Preview



## **Name: References to Education in South Africa Report**

<Files\\SouthAfrica.TRC\_Report> - \$ 290 references coded [0.74% Coverage]

### **Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage**

Foreword by Chairperson PAGE 13

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.

57 A last word to

### **Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage**

were closed to black people.

1953 Bantu Education Act

34 The Bantu Education Act laid the basis for a separate and inferior education system for African pupils. Based on a racist notion that blacks needed only to be educated, in the words of Dr Verwoerd, "in accordance with their opportunities in life", the Act transferred the control of African schools from the provinces to a central Bantu Education Department headed by Dr Verwoerd himself.

35 In addition, state subsidies to mission schools were first reduced and later stopped altogether. This meant that they were either forced into the state school system or had to close - which many (often the better) schools did. The result, in the short term, was the destruction of black mission education in South Africa - that sector of African education that had produced some of the country's finest minds and political leaders. It also stifled the development of a private African school sector by requiring that all non-state schools be registered with the then Native Affairs Department.

36 In the longer term

### **Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage**

the legacy of this legislation.

37 In the next decade - the 1960s - legislation brought coloured and Indian education under state control with similar, though not as severely deleterious, effects.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 2 Historical

### **Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage**

2 Historical Context PAGE 32

1959 Extension of University Education Act

38 This perversely named law, far from extending opportunities for tertiary education, actually had the opposite effect by denying black students the right to attend their university of choice. It imposed apartheid on the tertiary sector, making it illegal for the existing largely (in the case of the Afrikaans campuses exclusively) white universities to admit black students except with ministerial permission. It resulted in the creation of separate ethnic colleges for Indians, coloureds and Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa-speaking Africans.

39 This Act, which was first published in draft form in 1957, was significant in another sense. It signalled a shift in government thinking in relation to the challenge posed by the growing force of African nationalism of the time. Having laid out the framework for the racial compartmentalisation of, particularly, urban South Africa, the government's provision for African tertiary education along ethnic lines flagged an intention to engage in a further bout of racial and social engineering. This theme will be discussed later in this chapter.

40 These eight pieces of

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Historical Context PAGE 34

46 Many of the killings and acts of torture documented in this report occurred precisely because of resistance to the day-to-day experience of life under apartheid. The sixty-nine people killed at Sharpsville were not armed Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres or even human rights' activists. They were just ordinary men and women protesting against the hated dompas. Countless, nameless people had their rights trampled trying to save their homes from apartheid's bulldozers. Hundreds died doing no more than demanding a decent education or instruction in a language other than Afrikaans. One did not need to be a political activist to become a victim of apartheid; it was sufficient to be black, alive and seeking the basic necessities of life that whites took for granted and enjoyed by right.

■ THE LAW AND ETHNICITY

47

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

serving drink to African people.

49 One of the most iniquitous acts of apartheid was the separation of educational facilities and the creation of the infamous system of Bantu education. Mission schools which had provided some schooling to African people were closed down and generation after generation of African children were subjected to teaching that was deeply inferior in quality to that of their white counterparts.

6 Dumping Grounds, Christian Institute

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

the 'architect' of apartheid, said:

The school must equip the Bantu to meet the demands which the economic life will impose on him ... What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? ... Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life ...7

50 Indian and coloured people were subjected to similar restrictions. The notorious Group Areas legislation moved people out of their homes and trading areas and onto the fringes of the cities. Separate education, separate amenities and other restrictions bounded their lives.

51 It is this systemic

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

4 The Mandate PAGE 63

54 For example, during the earlier information-gathering phase of the Commission's work, the category that required most attention was that of 'severe ill treatment'. The ordinary meaning of 'severe ill treatment' suggests that all those whose rights had been violated during the conflicts of the past were covered by this definition and fell, therefore, within the mandate of the Commission. This view was expressed in the submissions of a number of organisations and groups representing, for example, victims of forced removals and Bantu education.

55 While taking these submissions

#### Reference 9 - 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 10 - 0.01% Coverage

some stages it does matter...

What would be ideal reconciliation for you? That is that the many people who do not have education are reached. Reconciliation starts with building up these people who are uneducated. Employ those who are unemployed. Train those who are not trained. Develop those who are not developed.<sup>4</sup>

Reconciliation and redistribution

24 The

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Concepts and Principles PAGE 121

abuses taking place. The Commission's recommendations on issues such as human rights training for the security forces and human rights education in schools and universities were crucial in this regard. For example, the implementation of the Commission's recommendations on the reform of the security forces may help to restore trust between the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the majority of South Africans. Such trust is essential if the security forces are to act as guarantors of human rights for all South Africans.

70 Thus, although the Commission

#### Reference 12 - 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.<sup>17</sup> 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

#### Reference 13 - 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 14 - 0.01% Coverage

political conflicts of the past.

102 It is, therefore, not only the task of the members of the Security Forces to examine themselves and their deeds. It is for every member of the society they served to do so. South Africa's weapons, ammunition, uniforms, vehicles, radios and other equipment were all developed and provided by industry. South Africa's finances and banking were controlled by institutions that went so far as to provide covert credit cards for covert operations. South African chaplains prayed for 'victory' and South African schools and universities educated for war. The media carried propaganda and the enfranchised white community voted the former government back into power, time after time, with ever-increasing majorities.<sup>28</sup>

103 This moral responsibility goes

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

for past human rights violations.

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.<sup>31</sup>

30 Speech in National Assembly

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

they were not fully conversant.

36 In many respects, the victim hearings constituted the core of the Commission's work. While some victims chose, for a variety of reasons, not to appear before the Commission, the hearings gave victims an opportunity to testify publicly about the violations of their rights and served as a powerful medium of education for society at large. The hearings generated public discussion around a spectrum of fundamental issues, such as complicity in human rights abuse and what steps should be taken to ensure that such abuse does not recur in the future. They also exposed communities who did not know, or had not wanted to know, to the truth about human rights abuse to the reality of suffering which had occurred during the period under review.

Event hearings

37 In the

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

of their creation or acquisition.

32 Although unsuccessful, these challenges exposed the vulnerability of the Archives Act to divergent interpretations of the words 'from their nature'. It is not clear what the Act's drafters intended to exclude by these words although, in a speech to the Senate on 31 January 1962, the Minister of Education, Arts and Science indicated that the words were designed to accommodate the management of secret records.<sup>6</sup> It was a loophole that would later be ruthlessly exploited by state bodies seeking to avoid the strictures imposed by the Archives Act.

33 In 1978, all government

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

documentation related to the NSMS.

41 SAS disputed the legal validity of the circular, but its attempts proved futile. However, when the resultant mass destruction of records was reported in the media, Mr Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, challenged the circular's validity in the Supreme Court. He identified the respondents as the State President, the Minister of National Education, the Director of Archives and the Director-General of NIS. In his application, Currin argued that state legal opinions 299/1991 and 308/1991 were "wrong", and that the nature of 'sensitive' records, including classified material, did not exclude them from the operation of the Archives Act. On 27 September 1993, all the parties reached an agreement that, in future, no state records would be dealt with otherwise than in terms of the Act, "simply by virtue of the fact that they are classified, or they are classified into a category denoting some degree of confidentiality".<sup>12</sup>

42 The settlement had not, however, incorporated Currin's broader arguments, and the state quickly showed its intention to find reasons (other than the fact of classification) to exclude 'sensitive' records from the ambit of the Archives Act. An inter-departmental working group prepared a draft circular to government departments providing advice on which records fell outside the ambit of the Act. Through the Director-General of National Education, the SAS sought a state legal opinion on the validity of the circular. This opinion<sup>13</sup> did not refer to the Currin settlement and reaffirmed the findings of opinion 299/91, thus reviving the option of destroying 'state sensitive' records without reference to the Archives Act. The opinion did,



however, contain the assertion that decisions on destruction should not be left to individual department heads and recommended that an advice mechanism ('adviesmeganisme') be created. This was never done. As late as November 1994, the NIS issued Guidelines for the Protection of Classified Information to government offices. These guidelines empowered the heads of offices to destroy classified records because they were classified, without authorisation from the Director of Archives. This was a direct violation of the Currin settlement. The Director of Archives challenged the NIS and the Guidelines were revised and re-released in February 1995. These were, de facto, an updated version of the earlier guidelines distributed in 1978 and again in 1984, both authorised by the head of state. It could be argued that the failure by the NIS explicitly to withdraw the 1984 guidelines in the wake of the Currin settlement also constituted a violation of the settlement.

12 Case No. 19304/93

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

homelands.

The issue of legality

94 The selective destruction of state records beyond the parameters of the Archives Act was concentrated largely within the security establishment in the period 1960 to 1990. This reflected the former state's tendency to operate in a highly secretive manner and the fact that 'sensitive' records were not subject to the operation of the Archives Act. This assumption was sanctioned by the 1978 and 1984 NIS Guidelines for the Protection of Classified Information, which had been authorised by the head of state. Between 1990 and 1994 selective destruction became a systematic endeavour authorised by Cabinet and reaching into all sectors of the state. It is clear that the former state wished to prevent the new government from access to many documents. At the time and subsequently, those responsible maintained that their motive was simply to protect intelligence sources and the legitimate security interests of the state. The evidence demonstrates that the destruction went far beyond this. Those responsible also maintain that the endeavour was entirely legal. They point to the state legal opinions secured by the State President's Office, the NIS and the Director-General of National Education in 1991 and 1993 which argued that 'state sensitive' records fell outside the definition of records which were subject to the Archives Act. However, the following factors need to be taken into account :

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 8 The

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

relevance of other legal requirements.

2.2 Section 9 of the Act gives the public the right to have access to all "archives" or documentation older than thirty years, except in those cases where the Minister of National Education refuses or regulates access on the basis of "public policy". By the same token, the Minister may also allow access to archives younger than 30 years.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 8 The

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

and Rehabilitation Committee PAGE 291

28 The Human Rights Violations Committee statement form included a section on the consequences of violations. People were asked about the emotional, medical and symbolic consequences of violations and the impact on their education and housing. They were also asked to articulate their expectations of the Commission at an individual, community and national level. A coding frame was developed for data relating to reparation and rehabilitation and was integrated into the Commission's information system. This assisted in the interpretation of deponents' responses and hearings, and thus influenced policy development. Unfortunately, data captured in this manner were linked to the deponent and not to the victim. Thus, although the data provided useful indicators, they were not as accessible as they might otherwise have been.

#### ■ A RESEARCH COMPONENT

29 In

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

the work of the Commission.

29 European Union funding also made possible the employment of paid South African interns from educationally underprivileged backgrounds.

30 Overseas applicants showed extensive

#### Reference 23 - 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 24 - 0.01% Coverage

as part of the team.

47 Each team worked within a ten-week cycle that consisted of a pre-hearings, hearings and post-hearings phase. During the pre-hearings phase, the team held meetings with strategic people in the various towns. It also held public education and information meetings and set up the process of collecting statements from witnesses. Researchers prepared information to help each team decide where to focus on statement taking and in which towns to hold hearings. Each team passed on the statements it collected to the 'Infocom' group for processing.

48 During the hearings stage

#### Reference 25 - 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 26 - 0.01% Coverage

London Office Report PAGE 433

Paralegal Association, covered the eastern half of the province and the Tsitsikama area; the Institute for Pastoral Education in Grahamstown covered the Albany area and the Eastern Cape, and the Adult Learning Programme in Port Elizabeth covered the Karoo-Midland region. These three organisations provided forty-two designated statement takers.

47 Training of the designated

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

OF THE COMMISSION Statement taking

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

24 Statement taking fell under

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearings in the Johannesburg region

34 More by default than design, the holding of public human rights violations hearings became the dominant activity of the Commission. Very little thought had been given to the process of organising these hearings before the Commission began its work, and it was left to commissioners and management to work out a format. An eight-week cycle was devised which started with public education meetings, moved into statement taking and logistic arrangements, and closed with a media campaign, a selection of cases for public attention and the hearing itself.

35 Three multi-functional teams

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

complemented by the resource list.

40 The communications officer took responsibility for organising educational workshops, publicising hearings through posters and pamphlets and periodically liaising with the media. Unfortunately, budget cuts and problems in establishing an effective national communications office severely hampered the work of the communications officer. There was only limited success in publicising hearings in this region and almost none in educating communities about the mandate and operation of the Commission. As will be

discussed below, however, a variety of community-based organisations and NGOs stepped in to help fill the gaps.

41 The primary work of

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

as finding venues and caterers.

46 Several organisations in the area ran workshop programmes aimed at educating members of different communities about the Commission. The Centre for the Study of Violence, for example, developed its own audio-visual educational materials for this purpose. The communication officer met frequently with these organisations in order to co-ordinate their workshop programmes with the Commission's publicity needs.

47 Local organisations helped the

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

to blacks (Horrell 1978: 203).

Education (E): Racially discriminatory laws which relate to primary, secondary and tertiary education.

Urbanisation (U): Legislation concerning freedom

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 74 of 1982

1953 Black Education Act No 47: E

Formalised segregation of black education and laid the foundations for Bantu Education. Commenced: 1 January 1954 Repealed by s 45 of the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979

1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation

#### Reference 33 - 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 34 - 0.01% Coverage

leader of the National Party.

1959 Extension of University Education Act No 45: E

Empowered the Minister of Bantu Education to designate colleges for specified African ethnic groups. Black students were prohibited from attending the University of Cape Town or the University of Witwatersrand

without a permit (Dugard 1978: 84). Commenced: 19 June 1959 Repealed by s 21 of the Tertiary Education Act No 66 of 1988  
1959 Representation between Republic of

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 200 of 1993

1960 Extension of University Education Amendment Act No 32: E

Amended the extension of University Education Act No 45 of 1959 and the University of Fort Hare Transfer Act No 64 of 1959. Assent gained: 7 April 1960; commencement date not found Repealed by s 21 of the Tertiary Education Act No 66 of 1988

1960 Unlawful Organisations Act No

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 200 of 1993

1963 Extension of University Education Amendment Act No 67: E

Amended the 1959 Extension of University Education Act and the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act No 64 of 1959. Commenced: 3 July 1963 Repealed by s 21 of the Tertiary Education Act No 66 of 1988

1964 Black Labour Act No

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Amendment Act No 50: P

The Coloured Persons Representative Council was formed with forty elected members and twenty nominated members. It had legislative powers to make laws affecting coloureds on finance, local government, education, community welfare and pensions, rural settlements and agriculture. No bill could be introduced without the approval of the Minister of Coloured Relations, nor could a bill be passed without the approval of the white Cabinet (Dugard 1978: 98). Assent gained: 27 March 1968; commencement date not found Repealed by s 101(1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No 110 of 1983

1968 Prohibition of Political Interference

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

Act No 200 of 1993

1971 Extension of University Education Amendment Act No 29: E

In order to prevent students from changing courses after admission, the Minister would give consent only in respect of a specific university and a specified qualification. He could withdraw his consent if the student concerned changed her/his course of study (SRR 1971:288). Commenced: 12 May 1971 Repealed by s 21 of the Tertiary Education Act No 66 of 1988

1971 Black Affairs Administration Act

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

of 1991 1979 Venda independence.

1979 Education and Training Act No 90: E

Repealed the Bantu (Black) Education Act No 47 of 1953 and the Bantu Special Education Act No 24 of 1964.

Commenced: 1 January 1980

IN FORCE (as amended by Educators Employment Act No 138 of 1994): EDUCATION

1979 Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

states) (RRS 1986: 344).

1987

11 June: State of emergency declared Regulations governed security, media and black education. Initial period of detention extended from fourteen to thirty days.

1988

24 February: The State

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

June: State of emergency reproclaimed

1988 Tertiary Education Act No 66: E

Repealed the 1959 Extension of University Education Act and others. Commenced: 29 June 1988 IN FORCE: EDUCATION

1989 Desegregation of Residences:

In

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

bodies' (Budlender 1989: 24).

1989

10 June: State of emergency declared Security regulations broadened to prohibit certain acts, wearing of specific clothes etc. Blanket renewal of restrictions on ex-detainees. Education, prison and media regulations re-imposed.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 13 Apartheid

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

1995 IN FORCE: DEFENCE

1995

January: Compulsory schooling introduced on a gradual basis for black children in January starting with the enrolment in Sub A of all six-year-olds (RRS 1994/95: 267). In a draft white paper on education published in September 1994, it was proposed that children between the ages of five and fourteen be required by law to attend school. This differed from the existing provisions for other race groups: it had been compulsory

for white and coloured children to attend school between the ages of six and sixteen years; for Indian children the upper limit was fifteen years of age (RRS 1989/90: 808).

1995 Internal Peace Institution Act

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

Order. Commenced: 31 August 1984

1985 Internal Security Amendment Act No 39: Empowered the President to close certain educational institutions in certain circumstances (notably circumstances of unrest etc.), in particular the University of Bophuthatswana. Commenced: 20 December 1985

1985 Security Clearance Act No 40: Required security clearance of people as a prerequisite to their employment in certain educational or training institutions and certain parastatal bodies. Commenced: 20 December 1985

1986 Internal Security Amendment Act

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

Laws Amendment Act No 13:

Imposed imprisonment for up to ten years for disruption of any educational institution, unlawful strikes, boycotting of consumer goods, civil disobedience, obstruction of public places, or attending a restricted funeral. Commenced: 11 June 1986

1986 Special Offences Act No

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

Public Security Act No 30.

1964 Education Act No 2: Overrode South African apartheid schooling systems and provided for black schooling and subsidies. Commenced: 1 April 1965

1964 Transkei Authorities Act No

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

homeland. Commenced: 30 June 1966

1966 Education Act No 9:

Enacted various schooling mechanisms. Commenced

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

Umtata. Commenced: 8 November 1985

1985 The University of Transkei Amendment Act No 17: Empowered the Transkei Minister of Education to veto, without giving reasons, the appointment of any person to a post at the University. Commenced: 8 November 1985

1986 Government Notice No 72



#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

proclaimed a self-governing territory  
1973 Education Act No 7: Commenced: 1 January 1974  
1973 Social Pensions Act No

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

proclaimed a self-governing territory  
1978 Education Act No 7: Commenced: 8 December 1978  
1978 Black Taxation Amendment Act

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

9: Commenced: 24 July 1987  
1985 KwaZulu Education Amendment Act No 17: Empowered the Minister of Education and Culture to close schools and to suspend or transfer teachers. Commenced: 1986  
1987 The KwaZulu Act on

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

proclaimed a self-governing territory  
1974 Education Act No 6: Commenced: 24 January 1975  
1976 Criminal Procedure Amendment Act

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

proclaimed a self-governing territory  
1976 Education Act No 4: Commenced: 3 December 1976  
1980 Police Act No 7

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

7: Commenced: 1 September 1986  
1987 Education Act No 7: Commenced: 1 July 1988  
1988 Labour Regulations Act No

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

the black academic staff association;

2) any related matter which comes to the notice of the Commission and which in its view calls for inquiry.

Date of Report: 30 June 1975 Chair: SNYMAN, J.H. Ref: G68 E: EDUC 1/75

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER 13 Commissions

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

G. Ref: RP 78/1976

1976 Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population Group Mandate: To inquire into, consider, and report on a) progress of the coloured population group since 1960 in – i) the social sphere, including housing and health conditions, community development, education, and all matters relevant hereto;

ii) the economic field, including

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

the South African security forces.

102 The liberation movements did not play a military role in the events that began on 6 June 1976. Although a limited number of ANC underground activists attempted to give some direction through the spread of propaganda, the youth involved in these events were influenced by Black Consciousness ideology on the one hand, while responding to genuine grievances on the other. The ANC did, however, benefit from the events of 1976 and 1977, as it was the only liberation movement able to absorb, train, educate and direct the thousands of youth who left South Africa as a direct result of these events. MK established its second battalion from these new recruits, who were sent to Angola for training in the newly established bases there.

103 In addition to military

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

the 'tyranny of the comrades'.

71 Special constables, also known colloquially as 'kitskonstabels' (instant police), 'blue lines', or 'bloupakke', were recruited from urban and rural areas, and were usually unemployed African men with few educational qualifications. Many were illiterate and some had criminal convictions. Training for special constables commenced in September 1986 at the SAP's Koeberg facility outside Cape Town. Initially only six weeks, the training course was later increased to three months. The training was perfunctory and involved only one seven-hour course in onlusdril (riot drill). The Commission received evidence from former special constables that the training, given by senior Security Branch officers, presented the ANC/UDF as the enemy to be suppressed.

72 Although trained for three

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

vehicles.

Mxolisi Penwell 'Mubhi' Khumalo

367 According to the records of the Centre for Adult Education, two armed policemen arrested Mr Mxolisi Penwell 'Mubhi' Khumalo in Sobantu on 30 July 1988 at about 19h30. According to this version, a hand

grenade detonated, killing Khumalo and, according to rumour, the two policemen. Two gunshots were heard immediately after the hand grenade blast. A statement submitted to the Commission by the Khumalo family [KZN/NNN/427/DN] states that Khumalo went into exile in 1986 and returned briefly in July 1988. The family was told that he had died in a bomb blast on a mission at a soccer field in Magqonqo.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

known as the 'Gugulethu Seven'.

403 Mbane claims to have informed both Bellingan and Liebenberg that these were merely youths rather than hardened 'terrorists' and that only one of them – Rasta Piet – was trained. Liebenberg allegedly informed Mbane that he should see to their training. Over a period of two months, the youths received basic training in military combat work from Mbane and political education from Eric Maluleke.

404 The plan was to

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

in excess of R15 million.

568 ANCOR also involved the creation of a front company called Adult Education Consultants or AdEd CC in Pretoria. Its members included Dr LJ Pasques and Dr JL van der Westhuizen. The mission of the organisation was "die effektiewe mobilisering en kontramobilisering van die verskillende groepe in Suidelike Afrika, ter beveiliging van die RSA se Nasionale Veiligheidsdoelwitte" (the effective mobilisation and contra-mobilisation of different groups in Southern Africa, to protect the National Security goals of South Africa).

569 Project Kampong, under which

#### Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

in the Orange Free State

595 The Eagles began as a black youth project of the Department of Education and Training in conjunction with administration boards and community councillors in Orange Free State towns in the early 1980s. By the second half of the 1980s, the Eagles had established a significant presence in almost every Orange Free State town.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

1960 to 1990 PAGE 340

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'.

72 While the ANC denied

#### Reference 64 - 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 facto 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 65 - 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 66 - 0.01% Coverage

Vusi Make Esrome Mokhakala Tshongoyi

Central Committee (1978 - 1979) CHAIRPERSON: PK Leballo FOREIGN AFFAIRS: David Sibeko PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION: Elias Ntloedibe DEFENCE: Edwin Makoti ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY: VDDD Mantshontsho EDUCATION/ MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT: Jimmy Mogoetjane Vusi Make WELFARE: Elizabeth Sibeko Gertrude Mathute The Second Presidential Council, a triumvirate of three who replaced Leballo after they have persuaded him to resign late in 1979. It consisted of Vus Make as Chairperson, and David Sibeko 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

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

##### OVERVIEW OF STATE SECRET PROJECTS

5 An overview is provided below of certain projects undertaken by the South African Defence Force (SADF), South African Police (SAP), National Intelligence Service (NIS), Department of Foreign Affairs and Department of National Education, as presented to the Kahn Committee, the Ministers' Committee on Special Projects and the Secret Services Evaluation Committee<sup>1</sup>.

6 Most projects appear to

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

valuable information.

South African Police

25 The SAP initiated certain special secret projects from November 1985, as directed by the SSC on 16 November 1985. From that year, Project Aristotle ran the National Students' Federation, which was financed through a business trust until press disclosures led to its dissolution, with compensation paid to two agents who suffered losses resulting from their exposure as agents. Project Einstein ran a similar programme in the black tertiary education sector.

26 Project Romulus was aimed

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

of a network of writers.

Department of National Education

33 A single secret project undertaken by the Department of National Education concerned the payment of income tax due on fees paid to the visiting English cricket team in the 1989–90 cricket season. After a meeting with the South African Cricket Union, the "Minister of National Education asked the Minister of Finance to cause the payment of the income tax of each of the players to be effected through a fund that had been created from the Secret Services Account for secret projects of the Department of National Education". This required an amount of R535 825.15. It was explained that if the English players were to do this favour for the South African Cricket Union, they should be given the maximum financial reward to help them through the lean years that would follow, since the tour was bound to result in reprisals and losses for the English players.

■ THE KAHN COMMITTEE

34 The

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

in sensitive information being revealed.

37 A list of covert projects, together with recommendations on each, was published in the committee's four reports. These included sixteen projects under the direction of the SADF, eleven under the Department of Foreign Affairs, nine under the SAP, seven under the NIS and one under the Department of National Education. The report does not contain any information on gross violations of human rights.

38 The Kahn Committee recommended

#### Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

##### REPORT OF THE AUDITOR-GENERAL

46 The Auditor-General was requested to provide the Commission with a report of the auditing of all secret funds utilised by the previous Government for the period 1960 to 1994. The report indicated that, in accordance with a decision of the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee, dated 10 February 1994, all documentation on the completed auditing of secret funds had been returned to the departments concerned. This made it necessary for the Auditor-General to gain the co-operation of: the National Department of Defence; the NIS; the Department of Justice; the SAPS; the Department of Foreign Affairs; the South African Secret Service; the Department of State Expenditure; the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology; the Department of Sports and Recreation, and the Department of Education.

47 A number of departments

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

Affairs

National Intelligence SADF

SAP

National Education Bantu Administration Finance

R60 240 017 R79 434

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

ANC and its communist surrogates".

241 Inkatha employed many strategies to undermine support for the ANC and/or the elections: IFP supporters occupied stadiums booked by the ANC for the holding of election rallies; busloads of IFP supporters were brought into ANC strongholds; voter education campaigns were disrupted, and whole households of ANC supporters were massacred.

242 It was at this

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

introduces reference books for Africans.

The Public Safety Act provides for a state of emergency to be declared. The Minister of Law and Order, the commissioner of the SAP, a magistrate or a commissioned officer can detain any person for reasons of public safety. A magistrate or the commissioner of police can ban meetings and gatherings. (The Act is passed in response to the civil disobedience campaign of the ANC and invoked for the first time after the Sharpsville Massacre on 21 March 1960.) The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act is passed. The Bantu Education Act introduces a system of education for African people designed to provide them only with skills that will serve the white economy. The Communist Party of South Africa dissolves and is reconstituted as the South African Communist Party (SACP).

1954

1955 1956

The Natives'

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

National Chronology PAGE 13

1959

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is formed under Robert Sobukwe. The Extension of the University Education Act provides for the segregation of English-language universities and the creation of ethnic universities. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Governing Act lays the foundation for the creation of 'independent' bantustans. An amendment to Pass Laws Act extends pass laws to women. Both the ANC and the PAC initiate protest campaigns against the pass laws. The Sekhukuneland revolt is crushed, followed by executions of those convicted, including a chieftainess.

1960 Mandate period of Truth

#### Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

settlement on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

1980

In what becomes known as the Silvertown Bank Siege, three MK operatives take bank employees hostage on 25 January. The operatives and two hostages are killed. School boycotts originate in April in the Western Cape and spread nationally. Initial grievances concern mainly the standard and quality of education, but these grow

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 1 Appendix

#### Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

Alliance into the elections.

1994

One person is killed and several injured in an APLA attack on the Crazy Beat disco in Newcastle, Natal on 14 February. PAC president Clarence Makwetu announces the suspension of the armed struggle. The Fourth Interim Report of the Goldstone Commission in March concludes that there is prima facie evidence of a hit squad in the KwaZulu Police. Amidst a widespread public revolt at his decision to withdraw from the April elections, President Mangope draws in the white right wing including the Volksfront to defend his rule. Hundreds of armed AWB members drive into Bophuthatswana and attack residents. Over forty-five people are killed, including three AWB members. The military ruler of the Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, resigns in March. The Transitional Executive Council takes over control of the Ciskei. At least fifty-five people die and hundreds are injured when IFP members march to the centre of Johannesburg on 28 March. IFP marchers are shot at by ANC members from the ANC Shell House head office, killing thirteen. In the Ndwedwe killings, eight people are killed while distributing voter education pamphlets north of Durban on 12 April. Members of the AWB's Ystergarde launch a series of bomb attacks in the Transvaal to sabotage the national election, killing over twenty one people. This includes an attack on the airport, a Germiston taxi rank where ten people are killed, and a car bomb in central Johannesburg on 24 April which kills nine people. Less than a week before the election in April the IFP calls on its supporters to vote. South Africa's first democratic election takes place on 27 April. The ANC wins with 62.6% of the vote, implying 252 of the 400 seats in the National Assembly. A Government of National Unity is constituted. Former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock and two others are arrested in Pretoria in May.



Nelson Mandela is inaugurated as

#### Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

previously governed by homeland administrations.

4 Of the main political organisations, the African National Congress (ANC) has the biggest following in the province. Indeed, the Eastern Cape has generally been regarded as the heartland of the ANC. Many of the organisation's national leaders either grew up in the Eastern Cape or were educated at Fort Hare University in Alice, in the former Ciskei. The battles for control over this region often made it a key area of conflict in the country.

Overview of violations 5 Abuses

#### Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

1976–1982 Overview of violations

97 After the relatively quiet later 1960s and early 1970s, two major influences ushered in a period of heightened political activity. These were the national education protests and the rise of the BCM followed by other mass-based organisations. The Commission received many reports of shootings by security forces during the education protests that spread to the Eastern Cape after 1976. Many of the detentions reported were related to these protests.

98 The BCM gained momentum

#### Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Eastern Cape PAGE 58

State and allied groupings Public order policing: The mass protests of the education crisis

101 The national education protests of June 1976 soon spread to the Eastern Cape, starting with violence in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage in August. Many areas in the Eastern Cape were affected at various times by the boycotts and clashes between police and youths.

102 The Port Elizabeth–Uitenhage

#### Reference 81 - 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 82 - 0.01% Coverage

in selfdefence.

#### Torture in custody

120 Detentions continued in both homelands throughout this period. These were associated mainly with the education protests and with protests against independence. The Commission received several reports of deaths in detention in the Eastern Cape in the late 1970s, both through victims' submissions and through amnesty applications. In addition, numerous activists made allegations of torture while in security police custody. Some of the cases of severe torture reported to the Commission occurred directly after deaths in detention had taken place, suggesting that police were unconcerned that the torture of detainees might prove fatal. Cases reported to the Commission suggest that Port Elizabeth was one of the main sites of torture in custody.

#### The case of Mzukisi Mapela

#### Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

other parts of the country.

181 Until August 1995, the predominant aspects of resistance and political mobilisation were less pronounced in Duncan Village (on the outskirts of East London) than in other townships around the country. There were, however, sporadic street battles between youths, students and the police, particularly in the context of intermittent schools boycotts. Pupils at Qaqamba Senior Secondary School boycotted classes early in 1985, demanding that their student representative council be recognised and corporal punishment abolished. On 11 April 1985, the pupils at Qaqamba apparently marched out of their school and demanded that other pupils from the nearby Nyathi and Makinana primary schools join them. They were confronted and dispersed by the police using rubber bullets. Persistent running battles between the police and boycotting students followed. In May, the local educational authorities suspended classes.

#### VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 2 Regional

#### Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

necklaced' in Queenstown's Mlungisi township.

199 On 17 November, a report-back meeting on negotiations with the Department of Education and Training, the Queenstown municipality, the East Cape Development Board and the Queenstown Chamber of Commerce was called by the residents' association of the local Mlungisi township. The meeting, held at Nonzwakazi Methodist Church and attended by over 2 000 people, was disrupted by police.

200 It is estimated that

#### Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

clashes: Port Elizabeth, 1985–86

218 1985 and 1986 saw the evolution of inter-organisational conflict in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, with manipulation by the security forces (see Volume Two). The conflict started between AZAPO and the UDF in Port Elizabeth; later it developed into a violent conflict between the UDF and an organisation called AmaAfrika in KwaNobuhle. This conflict emerged at a time of education boycotts and developed into increasingly violent clashes between UDF-aligned youths and security forces and those regarded as their allies, such as community councillors. A prominent feature of these conflicts was the use of fire in attacking

opponents – arson attacks on houses and burning of people. By 1985, the 'necklace' method of killing was being used, which involved placing a tyre around the victim and setting him or her alight.

219 Up until late 1984

#### Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Eastern Cape PAGE 96

Tension between Reverend Maqina and the UDF started in 1984 over responses to the education crisis. Maqina opposed the school boycotts, which made him unpopular with COSAS.

221 The conflict in Port

#### Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

the Cradock Youth Association (Cradoya).

279 On 29 November 1983, Mr Matthew Goniwe was notified that he had been transferred to Graaff-Reinet. Assuming this to be a politically motivated transfer, Goniwe refused to accept the move. The Department of Education and Training (DET) then claimed that he had 'dismissed himself'. When the DET refused to revoke the transfer, a school boycott started in February 1984 in support of Goniwe. By 18 March, it was supported by around 7 000 students from all seven Lingelihle schools; it ran for over fifteen months and became the longest school boycott in the country.

280 On 26 March 1984

#### Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Eastern Cape PAGE 116

could be done. Ms Mkhonto, Ms Mhlauli and Ms Calata also requested assistance with the education of their children. Ms Mhlauli requested the return of her husband's hand, which is believed to have been kept in a jar by the security police at Louis le Grange Square in Port Elizabeth. Mr Madoda Jacobs [EC0025/96NWC], the former head boy of Lingelihle High School, told the Commission that while he was in detention in Port Elizabeth in 1985, security police had shown him a hand in a bottle and told him it was Mhlauli's.

298 In January 1997, the

#### Reference 89 - 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 90 - 0.01% Coverage

Historical overview of the period

88 In KwaZulu and Natal, this period was dominated by conflict and violence that reached the proportions of a civil war in some areas. Political allegiances were crucial in the conflict, with lines sharply drawn between the supporters of Inkatha and the supporters of the ANC-aligned UDF, which was formed in 1983 to co-ordinate protest against the new Constitution and the proposed Tricameral parliament. The conflict manifested itself in all spheres of political life in the province and was felt particularly in educational institutions and in the workplace.

The Ongoye Massacre

On 29

#### Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

political conflict for some time.

101 Towards the end of this period, the UDF adopted a campaign to make the townships ungovernable. Educational institutions and trade unions became key sites of revolutionary activity. School boycotts and strikes were transformed into scenes of violent conflict and bloodletting. At the Kabwe Conference<sup>17</sup> in June 1985, the ANC took a decision to drop the distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' targets. This resulted in an increase in the killing and maiming of civilians in MK sabotage operations where targets held only a tenuous link to the state and its institutions.

102 The period 1983–89

#### Reference 92 - 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 93 - 0.01% Coverage

various places around the province.

232 The SDUs were most organised in the townships/urban areas. They were composed largely of radicalised youth, many of whom had abandoned their education and chosen to rebel against their elders

and the local authorities. The militaristic and highly politicised nature of the SDUs bred a culture of violence and lawlessness, which was especially harmful to impressionable township youth. This led to many of the SDUs turning into criminal gangs. In some Natal communities, the SDUs became uncontrollable and unaccountable to the residents. Internal divisions and conflict became a feature of SDU activity, particularly in rural communities where the ANC was less organised.

233 In September 1993, the

#### Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

announcement of the election date.

428 IFP supporters are alleged to have launched attacks on the party's opponents in KwaMakhutha, Umlazi and KwaMashu. In KwaMashu, Umlazi and Mondlo, opponents allegedly occupied stadiums reserved by the ANC, resulting in heightened political tensions and violent conflict in these areas. Voter education efforts were disrupted, leading to violent deaths (see below).

429 On 25 August 1993

#### Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

Powell in KwaZulu/Natal.

Creighton

434 On 18 February 1994, fifteen ANC youths were massacred in the rural Mahehle village near Creighton in the Natal Midlands. Earlier that day they had been involved in putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop. Four prominent IFP leaders, Mr Mbadlaza Paulos Vezi, Mr Dumisani Khuzwayo, Mr Gamuntu Sithole and Mr Thulani Dlamini, were arrested in connection with the massacre. They were later acquitted due to conflicting evidence given by the state witnesses [KZN/ZJ/420/IX; KZN/ZJ/417/IX; KZN/ZJ/418/IX; KZN/MR/468/CT; KZN/MR/465/CT].

KwaMashu

435 On 20 March

#### Reference 96 - 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 97 - 0.01% Coverage

338

##### ■ 1976–1982 Historical overview

39 The 1976 Soweto uprising triggered a surge of student protests in centres around the Orange Free State, bringing young people into the frontline of anti-apartheid protest. A number of influential student organisations were formed during this period. 1978 saw the establishment of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) whose aim was to work, within a Black Consciousness framework, towards a common education and political system for all people. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed in June 1979 with the aim of striving for an education system that would meet the needs and aspirations of the post-1976 situation. In the Orange Free State, both organisations involved themselves in a range of community concerns, such as organising commemoration and funeral services for students shot by police and participating in marches to protest against removals, increases in rent and bus fares, and detention without trial. These activities often brought them into direct clashes with the police.

40 Early in 1980, boycotts started in black secondary schools in Cape Town and gradually spread countrywide. Although initial grievances concerned mainly the quality of education offered to blacks, it became clear that students were challenging not only the educational system but also the political system. Indeed, student organisations like COSAS promoted the idea that the struggle for quality and equality in education went hand in hand with all other struggles in society.

41 Students continued with sporadic protest and boycott actions and, in November 1980, the Department of Education and Training closed seventy-seven secondary schools across the country. Three of the five secondary schools for black pupils in Bloemfontein were amongst those that were closed indefinitely. Schools in that city had responded to the call for a schools boycott in April 1980, leading to several outbreaks of violence. Violence also broke out in schools in Onverwacht (later known as Botshabelo) at Thaba'Nchu in July 1980, where up to 600 pupils boycotted classes. Boycott action also occurred in schools in QwaQwa during 1980.

42 Disturbances, protests and boycotts

#### Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

activities focusing on student grievances.

68 From 1984, many towns in the Orange Free State, particularly Bloemfontein, Parys and Welkom, experienced the worst civil unrest since the Soweto uprising of 1976. Continuing student dissatisfaction with the education system was the primary focus of conflict. As in the previous period, the youth and particularly the students bore the brunt of police brutality in the course of school boycotts and other protests, as well as being disadvantaged academically by the disruptions.

69 In the industrial sphere

#### Reference 99 - 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 100 - 0.01% Coverage

private organisation and sponsored privately.

132 The constitution of the Eagles Youth Club was said to be based on 'Christian National Principles' and pursued its objectives by means of camps offering a variety of activities, including political education. Lectures in political education covered subjects as diverse as Christianity, Communism and the culture and history of the ANC and PAC. Eagles were encouraged to co-operate with state structures, particularly with the police and the SADF, who were described in the courses as 'your friends'. At the same time, members were encouraged to report 'terrorists' to the police and warned against 'people who are trying to tell you bad things about South Africa'. They were told that 'comrades' organisations in townships were part of the 'enemy' and should be neutralised. Eagles members became sources of information concerning the identity of 'comrades' in townships, and were used to monitor the strategies and plans of 'comrades' organisations, particularly around popular events such as the commemoration of 16 June (Soweto Day).

133 By 1986, Eagles members

#### Reference 101 - 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 102 - 0.01% Coverage

Profile: Western Cape PAGE 395

26 In early June 1972, University of Cape Town (UCT) students holding an education protest meeting at St George's Cathedral were baton-charged on the steps of the Cathedral and badly beaten. Fifty-one students were arrested and charged. Eleven students and a university employee instituted legal action for assault against the Minister of Police, resulting in out-of-court settlements.

27 The Schlebusch Commission of



#### Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

in hospital the following day.

WITH REGARD TO THE 1980 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE RESPONSE OF THE SECURITY FORCES TO LEGITIMATE EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL GRIEVANCES AND PROTESTS WAS EXCESSIVELY HARSH. MANY OF THE FORTY-TWO PEOPLE REPORTED KILLED WERE UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN, AND MANY WERE WOMEN.

THE COMMISSION FIND THAT THE

#### Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

son.

Aftermath: The Peninsula erupts

119 After the Pollsmoor march, the townships of the Western Cape remained in upheaval until the end of the year with ongoing street battles, barricades and stone throwing and arson attacks on institutions, shops and schools. The troubled townships were regularly sealed off by security forces and placed under virtual siege. The key areas of conflict continued to be the Athlone, Bonteheuwel, Manenberg and Mitchells Plain as well as the African townships of Gugulethu, Nyanga and Langa, with Khayelitsha increasingly entering the fray. On 6 September, the government closed 464 coloured schools and tertiary institutions in an acknowledgement of the enormous impact of the school boycotts. By this stage, however, protest had moved well beyond the education constituency.

120 The widespread political outrage that followed the mass killings at the Pollsmoor march had galvanised communities outside of the youth and the education sector. People identified as 'collaborators' were increasingly targeted in petrol bomb and stoning attacks. The death toll continued to grow at the rate of several deaths per week.

121 Mr Ebrahim Carelse (31

#### Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

known as the Gugulethu Seven.

The askaris started by fixing Christopher Piet's faulty AK-47, then got the youths to write their biographies, as was standard practice in the liberation movements. Mbane claims that he handed these biographies to Bellingan and the latter conceded at his amnesty hearing that this may have been so. Mbane and Maluleke were reporting to Bellingan and Liebenberg on a regular basis and informed both Bellingan and Liebenberg that these were merely youths, not hardened 'terrorists'. Mbane said he specifically informed them that 'Rasta' Piet was the only one among them with any training. Mbane was tasked to train the youths and gave them basic training in military combat over two months while Eric Maluleke provided political education.

When their training was complete

#### Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

112 It took the government more than a year to quell the violence which grew rapidly from a locally based student protest against inadequate education to a wholesale rejection of apartheid by black communities across the country.

Overview of violations

113 Of

#### Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

allied groupings The Soweto uprising

119 In 1975, a directive was issued by the Bantu Education Department to schools in the Transvaal that Afrikaans was to be used on an equal basis with English as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. In February 1976, two members of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board were dismissed for defying the order and by May a class boycott had been initiated at Orlando West Junior Secondary school after a circuit inspector turned down a request for a meeting with protesting students. By the end of the month the number of boycotting schools rose to six. During the same month the first violence broke out when an Afrikaans teacher at Pimville Higher Primary was stabbed and police were stoned when they tried to arrest a youth in connection with the assault. Education authorities responded with a warning that they would not hesitate to shut down boycotting schools, expel pupils and transfer teachers. The conflict continued to escalate. More schools went out on boycott, a number refused to write mid-year exams, and further acts of violence were reported.

120 Despite numerous warnings issued

#### Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

of their parents and teachers:

Children ... were very dissatisfied with the situation of the Bantu education. Naturally when they turned to their parents their parents could not help them because I think I am right when I say 75 per cent of the parents of those children had no education, and were therefore very much intimidated by the police, by this whole state of South Africa that made them to be too frightened to approach the white people to say our children say they are not learning at school. So finally these kids took it into their hands, I suppose, to redeem themselves from that malady of lack of education.

123 The Action Committee gave

#### Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

to the youth.

Township administration

149 Education was not the only source of dissatisfaction among township residents participating in the June uprising. Developments in policy for the administration of black areas were met with growing opposition in black townships.

150 In terms of the

#### Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

became evident to township residents.

157 The Commission heard that, in the weeks leading up to the 16 June protests, members of the UBC became increasingly concerned about the growing crisis in education. At the 14 June meeting of the UBC, Councillor Leonard Mosala warned that enforcing Afrikaans in schools could result in another Sharpville. Speaking of the children, he said:

They won't take anything we

#### Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

Regional Profile: Transvaal PAGE 566

158 Mr Mosala testified at the Commission's Soweto Day hearings and described the efforts made by the UBC, after a variety of other community organisations had failed, to negotiate with the government on the problem of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Council members believed that they would be received more favourably because they were a legislated body, but they were reportedly treated with "contempt" by the regional director of education, Mr Ackerman, who told the council members to confine themselves to their statutory duties.

159 The UBC was in

#### Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

1976 and 28 February 1977.

168 The Cillie Commission found that 575 people died and that 2 389 were injured, and concluded that: "Bantu Education was not a cause of the riots. It was, to a certain degree, a cause of dissatisfaction; this dissatisfaction was to some extent stirred up and exploited by those bent on creating disturbances." It found the SSRC primarily responsible for the fact that the "riots" did not abate sooner. The Cillie Commission stated that the police force had acquitted itself well in executing its duties and could find no evidence that police had perpetrated deliberate and impermissible assaults on the protesters, or that they had used their firearms indiscriminately.

169 In his testimony to

#### Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

them before that Cillie Commission.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION'S DECISION TO INTRODUCE AFRIKAANS AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN BLACK SCHOOLS WAS A DIRECT CAUSE OF THE CONFLICT WHICH LED TO THE PROTEST MARCH BY STUDENTS IN SOWETO IN 1976. THE FAILURE OF THE EDUCATION AUTHORITIES TO RECOGNISE THAT A CRISIS WAS DEVELOPING, DESPITE INTERVENTIONS BY COMMUNITY LEADERS AND EVEN BY THEIR OWN BANTU COUNCILLORS, CREATED A RALLYING POINT FOR THE STUDENTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

#### Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE.

DURING THIS PERIOD, 2 380 PEOPLE WERE WOUNDED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE, THE THEN PRIME MINISTER AND THE MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND POLICE RESPONSIBLE AND DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.  
THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

#### Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

and high schools in Soweto.

224 The student organisers had also matured politically and now unequivocally located their battle against Bantu Education within a broader struggle against apartheid. It was believed that the apartheid system was about to crumble and that the campaign against Afrikaans and the apartheid system as a whole could be won.

Sabotage campaigns

225 The students

#### Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

never see until you die ...

271 Shortly after the initial outbreaks of violence, Mr Louis le Grange (Minister of Law and Order), Mr FW de Klerk (MP for Vereeniging), General Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence), Mr Gerrit Viljoen (Minister of Education) and Mayor Mahlatsi

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 6 Regional

#### Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

290 During these years, protests over rents coalesced with student protests about a range of educational issues. Following the January 1984 protests and clashes with the police in Atteridgeville near Pretoria, student leaders were suspended and schools in the townships closed down by the Department of Education. In response to police brutality, students intensified attacks on the homes of those perceived to be sympathetic to the policies of the state.

291 A thirteen-year-old

#### Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

stations for periods of torture.

323 Mr Spankie Lesotho [JB02167/03WR], a founder member of the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM), from Khutsong at Carletonville in the Western Transvaal, testified to the Human Rights Violations Committee of his experience as an emergency detainee. As a member of AZASM, he organised protests against corporal punishment and other educational grievances. Some of these protests were violent and involved the burning of school buildings, administrative offices and shops. He was repeatedly detained from 1985 onwards and then served a sixmonth sentence for public violence. On his release in 1986 he was detained again. He told the Commission that he was held for three weeks, and tortured. He was forced to

frog-jump, his head was hit against a wall and his hair was torn out. A complaint to a prosecutor that he had been tortured merely elicited further abuse.

324 Mr Jacob Khoali [JB00238

#### Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

the effects of the assault.

403 Ms Tshinane Daphney Kwinda [JB01416/02NPVEN] was sixteen years old when she was seriously assaulted by several Venda policemen in August 1988, during a protest march against corporal punishment. Ms Kwinda lost her right eye in the assault and sustained injuries to her entire body. As a result of her injuries she was unable to continue with her education. Shortly afterwards, a group of policemen visited Kwinda at home and threatened "to take serious steps" if she intended taking the matter further.

404 President Ravele appointed a

#### Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

436 In October 1985, Mr Ngoako Ramalepe [JB02813/02NP], chairperson of the Student Representative Council (SRC) at Modjadji College of Education in the Gazankulu homeland, was beaten to death by members of the Lebowa Police after being arrested at a shopping centre. Mr Ramalepe had just returned from a march to celebrate the recent release from detention of another colleague. Mr Robert Makoga, also an office-bearer in the SRC, was arrested with Ramalepe and was severely beaten at the police station. He alleges that Station Commander Ramulta of the Lebowa Police gave the order for the two to be arrested. Makoga told the Commission:

When I woke up I

#### Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

get a statement from me

437 Sixteen-year-old Wilson Tibane [JB03220/02NPTZA] was also part of the wave of conflict which swept across Gazankulu during 1986. He was among a group of youths who marched towards Dan Village near Tzaneen to demand an end to the homeland government. They were intercepted by Gazankulu police who opened fire. Wilson Tibane was shot and killed. At his funeral the police violently dispersed mourners who ignored government restrictions on the number of people who could attend the gathering. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR NGOAKO RAMALEPE, THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE SRC AT THE MODJADJI COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, WAS ARRESTED AND DETAINED IN OCTOBER 1985 TOGETH-

VOLUME 3 CHAPTER 6 Regional

#### Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

KaNgwane: Kabasa

485 The eastern Transvaal self-governing homeland of KaNgwane, led by Chief Minister Enoch Mabusu, also experienced an escalation of tension at this time. At the end of 1985, violence flared in the Nsikazi

region of KaNgwane, claiming the lives of at least two leading businessmen, a trade unionist and a chief. In February 1986, education-related protests led to sustained conflict lasting well into the year. In February alone, at least four people died in unrest-related incidents in KaNgwane, and damage estimated at R2 million was caused in the townships of Kabokweni and KaNyamazane.

486 It was in this

#### Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

inquest found the police responsible.

759 Mr Bennet Maakana [JB03430/02NPTZA], who had helped establish ANC structures in Nkowankowa, was detained and placed in solitary confinement in February 1990. Mr Theron Mdunwazi Mkwinka was arrested and detained for eight months at Gravelotte, after attending a meeting called by the Tzaneen Education Crisis Committee in June 1990. The Gazankulu police suspected him of being a 'terrorist' and he was tortured whilst imprisoned. Mr Mbiza Penstone Mbokota was detained and tortured by the Gazankulu police for allegedly participating in burning a house belonging to a policeman. Mr Moses Msisinyani Mabasa [JB01418/02NPTZA] was severely tortured for the same event in February 1992. Mr Elvis Sello Sekoati [JB03225/02NPTZA] was severely tortured by the Lebowa police for public violence in 1993. He was an ANC Youth League delegate sent to help set up the security and marshal Namakgale stadium, where Mr Ngoako Ramatlhodi was scheduled to speak in an election rally.

Bophuthatswana

760 In Bophuthatswana, workers

#### Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

was attacked by these men.

775 Ms Helena Kroon De Kock [JB01563/03NW] testified before the Commission about the bombing of her non-racial school in Klerksdorp. She believed that the school had been bombed by "faceless individuals opposed to her idea that all children deserved a decent education." The De Kock family also received a number of death threats. The Amnesty Committee received an application for this particular incident. Mr Johan de Wet Strydom, an AWB member [AM5168/97], says in his application that he provided the explosives that were used in the bombings. Many of the right-wingers applying for amnesty for the spate of bombings before South Africa's first democratic elections were from the Western Transvaal and the West Rand, traditional right-wing areas of support.

776 Mr Simon Rabesi Phiri

#### Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

found themselves obliged to defend.

12 The chapter on children and youth describes the devastating effects of apartheid on young people in South Africa. It also pays tribute to the extraordinary heroism of generations of young people who risked their education, their safety and often their lives for a better society. Many of them today are greatly the poorer for their sacrifice. Many others did not live beyond their teens and became victims of the system against which they struggled.

13 The chapter on women

#### Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

Mtetwa, C J Nathan, L

National Association of Democratic Lawyers National Association of Independent Lawyers National Association of Law Societies in South Africa National Literacy Co-operation and other educational stakeholders National Police and Public Civil Rights Union Nel, C D H O  
Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa

#### Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

economy, civil society and apartheid:

Our weapons, ammunition, uniforms, vehicles, radios and other equipment were all developed and provided by industry. Our finances and banking were done by bankers who even gave us covert credit cards for covert operations. Our chaplains prayed for our victory and our universities educated us in war. Our propaganda was carried by the media and our political masters were voted back into power time after time with ever increasing majorities.<sup>2</sup>

First order involvement

23 To

#### Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

many human rights abuses.<sup>6</sup>

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 129 - 0.01% Coverage

African workers in certain areas);

c the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act; d the Bantu Education Act; e the Group Areas Act.<sup>15</sup>

86 Firms that required greater

#### Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

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 131 - 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.<sup>16</sup> 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

#### Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

in relation to trade unions.

96 Old Mutual's submission on the costs and benefits of apartheid was illustrative. On the negative side, the submission pointed to the lowering of economic growth (which constrained the market for life insurance), the Bantu education system which limited the pool of quality employees and the existence of exchange controls which limited their expansion overseas. Old Mutual offered only two possible 'positives': their acquisition of assets from Colonial Mutual of Australia when it disinvested in 1987 and the "marketing opportunities" created by the expansion of the homeland bureaucracies. On this latter score, however, Old Mutual reserved judgement as to whether this would have resulted in a net gain or loss compared to some other (non-apartheid) scenario.

97 Again, not all businesses

#### Reference 133 - 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 134 - 0.01% Coverage

Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee<sup>25</sup>:

The total government debt currently stands at R300 billion. R40 billion of government's budget for this year is spent on paying interest on this debt. This makes interest payment on the debt the largest item after education. In

25 Submission of the Apartheid



#### Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

religious rites, customs and dress.

25 From the turn of the century, various Hindu communities and religious institutions came together under the banner of a national body. The Hindu Maha Sabha was formed in 1912 as a forum for discussion of the religious, cultural, educational, social and economic welfare of the Hindu community. It embraces the four main language groups, temple societies and neo-religious organisations that subscribe to the views of Hinduism.

Buddhism

26 While some Buddhists

#### Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

The Faith Community PAGE 68

Church. Conservative-evangelical organisations were also affected by the climate of the country. The Student Christian Association split into separate white (SCA) and black (SCM) organisations. While the Seventh Day Adventist Church was unified at its highest level, many of its structures became segregated – into racially divided Union conferences and secondary and tertiary educational institutions - as the church began to “pattern itself after the thinking of the politicians”.

43 Yet even churches which

#### Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> Several submissions made reference to the closing of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice and the taking of its land.<sup>27</sup> 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 Nokuphilia 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 138 - 0.01% Coverage

of religious values and laws

73 Despite the many different religious allegiances of its subjects, the apartheid state saw itself as the guardian of 'Christian civilisation' in southern Africa. From the time of the arrival of the colonists in the seventeenth century, other faith communities were barely tolerated. Using education as its weapon, the apartheid state perpetuated this. Christian National Education was imposed on non-Christian faith communities – a fact highlighted in Muslim and Hindu submissions. The expression of certain religious values in education was repressed and other alien values were imposed. This was true even in the case of such Christian communities as the amaNazaretha where taboos concerning shaving were not honoured in schools and children were forced to remove their hair, causing ritual defilement.

74 Related to the repression of religious values in education was the repression of religious law, especially in the case of Islam and Hinduism. Muslim marriages observed by the Ulamas were not legally valid, making their children illegitimate.<sup>28</sup> The MYM pointed out that the state was also able to use religious laws to suit its own ends. It recalled how the Ulamas were co-opted onto a South African Law Commission committee on the recognition of Muslim marriage in 1986 – a cynical attempt on the part of the state to gain the approval of the Islamic community.<sup>29</sup>

75 The religious values of

##### Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

those of the ecumenical churches.

88 The SACC submission stated that 'The Message to the People of South Africa' (1968) directly attacked the theological foundations of nationalism, saying that a Christian's "first loyalty" must be given to Christ, rather than to "a subsection of mankind". Christian groups began to engage in intensive social analysis in the early 1970s. The Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPRO-CAS) was launched after the 'Message'. SPRO-CAS set up several commissions, covering educational, legal, economic, social and religious areas. Later the Special Programme

36 Interestingly it seems that

##### Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

#### COMMUNITIES AND SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSITION

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

115 Faith communities were engaged

#### Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

The Faith Community

PAGE 89

116 The National Peace Accord was launched in September 1991, with heavy involvement from the SACC, with the aim of helping to create an ethos conducive to democratic transition. The Catholic Bishops Conference and the SACC, together with a coalition of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), launched Education for Democracy. This project worked at local levels to create awareness of constitutional governance and key political concepts. It was directed both at illiterate black people and urban white people. The latter had never experienced non-racial democracy and expected, on the whole, to retain their privileges in a new society. The Church Leaders Forum, representing a wide collection of denominations, met with government leaders and urged them on the path to a negotiated settlement. The group included traditional foes of the SACC, including Reverend Ray McCauley of the International Federation of Christian Churches and Professor Johan Heynes of the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>58</sup> After CODESA broke down, this forum worked to restart the negotiation process. The WCRP, SACC and the Catholic Bishops Conference formed the Panel of Religious Leaders for Electoral Justice to monitor the elections. The WCRP also sponsored the forum which brought monitors from other countries.<sup>59</sup>

117 Does all this mean

#### Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

is entrusted to those judges.

15 Legal education and training had been largely uncritical of unjust legal dogma and practice. Those few academics who had dared to speak out had received

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 4 Institutional

#### Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

although several qualified such admissions.

36 Yet, for all that this was the overwhelming pattern of the law and lawyers' conduct under apartheid, there were always a few lawyers (including judges, teachers and students) who were prepared to break with the norm. These lawyers used every opportunity to speak out publicly and within the profession against the adoption and execution of rules of law that sanctioned arbitrary official conduct and injustice. They explored the limits of their forensic skills in defending those on trial for offences in terms of such legislation, or in arguing for the invalidity of vague or unreasonable administrative action. They worked ceaselessly to prepare the cases of those targeted by the state, often in trying conditions and for little material reward. They advised and educated those in the community most vulnerable to official excesses, such as the rural poor and workers, through advice offices and religious bodies. They challenged their students to confront the relationship between law and justice and to translate their ideals into practice. They forswore the comforts of commercial practice for the sake of the upliftment of those excluded from all forms of power. They exercised their judicial discretion in favour of justice and liberty wherever proper and possible.

37 These actions demanded courage

#### Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

of ethics to nursing students:

Ethics content has always been included in nursing curricula. However, it seems that educators largely did not succeed in teaching this subject so that it had everyday application.

While provision is made for

#### Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

speak out about these violations.

18 While it is easy to criticise district surgeons, it must also be appreciated that the conditions under which they had to work made it difficult for them to uphold human rights. They were given no specific training for work in the prisons, no continuing medical education and no independent avenues to report abuses. They were generally isolated from the rest of the profession and sometimes

4 Since the primary mandate

#### Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

of support from institutional bodies

19 Institutional bodies such as the Department of Health, the SAMDC and the MASA contributed indirectly to breaches of ethics by district surgeons. None of them took responsibility for the inadequacies of the system in which these doctors operated. The Department of Health was responsible for ensuring that district surgeons (who were, after all, employees of the Department of Health) were aware of their rights and responsibilities within the prison and police systems. It should have provided practical guidelines for action by district surgeons faced with situations in which violations of ethical conduct seemed inevitable. The SAMDC was supposedly responsible for dealing with those guilty of professional misconduct and for educational guidelines and ethics. There are well-documented cases in which the SAMDC failed to take proper action on professional misconduct. Both the SAMDC and the MASA gave little support to those who upheld human rights, thus discouraging health professionals from challenging the system. None of these organisations provided guidelines to assist district surgeons in dealing with adverse situations, in which it was almost impossible to treat detainees properly.

The death in detention of

#### Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

occurred frequently.<sup>31</sup>

#### ■ MEDICAL SCHOOLS

58 Medical schools played a significant role in perpetuating human rights abuses. Black people were systematically prevented from obtaining training in the health sciences and, even where this was allowed or provided for, received an inferior quality of education to that of white students. Medical schools failed to teach ethics and human rights. Professors in medical schools held dual appointments with both the state and the medical schools, leaving them vulnerable as health professionals with dual obligations. Finally, with a few exceptions, medical faculties did not speak out about the unethical nature of apartheid medicine and its adverse effects on training and patient care.

Admission for training in the

#### Reference 148 - 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 149 - 0.01% Coverage

The Health Sector

PAGE 132

Disparities in the education of black and white medical students

63 Although the various South

#### Reference 150 - 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 151 - 0.01% Coverage

pigs to test new drugs.

Education, training and research

89 As with other health

#### Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

by default rather than design.

90 Up until the time of the Commission, the training of mental health professionals adopted a largely Eurocentric paradigm, resulting in a style of mental health care that was inaccessible and inappropriate for many South Africans. While transformation was occurring in some academic sectors, change was still absent in others. Likewise, the types of psychometric tests used for assessment purposes (such as IQ tests) still tended to be appropriate only in a western culture. In South Africa, they were used as a way of excluding black candidates from, for example, educational institutions and employment opportunities.

91 In the same way

#### Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

of the period under review.

100 The SAMDC was a statutory body and, during the period under review, was responsible for the registration, education, maintenance and monitoring of professional standards of conduct as well as for disciplinary enquiries into allegations of misconduct of all health professionals except nurses and pharmacists.<sup>42</sup>

101 The successor body to

#### Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

a question at the hearing:

MASA was so wrapped up in its white, male, elitist, educated, professional world as individuals and as a collective organisation and as part of a broader society from which doctors were drawn, that it failed to see the need to treat all people as equal human beings. Perhaps the same could be said of other groupings in society. MASA allowed black and white people to be treated differently, and this is the form of human rights violations for which it stands disgraced.

112 The written submission added

#### Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

on the health of children.

141 Academic institutions, even those that did admit black medical students, failed to provide equal educational opportunities to black and white students.<sup>51</sup>

142 Education in respect of human rights for all health professionals failed to address crucial patient-care issues.

143 The former government, and

#### Reference 156 - 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.

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

quotation from an earlier analysis<sup>5</sup>:

The relationship between part-time and full-time forces can best be understood in terms of the typical Defence Force career of a white male. All white men must register for military service at sixteen, while still at school. They are then liable for service in the full-time force. Those who do not make a career in the permanent force are required either before or after tertiary education to render two years of national service in one of the five arms of the Defence Force. After this they are placed in the part-time citizen force for twelve years, during which time they must serve up to 720 days in annual thirty-, sixty-, or ninety-day 'camps'. Then they are placed in the active citizen force reserve for five years and may be required to serve twelve days a year in a local commando until the age of fifty-five. Finally, they are placed on the national reserve until they are sixty-five.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Phillips, 'The nuts

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

Torture, Cape Town, reported that:

Most ex-conscripts report that they, their peers and their community saw service in the SADF as a natural part of growing up and 'becoming a man'... The national education system consistently presented military training as a given part of the rites of passage of white men and the moral duty of anyone concerned with defending order and morality (Christianity) against the forces of evil and chaos (Soviet-inspired Communism)...

My recent experience with ex

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

on the Namibian/SWA Border

32 Mr Liebenberg, socialised as a typical white, Afrikaans-speaking male during the 1970s, described his training as an infantryman and the difficulties he experienced coping with his role as the eighteen year old commander of a platoon of thirty people, most of whom had an education below standard eight (grade ten). In his testimony he stated that:

What most of us were

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

excluded themselves from the hearings.

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

A culture of human rights

#### Reference 161 - 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.<sup>4</sup> This contributed to a situation that made possible the gross human rights violations of the past.

12 Many white children, on

#### Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

fighting with our fellow brothers.

26 The state used various means to suppress dissent. Arrests and detentions removed opponents from the political arena. Courts were used to criminalise political activity. In the 1980s, in particular, student and youth organisations were banned, as were the possession and distribution of their publications. From 1976 to 1990, outdoor political gatherings were outlawed. From 1986, there was a blanket ban on indoor gatherings aimed at promoting work stoppages, stay aways or educational boycotts.

27 The security establishment engaged

#### Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

##### Children and Youth

PAGE 258

39 Many of South Africa's young people grew up in an atmosphere of imminent danger. They lived with the painful reality of losing loved ones and family members and were often conscious of the burden of responsibility they carried for the lives of others. Their lives were characterised by fear and insecurity. Because the state made no distinction between public and private space, their homes did not provide them with a safe haven. Many children were on the run because they feared for their lives and suffered grave disruptions to their education and development.

White youth

40 White youth

#### Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

at the age of five."

51 Ms Joyce Mthimkulu told the story of her son, Sipiwe Mthimkulu, at the Commission's hearings in Port Elizabeth in June 1996. The case of Sipiwe Mthimkulu details the tragic layers of abuse that were endured by many activists. Sipiwe was a determined political activist in the Eastern Cape from the age of seventeen. His activities centred on his objection to Bantu Education. His participation in COSAS brought upon him the wrath of the regime. He was detained numerous times and subjected to severe forms of torture. He was



shot in the arm and faced constant police harassment. To protect his family from harassment, he was continually on the run and, when he did return home, he lived in a dog kennel.

52 In 1981, after his

#### Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

post-traumatic stress disorder.<sup>23</sup>

96 Child soldiers and activists who were exposed to or involved in extensive acts of violence may have become desensitised to suffering. Many have been deprived of opportunities for physical, emotional and intellectual development. After the conflict was over, it was difficult to take up life as it was before, especially where there was a lack of education, training, decent living conditions and jobs. Effective social reintegration depends on support from families and communities.

Disillusionment

97 Most activists anticipated

#### Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

from families and communities.

Disillusionment

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

23 Presentation by Gary Koen

#### Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

Sandra Adonis expressed it thus:

My life is messed up as it is, directionless. I mean, I have lost my education and I have lost my childhood, although we have in return received our freedom and our democracy in this country. But to what extent did we, as the comrades, members of the Bonteheuvel Military Wing gain? I do not think we have gained anything because we are still in the same position as we used to be - unemployed, homeless, abandoned. And there is nobody that looks back and says, well, these are the people that have fought the struggle, that has been part and parcel of the struggle and has brought us to the point where we are now. Not any recognition.

98 For youth who were

#### Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

with the disfigurement or disability.

Disruptions to education

104 The quest by the oppressed majority for a proper education has been a theme that has dominated South African resistance. According to Professor Mzamane: "The deprivation of one's opportunity to

develop one's mind must surely rank as one of the most evil conceptions of apartheid." Children and youth, although they valued education and acknowledged the difficulties of advancing their careers without certificates, were prepared to sacrifice their education by joining liberation movements and participating in mass mobilisation under the slogan of 'liberation before education'.

105 Mr Maxlesi described the effects of apartheid education on the youth: VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 9 Special Hearing on Children and Youth PAGE 275

The unjust education system resulted in many of our fellow students leaving school to join the work force and others leaving the country to join the liberation movement in exile. The culture of learning and teaching was reduced to non-existence by the regime ... The absence of educational and recreational facilities in our schools and communities affected our academic achievements and growth development as young people.

106 The education of many children was disrupted because they were forced into underground activities, had to sleep away from home to evade arrest or were detained. Children placed under house arrest or restriction orders were socially isolated and the required daily reports to the police station interfered with their studies or their ability to earn a living.

107 Children suffering from psychological problems because of violations may display symptoms of lack of concentration, sleeplessness, nightmares, headaches and depression that can impair their ability to study. Figures from the Commission's database provide some support for this assertion.<sup>24</sup> Fifty-seven per cent of those who reported a disruption to their education also reported that they were suffering from psychological problems of anxiety, depression and an inability to cope. Although it is not possible to draw a linear conclusion between the two, it does suggest that psychological problems may interfere with educational pursuits.

108 Disruption of education compromised the future potential of many children. Such disruptions were exacerbated by the negative economic effects that gross human rights violations have been reported to have on families. Of those statements in which parents reported a disruption to their children's education, 51 per cent also referred to losses of income as an outcome of violations.

109 Intra-community violence, which led to the displacement and homelessness of many children, had dire consequences on their education. Of the statements that reported disruptions in education, 34 per cent reported that the violation was a result of intra-community violence. A further 29 per cent were homeless.

Dislocation and displacement

110 Large

#### Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

in and out in hospital.

113 Wonder's case reflects the complex and multiple layers of abuse and human rights violations suffered by South Africa's youth. Wonder's education was disrupted prematurely. He was forced to leave his family, which he missed so much that he risked his life to see them again. This led to his being shot, detained and tortured – another trauma added to others he had experienced, such as the loss of his friends and relatives in the conflict. The constant pain of his wounded leg was a nagging reminder of the losses and suffering he had to endure. The cost of his sacrifice was exacerbated through comparison with his brother who completed his secondary education and was pursuing tertiary training.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 9 Special

#### Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

many young people.

#### Concluding remarks

117 Those who grew up under conditions of violence will carry traces of their experiences into adulthood. Many have suffered the loss of loved ones. Many carry physical and psychological scars. The life opportunities of many have been compromised through disruptions to their education. Some have transplanted the skills learnt during the times of political violence into criminal violence, as they strive to endure ongoing poverty. However, perhaps the most disturbing and dangerous aspect of this legacy for the future of the nation is the fact that those who sought to transform the country, and in the process gave up so much, see so little change in their immediate circumstances.

118 The period of struggle

#### Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

Children and Youth

PAGE 278

Some defiantly and bravely saw themselves as fighting for the freedom of their people – sacrificing education and opportunities for self-improvement and joining liberation armies and resistance movements.

119 Many of these young

#### Reference 172 - 0.01% Coverage

of their detention and torture.

11 The consequences of participating in the violent activities of the BMW – prolonged detention, brutal torture and imprisonment with common criminals – will be felt by the individuals concerned, their families and friends and the community of Bonteheuwel for decades. Those BMW members who came to the Commission all displayed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. They reported similar symptoms in comrades who chose not to approach the Commission. Most had to discontinue their education and many had not been able to resume it. Because of this, they are unemployed or have low-skill, low-wage jobs. Some have turned to drugs and alcohol to obliterate their painful memories. Others have transferred their 'skills' of violence and armed conflict to gangsterism. Violence against family members is not uncommon, and many find long-term, trusting relationships impossible to sustain.

12 BMW members were teenagers

#### Reference 173 - 0.01% Coverage

and June 1996 were women.

28 One can, however, overstate the case. The hearings provided ample evidence that women fulfilled all roles in the struggle and suffered the full range of human rights violations. There were stories of women active – and abused — in all three decades covered by the Commission. There were stories of and by women of all races and of all ages. In terms of educational level, the women ranged from those with limited formal education to others with tertiary degrees. Ms Lita

6 Goldblatt, B (1997), 'Violence

#### Reference 174 - 0.01% Coverage

Hearing on Women PAGE 292

Nombango Mazibuko emphasised the fact that, despite her lack of (formal) education, “the contribution that I’ve put in within the ANC structures is quite massive”. Elsewhere, there is plenty of documentary and other evidence<sup>7</sup> that women were active before the 1960s – in particular in the memorable 1956 antipass march that is today celebrated each year on Women’s Day. There is also plenty of evidence in documents<sup>8</sup> that women were severely punished – through detention, torture and other means – for their involvement.

29 Further, in South Africa

#### Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

of Human Rights

PAGE 3

14 Thus was the pattern set for the many hearings of the Commission.<sup>3</sup> They were held in large cities or small rural towns, in city halls or educational institutions or church halls. They were made possible by the meticulous work and planning of the various logistical teams in the regions and by the assistance of many people in the local areas.

Preparations for the hearings

15

#### Reference 176 - 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 177 - 0.01% Coverage

expectations of the Commission.<sup>1</sup>

8 It must be borne in mind that information generated from the sample reflects the consequences and expectations as expressed in the entire statement of the deponent and that the majority of statements do not reflect the experience of one individual only. Often deponents referred to a violation of a person or persons other than or in addition to themselves - for example, other family members, comrades and friends. A deponent might, for instance, refer to the death of her son, but highlight the consequences for her grandchild’s education, her daughter’s emotional state and her own financial situation. This reflects the communal consequences of gross human rights violations and the ripple effects they have on families and communities.

Questionnaire bias

## 9 Another factor

### Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

gun, and I was unconscious.

68 Ms Maloma was blinded as a result of this attack and had to halt her education. According to her father:  
Today my daughter doesn't see

### Reference 179 - 0.01% Coverage

IFP member and further assaulted.

99 Other family conflicts were intergenerational. Parents did not support their children's activism because they feared for their lives. Often, too, they were concerned about disruptions to their children's education. Misunderstandings and conflicting interests strained intergenerational relationships. Mr David Ryder Mabeka was a youth activist in Barkly West in 1986. At the Kimberley hearing, he spoke about the tensions between some of the politically active students and their parents:

I realised that many parents

### Reference 180 - 0.01% Coverage

official evidence of his death.

This led to me not being able to conduct financial transactions such as buying a house. The Transvaal Education Department, which I was working for, and the financial institutions did not regard me as a breadwinner as such. My whole life was then an uncertainty ...

My story ... is but a

### Reference 181 - 0.01% Coverage

burden on the extended family.

127 Economic hardships can cause disruptions in relationships. Fifty-one per cent of those who reported problems in their relationships also identified loss of income because of their violations. Moreover, financial losses are not confined to one generation, a fact reflected in 51 per cent of statements which demonstrated a disruption to education and a loss of income.

128 Ms Mpehelo's husband was

### Reference 182 - 0.01% Coverage

defence units and people's courts.

151 Community councillors became the fated symbols of the spiralling social problems within communities. Overcrowding, inadequate housing, limited sewerage and water facilities coupled with unemployment, poor education facilities and a host of other problems were aggravated by the provocative rise in service charges and rentals. Mr Mkiwane, a former councillor in Sebokeng, aptly described the mood of the day when he said, "their cup of dissatisfaction was full to the brim."

152 Councillors were perceived as

#### Reference 183 - 0.01% Coverage

after the overt conflict subsided.

164 The manifestations of intra-community violence through attacks on and in homes resulted in many people being left homeless. Lifetime investments in homes and material goods were lost in the conflict. Of those who reported violations because of intra-community violence, 43 per cent reported that they were homeless as a result. Of these, 36 per cent spoke of disruptions to their own or their children's education. A further 42 per cent of those who were displaced reported that their forced relocation was a result of intra-community violence, and 59 per cent of those displaced reported psychological problems of anxiety, depression and difficulties in coping. Thus, homelessness and displacement have multiple consequences. Homelessness in KwaZulu-Natal affected three times as many people as in any other region and has particular implications for communities in KwaZulu-Natal.

#### ■ RURAL COMMUNITIES

165 Much of

#### Reference 184 - 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-served 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 185 - 0.01% Coverage

Reparation and Rehabilitation Policy

#### ■ INTRODUCTION

1 During the period under review, the majority of South Africans were denied their fundamental rights, including the right to vote and the right to access to appropriate education, adequate housing, accessible health care and proper sanitation. Those who opposed apartheid were subjected to various forms of repression. Many organisations and individuals in opposition to the former state were banned and banished, protest marches were dispersed, freedom of speech was curtailed, and thousands were detained and imprisoned. This gave rise to tremendous frustration and anger amongst the disenfranchised. Soon, each act of repression by the state gave rise to a reciprocal act of resistance. The South African conflict spiralled out of control, resulting in horrific acts of violence and human rights abuses on all sides of the conflict. No section of society escaped these acts and abuses.

#### ■ WHY REPARATION?

2 Victims of

#### Reference 186 - 0.01% Coverage

the Skweyiya and Motsuenyane Commissions.

39 The Skweyiya Commission<sup>9</sup> 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 Commission<sup>10</sup> also recommended compensation to those who suffered human rights violations and assistance with medical expenses.

40 In the process of

#### Reference 187 - 0.01% Coverage

Intervention categories and eligibility criteria

56 Victims or their relatives and dependants who have urgent medical, emotional, educational, material and/or symbolic needs will be entitled to urgent interim reparations.

57 Urgency will be determined

#### Reference 188 - 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 189 - 0.01% Coverage

as a matter of urgency.

97 The demilitarisation programme should be systematic and assist in demilitarising youth, who have for decades been involved in violent activity to effect political change. Secondary and tertiary educational institutions and sporting bodies should be involved in the implementation of this programme. The programme should consist of a combination of social, therapeutic and political processes and interventions, appropriate to the area in which they are being implemented.

Dislocation and displacement

98 South

#### Reference 190 - 0.01% Coverage

to violence.

Mental health services

102 Prevailing negative perceptions of therapy and its practice prevent people from accessing mental health services. Individuals and communities should be educated about the link between mental health and conflicts of the past. Appropriate mental health initiatives should be linked with developmental projects, for example, the Reconstruction and Development Programme and Masakhane. Mental health cannot be seen in isolation from socio-economic development.

Community-based interventions

103 It

#### Reference 191 - 0.01% Coverage

and Rehabilitation Policy PAGE 192

Education

107 The standard of black education was appalling and this aspect of the legacy of apartheid is likely to be with us for a long time to come. Education is ripe for reform and the possibilities for its transformation are exciting. However, one of the effects of the past is that it has resulted in a strong culture of often pointless conflict around education matters. The desire to learn in a disciplined environment no longer seems to prevail.

Assistance for continuation of studies

#### Reference 192 - 0.01% Coverage

of affected youth into society.

109 Specific accelerated adult basic education and training (ABET) programmes should be established to meet the needs of youth and adults who are semi-literate and have lost educational opportunities due to human rights abuses.

Building and improvement of schools

#### Reference 193 - 0.01% Coverage

disadvantaged areas should be prioritised.

Special educational support services

111 Remedial and emotional support should be included in mainstream educational programmes.

112 Mainstream educational facilities should provide skills based training courses in order to respond to the needs of mature students and to help them find employment.

Housing Housing provision

113 It

#### Reference 194 - 0.01% Coverage

abuses in the future.<sup>16</sup>

115 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee recommends that the measures and programmes outlined in the chapter on Recommendations become part of the operational plans and ethos of a wide



range of sectors in society including the judiciary, media, security forces, business, education and correctional services.

#### ■ IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS AND RESPONSIBILITY

116

#### Reference 195 - 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 196 - 0.01% Coverage

and misdeeds of the past.

56 The Commission should, for example, have investigated those who administered black municipal and local government structures of the apartheid period. Similarly, educational institutions (in particular universities) and state-funded research bodies such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the Human Sciences Research Council and the Medical Research Council should have been subjected to the same scrutiny as the business, legal and other sectors.

Its failure to deal with

#### Reference 197 - 0.01% Coverage

the investigation of those bodies.

74 It would, however, be misleading and wrong to assign blame for the gross violation of human rights only to those who confronted each other on the political and military battlefields, engaged in acts of commission. Others, like the church or faith groups, the media, the legal profession, the judiciary, the magistracy, the medical/health, educational and business sectors, are found by the Commission to have been guilty of acts of omission in that they failed to adhere or live up to the ethics of their profession and to accepted codes of conduct.

75 It is also the

#### Reference 198 - 0.01% Coverage

ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

#### ■ CIVIL SOCIETY

It is therefore not only the task of the security forces to examine themselves and their deeds, it is for every member of the society which we served to do so. Our weapons, ammunition, uniforms, vehicles, radios, and other equipment were all developed and provided by industry. Our finances and banking were done by bankers who even gave us covert credit cards for covert operations. Our chaplains prayed for our victory, and our universities educated us in war. Our propaganda was carried by the media, and our political masters

were voted back in power time after time with ever-increasing majorities. (Mr Craig Williamson, armed forces hearing.)

151 The Commission sought and

#### Reference 199 - 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 200 - 0.01% Coverage

TO CONTINUE UNABATED FOR YEARS.

TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EDUCATION OF HEALTH PROFESSIONALS FAILED, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, TO ENSURE THAT STUDENTS ENGAGED WITH AND INTERNALISED ISSUES OF ETHICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN HEALTH CARE.

THE LIMITATION OF THE COUNCILS'

#### Reference 201 - 0.01% Coverage

SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE POLICY OF APARTHEID RESULTED IN THE DELIVERY OF INFERIOR, INADEQUATE EDUCATION TO BLACK CHILDREN AND DEPRIVED THEM OF THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP IN MIND AND BODY. THIS DEPRIVATION CONSTITUTES A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE BANNING BY THE GOVERNMENT

#### Reference 202 - 0.01% Coverage

YOUTH AND NORMAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.

THE STATE IDENTIFIED AND TARGETED SCHOOLS AS CENTRES OF RESISTANCE. SCHOOLS WERE OCCUPIED, AND STUDENTS AND TEACHERS INTIMIDATED AND ARRESTED. THIS CREATED A CLIMATE WITHIN WHICH UNNECESSARY VIOLENCE OCCURRED. AS A RESULT, EDUCATION WAS SEVERELY DISRUPTED. MANY CHILDREN WERE UNABLE TO COMPLETE THEIR SCHOOLING AND/OR ADVANCE TO TERTIARY EDUCATION.

BLACK CHILDREN AND YOUTH WERE

#### Reference 203 - 0.01% Coverage

perpetrators – at times as both.

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.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 6 Findings

#### Reference 204 - 0.01% Coverage

a wonderful piece of work.

42 Although various efforts were made to impose restraint and discipline in all parties concerned (for example, the ANC and MK developed codes of conduct, and attempted to discipline conduct through political education), evidence before the Commission showed that all parties fell short, in some respects, in imposing restraints and discipline on their own members, followers and supporters. The dilemma, as clearly indicated in the UDF quote above, is that harsh discipline imposed on “our own” (even where it was feasible to track down transgressors) would have risked alienating their own supporters.

43 This phenomenon is exacerbated

#### Reference 205 - 0.01% Coverage

complex one.

Perpetrators as victims?

53 A further problem of perspective is the thorny question of whether perpetrators may also be viewed as victims. Although one may wish to have a clear-cut position on perpetrators, it is possible that there are grey areas. Perpetrators may be seen as acting under orders, as subjects of indoctrination, as subjected to threats, as outcomes of earlier doctrinaire education. In the most pernicious situation, askaris (former ANC cadres who were ‘turned’, frequently through torture, threats and brutality, into state agents) are themselves transformed into killers and torturers. Military conscripts could view themselves in part as victims of a state system. Kitskonstabels (special constables) could see themselves as victims of poverty, in need of a job.

54 To understand these potential

#### Reference 206 - 0.01% Coverage

all constitute steps toward prevention.

152 If crowds are a potential seedbed for violence, they require adequate channels for expressing voice and opening dialogue. The new Regulation of Gatherings Act is a vast improvement. This Act will require further education and promotion to establish freedom of association, the right of protest and effective channels for dialogue as part of the daily bread of the fledgling democratic order.

153 These few ideas, neither

#### Reference 207 - 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 208 - 0.01% Coverage

SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AND MAINTAINED.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT GOVERNMENT ACCELERATE THE CLOSING OF THE INTOLERABLE GAP BETWEEN THE ADVANTAGED AND DISADVANTAGED IN OUR SOCIETY BY, INTER ALIA, GIVING EVEN MORE URGENT ATTENTION TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION, THE PROVISION OF SHELTER, ACCESS TO CLEAN WATER AND HEALTH SERVICES AND THE CREATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES. THE RECOGNITION AND PROTECTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC RIGHTS ARE CRUCIAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINING OF A CULTURE OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

IN REGARD TO THE CREATION

#### Reference 209 - 0.01% Coverage

OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR.

HUMAN RIGHTS CURRICULA BE INTRODUCED IN FORMAL EDUCATION, SPECIALISED EDUCATION AND THE TRAINING OF LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL. THESE CURRICULA MUST ADDRESS ISSUES OF, AMONGST OTHERS, RACISM, GENDER DISCRIMINATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

THE GOVERNMENT GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION

#### Reference 210 - 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 211 - 0.01% Coverage

THE VICTIMS OF PAST ABUSES.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES EXPLORE WAYS, IN CONSULTATION WITH GOVERNMENT, OF RESUMING THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, AS PART OF A COMMITMENT TO NATION BUILDING.

Reconciliation

35 The Commission recommends

#### Reference 212 - 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 213 - 0.01% Coverage

TO BURSARY FUNDS BE INCREASED.

TAX DEDUCTIONS BE ALLOWED TO THOSE WHO PAY THE PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND TERTIARY EDUCATION FEES OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH OF FORMERLY DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES.

THE GOVERNMENT GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPOSING AN APPROPRIATE GRADUATE TAX ON THE SALARIES OF EMPLOYED GRADUATES OF TERTIARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AS A MEANS OF PROVIDING A SCHOLARSHIP FUND FOR STUDENTS.

The environment 46 The Commission

#### Reference 214 - 0.01% Coverage

IN THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S COURT.

Training and education

53 The effective administration of

#### Reference 215 - 0.01% Coverage

FRONT COMPANIES FOR THEIR OPERATIONS.

64 The civil education programme that has been proposed in the Defence White Paper is a positive initiative to prevent future human rights abuses by members of the security forces and to encourage and instil an understanding of human rights values in the population at large. THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THIS PROGRAMME BE IMPLEMENTED RIGOROUSLY.

65 The onus is on

#### Reference 216 - 0.01% Coverage

FUNCTION BE AVOIDED IN FUTURE.

PUBLIC EDUCATION (AND TRAINING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES) WITH REGARD TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE REGULATION OF GATHERINGS ACT, CONCERNING RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN RESPECT OF GATHERINGS, BE CONTINUED AND EXPANDED, ESPECIALLY FOR ELECTIONS, PUBLIC HOLIDAYS AND OTHER REGULAR PUBLIC EVENTS.

ANY PERSON OR PARTY WHO

Reference 217 - 0.01% Coverage

73 The Commission recommends that:

PROFESSIONALISM AND MOTIVATION BE ENHANCED, AND SUSCEPTIBILITY TO CORRUPTION AND UNLAWFUL PRACTICES BE MINIMISED, BY PROMOTING EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES THAT ENCOURAGE MORE EDUCATED, LITERATE AND PROFESSIONAL CANDIDATES TO APPLY FOR EMPLOYMENT AND TO REMAIN IN EMPLOYMENT WITH THE SAPS. PARTICULARLY, IMMEDIATE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO SALARY ISSUES TO ENCOURAGE BETTER CANDIDATES TO APPLY FOR AND REMAIN IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE SAPS.

ALL POLICE OFFICERS BE IMBUED

Reference 218 - 0.01% Coverage

THEM DURING THE TRAINING PERIOD.

CONTINUING MEDICAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES INCLUDE A REVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHICAL ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENTS.

Safeguards for vulnerable health professionals

Reference 219 - 0.01% Coverage

CONTEXT BE DEVELOPED AND IMPLEMENTED.

MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BY ALL APPROPRIATE MINISTRIES, FOR EXAMPLE HOUSING, CORRECTIONAL SERVICES, EDUCATION, AND SAFETY AND SECURITY, IN THEIR PLANNING PROCESSES.

MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES HAVE A

Reference 220 - 0.01% Coverage

RESULT OF THIS COMMISSION'S REPORT;

- MONITORING INSTITUTIONAL HEALTH CARE;
- ADVISING ON CURRICULA IN HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION;

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 8 Recommendations

Reference 221 - 0.01% Coverage

innocent masses against criminal activities.

1.3 To educate local and international opinions about the criminal nature and uselessness of these activities.

2. The Conceptual Framework for

Reference 222 - 0.01% Coverage

type of person am I.

I had the fortune or misfortune of growing up in a white environment in Cape Town. I did not, either through my own stupidity or ignorance, as long as I was one of the whites, the privileged whites who had an education, who had a house, I couldn't see it being taken away. If you ask me what type of person is it that can do that, I ask myself the same question.

37 Ronnie Kasrils spoke of

#### Reference 223 - 0.01% Coverage

me up and carried me.

My son has had his problems as well. I think psychologically it affected my family in terms of them just being able to believe that it could actually happen to me... I had really a wonderful childhood, and my parents actually put a lot of young African people that worked for them, four that I can remember, that they actually educated, and my father was a person that was really antiapartheid. I think of all the people affected by the bomb blast, it affected my dad the worst. He just went into a very deep depression, and he died about

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

#### Reference 224 - 0.01% Coverage

but again only a step.

In terms of the way forward, there is much that we have done to make sure that the wrongs perpetrated in the past by doctors can never occur again, but there is much that remains to be done. We intend to participate fully in the work of the proposed over-arching Health and Human Rights Organisation. We propose to enlarge and to strengthen the office and the activities of our ombudsman, our public protector. Our peer review system has already been sharpened and structured much more effectively than it ever was before. We are currently engaged in a programme designed to promote structured ethics education in all the medical schools in this country, and we are planning formal structured training for prisons' health service personnel. However, in all these efforts, we still find ourselves hampered by the huge baggage of past wrongs that the Association has had to drag along with itself and from which it has found it impossible to free itself. It will only be through the process of truthful disclosure and reconciliation that we will finally be freed from the burden of this baggage.

58 In a written submission

#### Reference 225 - 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

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

#### Reference 226 - 0.01% Coverage

##### CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation PAGE 407

in Israel. Many of our projects, I mention this not, God forbid, to make a political point! I mention it because the state of Israel has expertise in things like water conservation, solar energy and all forms ... helping at the moment seventeen African countries, and we feel very proud that the Israelis want to help us with some of our projects. And they are helping us with this Agricultural Education Centre at Rietfontein. Two weeks ago 100 000 spinach seedlings (I love spinach because it's good ... spinach gives you energy Mr Chairman!) – spinach seeds were planted, and we are all helping with this exercise. We have very many educational projects. We have enrichment programmes which SADTU [South African Democratic Teachers' Union] and COSAS [Congress of South African Students] have co-operated with us. Sometimes they have requested, sometimes we have gone to them. Our King David Schools in Johannesburg and the schools in Cape Town are helping in the townships with computer literacy programmes. It's where I'm computer illiterate, but the youngsters, bless them, have to be computer literate. And we're helping in East Bank High School for example, in Alex, with many adult education programmes. Basic literacy courses. Ossac is a black adult education school in Killarney, run in the Oxford Synagogue. We get over 100 every evening. The ages range from 20 to 60. There are domestic workers, security personnel, shop assistants, and unemployed people. They do the IEB tests in English and Maths, and we have a 95% success rate, and there is nothing more joyous in the world than seeing somebody over fifty who has been denied an education actually coming every night and studying, and the glow on that person's face when they hold their certificate. It is wondrous to behold. We are encouraging education in many ways. Our Union of Jewish Women has programmes in Soweto in HIPPI (home instruction for pre-primary youngsters which is geared to the mothers) and MATAL (upgrading the qualifications of pre-school teachers). We are using the expertise of ORT, which is an international Jewish organisation, and we have at Midrand a college of Science and Technology, which is again wonderfully successful. We are doing things for employment and there is a very wonderful lady called Helen Leiberman, in the Cape, who does Ikamva LaBantu, it's making toys and bead decorations, and they are sold all over the world – in Paris, London and New York. And it's a way of getting [people], including blind people, who can be taught how to string the beads and by the touch on a colour system, and it's a marvellous thing. We have sporting activities, Maccabi goes in, and we have soccer in Soweto and they love it. And we have cultural activities. We have joint choral concerts. We have the black choir of Soweto, the Johannesburg Jewish Choir and something called

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

#### Reference 227 - 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.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

## Reference 228 - 0.01% Coverage

on and so forth, here.

Many of them left school at a very early age, and intelligent, interested, intellectually stimulated youth are walking around with standard five or standard seven education, with no one to recognise their potential. Other countries have increased the schooling available so that ex-combatants can go back to school and be educated with people of their own age, not sitting twentyfive-year-olds in the same classroom as fifteen-year-olds. They want proper adult education programmes whereby they can complete their schooling and go forward to fulfil their intellectual development. I think that the demands are very simple and very practical, but much of the psychological relief would come from having these problems acknowledged, and having them on the debate and on the agenda.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

## Reference 229 - 0.01% Coverage

115 The vital role of faith communities in the field of education – helping to nurture a democratic culture and becoming more directly involved in formal teaching – was emphasised at the faith community hearing in East London: Mr Tom Manthata: Bishop, I'm not asking any new question. This has been raised by Brigalia when she was addressing the issue of poverty ... That is the issue of education and the moral decay. My simple question is: does the Anglican Church consider reviving or establishing schools at community level? Because that is where this country will begin to address the issue of moral decay. It is at that level that we can begin to address even issues of crime. Does the church begin to say we can revive church schools at community level? Bishop Michael Nuttall: Chairperson, I think that what Mr Tom Manthata has raised is of enormous importance. I am not sure what the pattern is throughout the life of our church, but certainly, I think there is a desire to move in this direction. We have recently, in the diocese that I come from, seen the establishment of half a dozen schools at local community level, initiated by parishes as a result of a synod resolution asking for exactly that to take place. Together with the foundation of two new bigger ventures than local community ventures, schools more like the ones that you have just mentioned. So we are following up on that tradition and the whole idea is to try and fill that vacuum that has existed ever since the Bantu Education Act came into being and we lost our schools for one reason or another as a result of that legislation and a sense of the need for the church to re-engage in a whole new creative way in the whole education process. And certainly, that will be one of the areas in which we will try to exercise our influence in regard to the spiritual and moral life of the nation.

May I just add in

#### Reference 230 - 0.01% Coverage

#### A G E 4 0

22. It was also clear from the evidence heard by the Committee that, in Venda p a r t i c u l a r l y, the liberation forces used cases of witchcraft and ritual killings to politicise communities. This strategy was facilitated by the fact that local communities were dissatisfied with the manner in which the apartheid authorities had handled such cases. For example, the failure of the authorities to act against people who were believed to be witches resulted in a belief that the g o v e r n m e n t was the protector of witches. In Venda, where traditional leaders with relatively poor education were politically empowered and were associated with some of the most heinous abuses, the situation was ripe for political conflict.

23. In some cases, where

#### Reference 231 - 0.01% Coverage

#### r e f o r m

17. Institutional reform included legal, administrative and institutional measures designed to prevent the r e c u r r e n c e of abuses of human rights. The Commission d rew up a fairly substantial set of recommendations aimed at the creation and maintenance of a stable society – a society that would never again allow the kind of violations experienced during the Commission's mandate period. These included recommendations relating to the judiciary, security forces and correctional services as well as other sectors in society such as education, business and media.

18. The RRC, focusing on

#### Reference 232 - 0.01% Coverage

turn of property.

Article 23: Compensation should be provided for any economically assessable damage resulting from violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, such as: physical or mental harm, including pain, suffering and emotional distress; lost opportunities, including education; material damages and loss of earnings, including loss of earning potential; harm to reputation or dignity; costs required for legal or expert assistance, medicines and medical services, and psychological and social services.

Article 24: Rehabilitation should include

#### Reference 233 - 0.01% Coverage

##### GE105

a judicial decision restoring the dignity, reputation and legal and social rights of the victim and of the persons closely connected with the victim; apology, including public acknowledgment of the facts and acceptance of responsibility; judicial or administrative sanctions against persons responsible for the violations; commemorations and tributes to the victims; inclusion of an accurate account of the violations that occurred of international human rights and humanitarian law in training and in educational material at all levels. Preventing the recurrence of violations by such means as (1) Ensuring effective civilian control of military and security forces; (2) Restricting the jurisdiction of military tribunals only to specifically military offences committed by members of the armed forces; (3) Strengthening the independence of the judiciary; (4) Protecting persons in the legal, media and other related professions and human rights' defenders; (5) Conducting and strengthening, on a priority and continued basis, human rights training to all sectors of society, in particular to military and security forces and to law enforcement officials; (6) Promoting the observance of codes of conduct and ethical norms, in particular international standards, by public servants, including law enforcement, correctional, media, medical, psychological, social service and military personnel, as well as the staff of economic enterprises; (7) Creating mechanisms for monitoring conflict resolution and preventive intervention.

Decisions of international human rights

#### Reference 234 - 0.01% Coverage

##### GE114

9. The Law Creating the National Corporation for Reparation and Reconciliation (Law No. 19,123, Chile, 31 January 1992) established the following benefits:<sup>4 1</sup> monthly pensions for the relatives of those killed or disappeared; fixed-sum payments for prison time and lost income of dependants of those who died or disappeared, health and educational benefits.<sup>4 2</sup> Monetary reparations included a monthly pension paid by cheque to family members of those killed or disappeared (as determined by the Chilean Commission or Corporation). If only one family member survived, the pension amounted to \$345 per month. If more than one family member survived, the pension amounted to \$481 per month, to be distributed amongst immediate family members. Family members were entitled to the pension for their lifetimes, except for children, whose pensions ended at the age 25 years. In addition to the monthly pension, family members were entitled to a one-time start-up payment of the total annual sum. The total cost to the state was \$13 million per year.

b Medical benefits to the

#### Reference 235 - 0.01% Coverage

was \$950 000 per year.

c Educational benefits to the children of the disappeared and killed included full coverage of tuition and expenses for university training up to the age of 35 years. The total cost to the state was \$1.2 million per year.

d C h i l

#### Reference 236 - 0.01% Coverage

a place of his own.

b He would like assistance in finding his daughter Elizabeth, who is still missing. c The family is facing a terrible financial situation. d His childre n 's educational needs need to be addre s s e d . e The experiences have been very traumatic for the entire family and they would appreciate some form of counselling.

THE DEATH OF GEORGE AND

#### Reference 237 - 0.01% Coverage

reasons she did not specify.

24. C u r r e n t l y, Mrs Tenza is struggling to support her various dependants. She feels emotionally unable to continue her i n y a n g a practice and is helping the health authority with health education issues, specifically in relation to HIV/AIDS. She says that she has a heart condition and must take medication for this. Her participation in the local health forum has been compromised by her health:

56 Interview conducted with deponent

#### Reference 238 - 0.01% Coverage

a t e l y.

28. Mrs Te n z a 's experience points to important issues to be considered when planning services. One of the most significant is that commonly held distinctions between the physical and the emotional may not apply to all those who need assistance. Other distinctions – for example, between financial, educational, and emotional needs – may also prove problematic. Emotional issues can play a decisive role in the extent to which a person is able to learn or earn a living; c o n v e r s e l y, success or failure in learning impacts not only on economic well being, but also on emotions.

V O L U M

#### Reference 239 - 0.01% Coverage

govern m e n t :

Ja, when I went to the TRC I hoped for better life. I thought I would get better life in terms of – in terms of – like I asked for education, I asked for – I mean, how can I say now – I asked for accommodation and whatsoever. Although those people promised that they will consider my request, I waited until now, nothing has happened. I just hoped each and every month and years. I waited and waited but today, now, I won't wait.

In the beginning the government

#### Reference 240 - 0.01% Coverage

nally.

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 241 - 0.01% Coverage

apartheid discrimination'.<sup>7 1</sup>

5.

Implicit in this and other recommendations relating to business was the notion of the involvement of business in a wider project of reparation, relating not simply to those identified as victims by the Commission, but to all those South Africans whose normal development was impaired by the system of apartheid. The desirability of such involvement was reinforced by the socio-economic reality of South Africa. Although South Africa is a middle-income economy, about half of South Africa's population lives in poverty. Half of the African population is homeless or lives in informal accommodation, such as shacks. More than half of Africans aged twenty or more have no secondary education, compared to 2 per cent of whites. As many as 42 per cent of Africans are unemployed or have given up

71 Volume Five

#### Reference 242 - 0.01% Coverage

Project

16. Khumbula was launched in Mbekweni, Paarl on 16 December 1998. A nongovernmental organisation registered as a Section 21 Company, Khumbula aims to address the conditions under which ex-combatants of the South African liberation struggle find themselves. It has also recently launched an educational initiative.

17. Driven by volunteers, Khumbula's

#### Reference 243 - 0.01% Coverage

E 1 6 1

9.

It is this assessment that must form the basis of our future growth as a nation. Poverty and the economic implications of the AIDS epidemic make economic considerations important in the rehabilitation process. The line between victims and non-victims is often obscure; hence it may be ethically problematic to provide victims with preferential access to services such as education, housing and employment. It is, moreover, common knowledge that many public sector services – such as health, welfare and education – are woefully under-resourced in South Africa. Wishing that things were different will not make these problems go

away. Again, attempts to give preference to victims in these services could potentially meet with resistance because there is not, in any case, enough to go around.

10. Despite this, prefer

#### Reference 244 - 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 245 - 0.01% Coverage

GE162

13. Within the public health sector, dedicated posts for working on rehabilitation and reparation issues need to be established countrywide. The reparation and rehabilitation aspects need to be emphasised for a limited period, after which time these posts could become part of the general public mental health pool. It is important to attract talented and energetic people to such posts. In this respect, the secondment of personnel from other sectors (the health system, the nongovernmental organisation (NGO) sector, higher education and the private sector) should be considered.

14. Symbolic reparations such as

#### Reference 246 - 0.01% Coverage

the gross human rights violations,

under the categories of housing, health, mental health or emotional state, education and an 'other' category. In addition to completing the form, victims were required, where possible, to submit additional corroborative documentation. The administrative and security measures that had to be put in place and the submission of extensive corroborative documentation established a tension between the need for speedy implementation (in the face of pressing trauma-related needs) and the necessity to maintain strict and unavoidable administrative control in order to ensure accuracy and financial accountability. This tension affected both the RRC – keen to deliver as soon as possible – and those applicants who had completed application forms, who often perceived requests for additional information and documentation as superfluous and overly bureaucratic.

Outreach and

#### Reference 247 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 1 6 8

18. The assessment established what harm and suffering had taken place, who the beneficiaries were, how many dependents were involved and who they were , and the consequences of the violation in terms of housing situation, emotional state, medical state, educational situation and other aspects.

19. The assessor then made

#### Reference 248 - 0.01% Coverage

was completed by February 2001.

61. The value of this project was that any number of variables related to an individual victim or applicant could now be isolated. For example, it is now possible for the Department of Housing to request all the names, identification numbers, addresses and verbatim comments related to a housing recommendation made by the RRC. This applies equally to other departments and reparations are a s : education, medical, mental health, symbolic, welfare and employment.

INTERIM REPA R ATION STAT

#### Reference 249 - 0.01% Coverage

s in and around Pietermaritzburg .

66. Special Constables were first recruited in the Upper Vulindlela area near P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g in 1988. They were recruited on the recommendation of the local tribal authorities. The main criterion for recruitment was not education, standing in the community or reputation but simply membership of Inkatha.

176 Major-General FMA Steenkamp

#### Reference 250 - 0.01% Coverage

Fischla told the Committee that:

The fact of the matter is that we did not consider any international humanitarian l a w. At no stage did we in our camps educate our forces about intern a t i o n a l humanitarian law. The first time I understood what international humanitarian law is, is when I integrated into the South African National Defence Force and that is when I got the meaning of what international humanitarian law is. And what I d i s c o v e red also when I integrated into the SANDF is that equally the form e r SADF did not even know what international humanitarian law was. (Cape To w n hearing, 27 October 1997.)

143. Gqomfa testified that it

#### Reference 251 - 0.01% Coverage

was not a white person:

I say to the PAC and APLA and to the applicants, you killed the wrong person. Rolande was also joined in the struggle against the injustice for the apartheid system particularly in education. You simply ended her life as if she was a worthless piece of rubbish. You say you did so to liberate Azania. I say you did so for your

own selfish and criminal purposes. You prevented Rolande from helping rebuild our broken nation which, if you had simply waited another few months, in fact came to pass when we had free elections. Your commander Brigadier Nene stated

#### Reference 252 - 0.01% Coverage

part of his statement follows:

We have the highest respect for your Truth and Reconciliation Commission and process. We recognise that, if this process had not been a pre-negotiated condition, your democratic free elections could not possibly have occurred. Therefore, and believing as Amy did in the absolute importance of those democratic elections occurring, we unabashedly support the process which we recognise to be unprecedented in contemporary human history. At the same time we say to you, it's your process, not ours. We cannot, therefore, oppose amnesty if it is granted on the merits. In the truest sense it is for the community of South Africa to forgive its own and this has its basis in traditions of ubuntu and other principles of human dignity. Amnesty is not clearly for Linda and Peter Biehl to grant. You face a challenging and extraordinarily difficult decision. How do you value a committed life? What value do you place on Amy and her legacy in South Africa? How do you exercise responsibility to the community in granting forgiveness, in the granting of amnesty? How are we preparing prisoners, such as these young men before us, to re-enter the community as a benefit to the community, acknowledging that the vast majority of South Africa's prisoners are under 30 years of age – acknowledging as we do that there's massive unemployment in the marginalised community; acknowledging that the recidivism rate is roughly 95 per cent? So how do we, as friends, link arms and do something? There are clear needs for prisoner rehabilitation in our country as well as here. There are clear needs for literacy training and education, and there are clear needs for the development of targeted job skill training. We, as the Amy Biehl Foundation, are willing to do our part as catalysts for social progress. All anyone need do is ask. Are you, the community of South Africa, prepared to do your part? (Cape Town hearing, 9 July 1997.)

V O L U M

#### Reference 253 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 4 3 3

280. While the PAC Disciplinary Code encouraged members to air their views 'and to agree or disagree with all or any member of the movement, including the leader ...', there were incidents where action was taken against those who disagreed openly with the leadership. No political education programme was provided for members. Such a programme would have helped members define who the enemy was, rather than inciting the membership to kill whites and their informers in a more general way. Where the enemy was not clearly defined, gross abuses of human rights were inevitable. Some of the violations committed by PAC or Poqo members took place during this period.

1962: Revolutionary Council

281. Mr

#### Reference 254 - 0.01% Coverage

liberation of the African masses.



299. Due to the logistical difficulties faced by APLA headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, target selection was left to local commanders. However, evidence presented to the Commission revealed that, while internally-trained cadres were in a position to carry out better reconnaissance and thus avert detection and arrest, they faced the disadvantage of not having received the political education available to cadres in the exile camps. Consequently, strategic errors were made by these locally-trained operatives, for which the APLA leadership accepted full responsibility. However, the Commission was given no details of these errors.

300. The Amnesty Committee heard

#### Reference 255 - 0.01% Coverage

infringed by the Act.

96. It was suggested by the evidence leader, in argument, that the incident was the result of a religious dispute and thus fell outside the ambit of the Act. The Committee considered this argument but took the view that it had to accept the applicant's argument that his political conviction was driven by his education and belief in God. It was not possible to divorce the religious stance of the AWB from its politics. Amnesty was accordingly granted to Terre'Blanche in respect of the incident [AC/1999/221].

PRE-1990 AT TACKS ON

#### Reference 256 - 0.01% Coverage

racism;

and the protection of Afrikaans; e the maintenance of a Christian National Education; f the return of the volk to the Covenant and the God of the Covenant; g self-realisation within a Boers t a a t ; h self-determination for a republic previously internally acknowledged as an independent state;

in the protection of the

#### Reference 257 - 0.01% Coverage

GE592

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);

b the knowledge they had

#### Reference 258 - 0.01% Coverage

acceptable form of collateral damage.

45. It is equally clear that action was rarely taken against operatives or units who were responsible for these breaches of humanitarian law. Whilst the ANC acknowledged in its submission that a number of

attacks carried out by MK were not in line with ANC policy, it is clear that the operatives concerned were not censured, nor were they repudiated by the movement. The ANC did, however, seek to educate the rank and file on what constituted ANC policy.

46. There is no doubt, however, that as the number of civilian casualties began to rise, ANC President Oliver Tambo and the leadership of the ANC became gravely concerned. In 1987, Mr Tambo expressed his concern about the number of unnecessary civilian casualties resulting from the landmine campaign and ordered that all cadres be fully educated about ANC policy with regard to legitimate targets. Failure to comply with these orders would be considered violations of policy and action would be taken against offenders.

47. In 1988, the NEC

#### Reference 259 - 0.01% Coverage

##### FOR EDUCATION

11. The Commission recommends and urges that the Department of Education, the South African Qualifications Authority and institutions of higher learning make special arrangements for entry into tertiary educational institutions of those whose secondary and tertiary education was interrupted by the struggle, as was done for those whose studies were interrupted by World War II.

##### VOLUME

#### Reference 260 - 0.01% Coverage

7

##### KEEPING THE PAST ALIVE

12. The Commission recommends and urges that the curriculum of the South African Human Rights Commission National Education Centre include projects that aim to encourage children to keep the past alive.

##### TASK TEAM TO DEAL WITH

#### Reference 261 - 0.01% Coverage

visual and other graphic materials;

which is in a format that allows for distribution to schools, other educational institutions and the general public by means of CD-ROM or other portable electronic format, and

and uses language that is

#### Reference 262 - 0.01% Coverage

after the cut-off date.

28. The Commission recommends therefore that the authorities note this problem as a matter of urgency, and embark on an education program and take action to stop practices related to witchcraft that lead to the commission of gross human rights violations.

##### EXERCISE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PA

#### Reference 263 - 0.01% Coverage

##### A G E 3 3

killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See R I G H T-W I N G A T T A C K S. BOKABA, Solomon Monko (27), a student leader, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1993 at a protest against the Mangope government at the University of Botswana. BOKHALE, Buti Herbert (23), was shot in the hand while attending a s t o k v e l on 25 July 1993 in Daveyton, Tvl. On the same day, several people were killed or i n j u r e d during conflict between IFP and ANC support e r s in the township. B O K H A T S I, Lhlohonolo Edward (18), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was tort u r e d by members of the SAP while in detention in QwaQwa, on 3 December 1990. The police alleged he had been involved in an arson attack on the home of an SAP member. B O L E L W A N G, Solly Saul Nukuki, was shot dead in Tembisa, Tvl, on 26 December 1990. BOLO, Tobile Jackson (42), an ANC member, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment in King W i l l i a m ' s Town prison, Cape, during the 1960 anti-Pass Law campaign, and later placed under house arrest in King W i l l i a m ' s T o w n . BOLOFO, Michael Ntjanyana (18), was shot and i n j u r e d by a member of the SADF in Alexandra, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 14 June 1986 soon after a national state of emergency had been declared. BOLOKA, Matome Philemon, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 10 October 1986. Mr Boloka was attending a community meeting to voice dissatisfaction with the local chief, when members of the SAP attacked those at the meeting. BOLOSHA, Tembela Rowena, a UDF supporter and executive member of the National Education Union of South Africa, was tort u r e d by Security Branch operatives in Bloemfontein, in August 1986, and had her house at Kasinong, OFS, petrol-bombed on 3 Febru a r y 1987. An OFS Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for his role in the petrol-bombing (AC/1999/0025). B O L O T S H W A, Mcekiswa (62), had his house d e s t r o y e d in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993, in intensifying political conflict between the ' R E D ' A N D ' G R E E N ' F A C T I O N S . B O L T I N A, Daniel Tembinkosi (17), a PEYCO member monitoring a consumer boycott, was shot in the leg by members of the SAP in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 11 June 1986. B O L T M A N, (first name not given), a member of the S A P, suff e r e d injuries on 22 July 1992 when he and 12 other policemen were attacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members whilst on foot patrol in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Six policemen were injured in the exchange of fire. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1997/0029). BOMANI, Constable, a member of the SAP, was burn t to death by members of a youth organisation in Cradock, Cape, during Febru a r y 1985. Members of the SAP were often seen as legitimate targets in the political conflict of the 1980s.

##### V O L U M

#### Reference 264 - 0.01% Coverage

##### G E 2 1 1

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 C a t h c a r t, Cape, in Febru a r y 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 unre s t at Dongwe township, Whittlesea in Ciskei. KOLISI, Sipho Victor (aka Luvuyo Kehla) (20), an MK operative, was shot dead in an ambush at Alldays, Tvl, near the Botswana bord e r, on 10 July 1986 by a joint team comprising SADF Special Forces and Far N o r t h e r n Transvaal Security Branch members. F o u rteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Nine of these applications were refused (AC/1999/0176). KOLISI, Ta t a n a (30), was shot and severely injured by members

of the security forces in August 1976 in Langa, Cape Town, after the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G h a d s p read to Cape To w n . 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 i n j u r e d . KOLITI, Nontle (14), was shot dead by a named member of the M U N I C I P A L P O L I C E on 12 September 1986 during the state of emergency in Grahamstown, Cape. KOLO, Thomas (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP while toyi-toying with a crowd in Zweletemba, Wo r c e s t e r , Cape, on 1 October 1985. KOLOBE, Henry Malapile (34), was shot and injure d in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 Marc h 1992 by Simphiwe hostel-dwellers during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFPs u p p o r t i n g hostel-dwellers. Two people died in the attack and another was injure d . 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 injure d by named members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Ve reeniging, Tvl, on 22 December 1993. KOLOI, Ohentse Richard (28), an ANCYL member, was arrested in August 1989 and severely beaten and t o r t u r e d 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 severe l y beaten and tort u r e d 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 e m e r g e n c y . See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y . KOLOTI, Elvis Radimakatso (17), an

#### Reference 265 - 0.01% Coverage

#### G E 2 5 5

MACHANE, Kholeka Maggie (50), was shot in the left breast by members of the SAP in Postmasburg , Cape, on 18 June 1993. MACHEDI, Mpho Jacob, was stabbed to death by ANCYL supporters in Sharpeville, Ve reeniging, Tvl, on 10 June 1992 because he was suspected of being a police inform e r . MACHETE, Marupini Alpheus (25), a COSAT U m e m b e r , was severely beaten and tort u r e d in Louis Tr i c h a r d t , Tvl, in 1984 by members of the SAP for belonging to a union. Trade unions were perceived as a threat to the state and some employers allegedly cooperated with the police in harassing union members. MACHETE, Simon (46), 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 ( A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 2 9 4 ) . MACHIMANA, Adolf (27), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by named perpetrators in Khujwana, Tzaneen, Tvl, on 13 June 1992. He was protesting with community members and a fellow teacher against the appointment of a new principal. The bodies of both Mr Machimana and the teacher were found on the Tzaneen-Ly d e n b u r g r o a d . MACHIMANE, Ludick (22), was shot dead by members of the Gazankulu Police in Nkowankowa, Gazankulu, on 20 Febru a r y 1990 during a rally and workers' stayaway to protest against the educational policies of the Chief Minister of Gazankulu. M A C H I T J E , Jonas Mpati, was one of four people shot dead by named perpetrators in an ambush in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 10 October 1992. Among the dead was well-known Phola Park community l e a d e r , Prince Mhlambi. The Goldstone commission later implicated a police informer in a disinform a t i o n campaign against the Phola Park Residents Committee which Mr Mhlambi headed. MACHOBA, Debra, an executive SASO member, was repeatedly detained and tort u r e d by Security Police f r o m July 1976 to December 1978. She was kept in s o l i t a r y confinement in May 1976 because of SASO's role in the SO W E T O U P R I S I N G and was banned for five years in December 1978. MACHOBANE (MORARE), Themba Duke (31), a South African teaching in Botswana, was shot dead on 14 June 1985 in a cro s s - b o r d e r attack launched by the SADF Special Forces,

together with the Security Branch, on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. His six-year-old nephew, a citizen of Lesotho, who was staying with him at the time, was also killed. In all, 12 people were killed and six were wounded in the operation. See GA B O R O N E R A I D. MACHOBANE, Frank, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during community action against town councillors in the VA A L U P R I S I N G. He was allegedly walking with his brother and two friends when police opened fire, killing him and wounding his brother in the cheek.

## VOLUME

### Reference 266 - 0.01% Coverage

was severely injured when a

limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance to the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Johannesburg, on 15 December 1983. Seven people were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003). MADONSELA, Philip Toto (21), a UDF supporter, was stabbed with a knife in Sakhile, Standerton, Tvl, on 24 December 1985 by members of the SAP. A group comprising members of the SAP and Sakhile councillors was established to try and destabilise political activity in the area by attacking UDF activists. In 1991 Mr Madonsela was again assaulted by named members of the SAP. MADONSELA, Piet Petrus, was stoned to death by a vigilante group in Leandra, Leslie, Tvl, on 25 February 1986, reportedly because he was close to Chief Ampie Mayisa who was killed by the vigilantes. The Leandra community was attacked by vigilantes aligned to the State when they protested against being forcibly removed from their homes. MADONSELA, Samuel (34), a returned ANC exile, died of poisoning on 12 August 1991 in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal. Members of the local Security Branch allegedly administered the poison because of Mr Madonsela's political affiliation and his refusal to work for the police. MADONSELA, Sbusiso Haine (17), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 23 March 1994 while distributing voter education pamphlets in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. MADRAAE, Phillip Lesetja (32), was shot and injured in the knee by members of the SADF at Nothapo, Pietersburg, on 1 May 1991 during clashes between rival supporters of the local tribal authority.

MADUBEDUBE, Lungelwa, died when she

### Reference 267 - 0.01% Coverage

#### E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBOARSONATTA CK S. MAGWAZA, Zanele Angeline (42), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBOARSONATTA CK S. MAGWEBU, Mzwandile Joseph (27), was shot in the stomach in April 1986 by members of the SAP who were on patrol in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, after the burning of a local bottle store. MAGWENTSHU, Temba Todd Toto (26), 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 (AC/2000/076). MAGXAKI, Monwabisi Eric (27), was shot dead by named members of the SAP during political protest in Cookhouse, Cape, on 12 March 1985. MAHAMOTSA, Petros Papadi, was stabbed, hacked and stoned to death by 'comrades' in Leandra, Tvl, on 25 January 1986. He belonged to a group of pupils opposing class boycotts and disruptions during violent conflict in the area due to government attempts to forcibly remove the community. These attempts included attacks by state-sponsored vigilantes. MAHANA, Kundwani Lawrence (23), an ANC supporter

r, was shot dead by alleged members of the Venda Police in Makhado, Venda, on 18 March 1990. MAHANJANA, Bhungwayo, an IKO N G O m e m b e r, died a month after he was assaulted by members of the SAP at the Bizana police station, Transkei, during 1960, during the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L U T I O N . MAHANJANA, Dan Gideon (41), a Democratic Unity Movement (DUM) activist, was arrested on 12 December 1970 at Bizana, Transkei, allegedly because of his involvement in the 1970 campaign against Bantu Education. While in detention, he was tortured in various ways by members of the SAP at M K A M B A T I F O R E S T police station, near Bizana. MAHAPO, Godfrey (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, while on an errand for his mother on 18 June 1976. The S O W E T O U P R I S I N G s p read to Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976. Twenty people were killed and 25 wounded by the police. MAHAPO, Herman, was stoned, beaten and burnt to death in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 9 September 1985 by 'comrades' accusing him of stabbing a UDF s u p p o r t e r living in the same area. MAHARAJ, Rajeshwar Raseh (27), an ANC supporter, was beaten by named members of the Security Branch when he was arrested on 3 May 1985. He was detained at a police station in Durban for 400 days, allegedly because of his political activities. MAHASA, Matsidiso Jane (21), an ANC supporter, was killed when she was run over, allegedly deliberately, by a police vehicle in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 11 February 1990. The group was celebrating Nelson Mandela's release from prison. Four other ANC s u p p o r t e r s were killed by the vehicle, which ploughed into the crowd. Thirty-one were injured.

P A G E 2

#### Reference 268 - 0.01% Coverage

Sikowukowu William

(46), a UDF

s u p p o r t e r, was arrested by police in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 24 June 1986, after which he was severely beaten and tortured by named and other members of the police. He was charged with the attempted murder of an alleged police informer, but was acquitted and successfully sued the police. MALUNGA, Dlanyana (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, in November 1991. MALUNGA, Mndeni (15), 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 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. MALUNGA, Ntombifuthi Purity

(18), an ANC

s u

#### Reference 269 - 0.01% Coverage

Sibongile Patricia

(37), had her

house burnt down by ANC supporters in Isigodi Bekwandla, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 19 March 1990 in intensifying conflict in the area following the U N B A N N I N G of political organisations in February 1990. Ms Maphumulo lived in an Inkatha stronghold, which was attacked that day by ANC supporters. MAPHUMULO, Sibusiso (13), 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 in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters

announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre. MAPHUMULO, Sihle Cyprian (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at K Section, Umlazi, Durban, on 24 September 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MAPHUMULO, Sikhumbuzo Richard (14), was shot dead in an attack on his family home at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 25 March 1992, during continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. MAPHUMULO, Simon Qhimilili (36), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ASSASSINATIONS. MAPHUMULO, Simphiwe Hamilton (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU PEOPLE'S LIGUE at a shebeen in Adams, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 October 1993. MAPHUMULO, Thembinkosi (12), was shot dead by

#### Reference 270 - 0.01% Coverage

##### E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during 1993. MATYENI, Makhwenkwe (35), a PAC member, was detained in January 1962 by members of the SAP in East London. He was held for a year without being charged. MATYENI, Mzwandile (39), was assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police at Phathikhala police station, near Seymour, Ciskei, on 6 January 1992, after being arrested at the meeting of the Kolomane Residents' Association. MATYENI, Nelson, an IKONGOMEBER, was shot by the members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. MATYENI, Pinky (17), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in January 1992 at Kolomane police station in Seymour, Ciskei, after a community meeting. Mr Matyeni was accused of alerting people about police presence in the area. MATYENI, Sipiwe, an ANC member, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP at Kolomane, Seymour, Ciskei, in November 1992, for organising a public meeting in the area to inform people about the ANC. MATYHOLO, Zalisile Ernest (33), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted and then decapitated by named members of a group supporting the Ciskei government in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 14 November 1985. He was wanted by police for his role in assisting youths to skip the country into exile. MATYOBENI, Mfundo, was assaulted by named ANC members in 1994 during conflict between ANC and ADM members at Mngqesha, near King William's Town, Cape. MATYOBENI, Nothabeli Agnes, an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by other ANC supporters at Mngqesha, near King William's Town, Cape, in April 1994, after the perpetrators accused her of being an ADM member. MATYOLO, Nokulunga, was shot on 11 December 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during political conflict on the East Rand which exploded in August 1990. MATYWATYWA, Daweti (29), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by police on his arrest during a Poqomarch to the police station in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Two Paarl residents were killed by the marchers and five marchers were shot dead. Mr Matywytywa was then convicted of sabotage and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town. After his release he was banned for six years. MAUMELA, Tshifihiwa Anthony (18), an ANC supporter, was detained, tortured and constantly intimidated by police in Sibasa, Venda, from 1977 because he addressed a march against Bantu education and openly criticised apartheid policies. MAUNYE, Simon Peter, a member of the SAP, survived an attempted armed robbery by MK operatives at the Emthonjeni police station in Machadodorp, Tvl, on 25 July 1990. The aim of the operations was to

PAGE 3

#### Reference 271 - 0.01% Coverage

Christabella Nomzilankatha

(51), had her

home destroyed in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDFs supporting squatter camps by WITDOEK Evigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Her home was again destroyed in 1987. MBANA, Nolesini Victoria (56), an ANC supporter, had her house vandalised by named perpetrators in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, in June 1990, following the overthrow of the Sebe government. MBANA, Noncedo (34), was detained in 1964 because of her role in Poqo activities and later died in custody in Mqanduli, Transkei. MBANA, Ntsikelelo (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, in September 1985, during unrest in the aftermath of the POLLSMORARCH. His brother was also injured. MBANA, Silas Lhohonolo (23), was arrested, severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force in Witveld, Bophuthatswana, on 6 March 1986. Mr Mbana was suspected of instigating protests against the Bophuthatswana government. MBANA, Sipokazi Thelma (2), was shot dead in her aunt's arms by members of a BALACLAGROUP, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack was aimed at a local ANC Women's League activist and left three people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burnt. MBANA, Solomon Mbulelo (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, in September 1985, during unrest in the aftermath of the POLLSMORARCH. His brother was also injured. MBANDA, Thokozile Doris (47), an Inkatha supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 March 1989. MBANDLWA, Bhekisisa Professor (17), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by other IFP supporters at his home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 27 July 1991, when he was mistaken for an ANC supporter. His leg was later amputated as a result of the shooting. MBANDLWA, Themba Christopher (29), was tortured and kept in solitary confinement for three months after his detention in April 1986 at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg. He was then deported and constantly harassed because of his political involvement. In January 1989, he was assaulted at a meeting of the National Education Crisis Committee meeting by Inkatha members. MBANE, Kayaletu Thankslord (29), an active ANC member, was detained for two years under the Terrorism Act, and was tortured in detention in July and August 1981 in Umtata and Butterworth, Transkei,

PAGE 3

#### Reference 272 - 0.01% Coverage

ttack.

MBANJWA, Sokalezwe Sixtus (16), 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 in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

PAGE 3

#### Reference 273 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges



relating to the massacre . MBHELE, Meluli , an ANC support e r, was beaten to death by members of the A - TE A M in Parys, OFS, in November 1985. MBHELE, Mfiseni Sibusiso (30), had his 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, Mhlabunzima , was one of three men stabbed to death by ANC supporters and residents of the Bottlebrush informal settlement, Chatsworth , Durban, in ongoing political conflict on 26 December 1993. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty ( A C / 1 9 9 8 / 0 0 5 9 ) . MBHELE, Mkhombeni James , an ANC support e r, was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Wartburg , Natal, on 25 December 1992. MBHELE, Msizeni Mazwendoda , 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 ) . MBHELE, Mxolisi Petros (18), an ANC support e r, had his house burnt down by IFP members in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1991. MBHELE, Mzondile Aaron Papanyame (18), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was tortured and beaten by named members of the Security Branch in Vrededorst, OFS, on 11 June 1986. A boycott was underway at the time. Mr Mbhele was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in KWAKWATSIL, KOPPIES, OFS, on 30 March 1990 MBHELE, Nomakhwezi Veronica (39), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, had her house burnt down by IFP s u p p o r t e r s at Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, on 27 July 1993. MBHELE, Nomphumelelo (13), was shot dead in an attack on her home at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, by known IFP supporters on 16 January 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. MBHELE, Ntombikayise Getrude (35), had her home 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. MBHELE, Oupa Johannes (30), was shot by members of the SAP who opened fire on a group of t o y i - t o y i n g youths in Bloemfontein in May 1986. On 21 January 1992, Mr Mbhele was arrested and assaulted by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein when he attempted to speak on behalf of a group of hawkers. MBHELE, Phumephi (42), an ANC support e r, had her house at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg , burnt down in October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF support e r s

P A G E 3

#### Reference 274 - 0.01% Coverage

Security Branch in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana,

on 30 November 1975. Mr Mdiya and two other 'comrades' were arrested at the Botswana border while fleeing the country. MDLADA, Hlaleleni Isabel (50), an ANC support e r, was shot and stabbed to death when named IFP s u p p o r t e r s attacked ANC supporters in Osindisweni, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1991. Her grandson, aged four, was shot and severely injured in the attack. MDLADLA, Bhekani Gilbert (56), an IFP support e r, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 January 1991. MDLADLA, Felani Elizabeth (51), an IFP support e r, had her home in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 27 January 1991. Her husband was killed in the attack. MDLADLA, Mondli Kulana (15), an ANC support e r, 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 in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the AP 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 . MDLADLA, Ntombizonke Dora (46), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, had her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 19 June 1991.

V O L U M

#### Reference 275 - 0.01% Coverage

GE417

during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. MGOZA, Albert (60), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters at a bus stop in We m b e z i , KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 25 August 1993. MGQABUZANA, Sonwabo (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 31 May 1985 in Cradock, Cape during a state of emergency. The police were allegedly looking for his friend, a fellow activist, and shot Mr Mgqabuzana as he was returning to his house. See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. MGQIBISA, Mantoni Mathews, was shot in the leg by Inkatha supporters in Pimville, Soweto, in July 1983 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC supporting residents. MGQOLOZANA, Simphiwe (19), was shot and injured and lost his home and shop in an attack by W I T D O E K E vigilantes 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. MGQOSINI, Fani David (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 December 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area. MGQUBA, Zola (29), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police on 1 May 1986 during a consumer boycott at Dimbaza, Ciskei. M G Q WANGI, Christopher (27), an ANC chairperson, was detained and severely tortured by members of the SAP at Newcastle, Natal, in March 1990 during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MGUBANE, Peter, a local ANC leader, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters when the car in which he and two other ANC officials were travelling was ambushed near Ixopo, Natal, on 27 October 1992. He was part of an ANC delegation attempting to broker peace with the IFP. An ANC Midlands Executive Committee member was shot dead in the ambush. MGUBASI, Lulamile Andrew Mziwanele (38), was beaten and burnt to death by UDF supporters on 11 April 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape. M G U LWA, Marelana Horance (51), an Inkongomember and leader in Nonkulwana, was executed in Pretoria Central prison on 6 July 1962 for his role in resisting the introduction of the Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities Acts, and forced removals. MGUNGU, Papani John, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in a raid on Ethafeni Hostel, Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 September 1990. Mr Mngungu heard shots being fired at the hostel. He went outside to investigate and was subsequently shot. Tembisa was one of several Transvaal townships embroiled in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. MGUNI, Abram (18), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 1 May 1986 during clashes between youth and police that day. MGUNI, Mgcata, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pieter-

VOLUME

#### Reference 276 - 0.01% Coverage

GE428

Town, on 3 March 1986, in the G U G U L E T U S E V E N incident. Two Security Branch members from V l a k p l a s w e re granted amnesty for the incident ( A C / 2 0 0 1 / 2 7 6 ) . M I YA, Mamthembu Pumzile (38), was detained by members of the SAP on several occasions in 1962 in Bizana, Transkei, during the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L T. Her husband was shot dead by the police during the revolt. M I YA, Mbhekiswana Ephraim (59), was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Carisbrook, Ixopo, Natal, on 2 April 1992, allegedly for refusing to join the IFP. His son was also killed in the attack. M I YA, Mbusiso, an ANC supporter, was detained in January 1977 along with four other ANC supporters, and taken to Fisher Street police station in Durban, where he was severely beaten by members of the SAP while under

interrogation about his political activities. M I YA, Mduduzi Aubrey (28), an ANC support e r, was killed on 18 Febru a ry 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near C reighton, 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 pre p a r a t i o n for the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the m a s s a c r e . M I YA, Mlungisi , an ANC support e r, was shot and i n j u r e d by IFP members during political conflict at Amahlongwa Reserve, Umkomaas, Natal, on 18 October 1990. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty ( A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 0 1 5 ) . M I YA, Mpotsane Albert (31), was severely beaten by a named and other members of the SAP on 1 April 1985 in Makeneng, Cape. M I YA, Msolwa , was imprisoned for two years in 1962 in Bizana, Transkei, for his involvement in the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L T, and was killed by members of the SAP who shot him when they visited his home after his r e l e a s e . M I YA, Mthokozisi Johan , an IFP support e r, was shot dead on 28 March 1994 when the bus in which he was travelling was ambushed in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in political conflict during the run-up to the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. Three people were killed and 18 injured during the attack. M I YA, Phillip (43), was hacked to death with a p a n g a and thrown from a train near Denver station, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 16 December 1990. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in T R A I N V I O L E N C E initiated by g r o u p s opposed to a democratic transition. M I YA, Qatisa Alfred (52), an IFP support e r, was i n j u r e d in a hand grenade attack by ANC supporters on a shop on 23 March 1993, and shot by ANC s u p p o r t e r s on 17 April 1994 in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, during the run-up to the AP R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. M I YA, Simiso Edmund , was beaten to death in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an off i c e r

V O L U M

Reference 277 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 5 5 9

Natal, in November 1991 in continuing political violence in the area. One of his friends was also shot dead and another was shot and injured in the attack. M T H I YANE, Musa Howard (19), a UDF support e r, was shot dead by members of the SAP and KWAZU L U P O L I C E in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 November 1989. The police were allegedly attacked when they entered the area, and retaliated by opening fire . M T H I YANE, Myekeni Enos , an ANC support e r, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 17 July 1992. M T H I YANE, Nomadabi Patricia (42), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was living in her grandmother's home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, when it was petro l - bombed in June 1991, in continuing political violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the are a . M T H I YANE, Nomdakazana Janet (45), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, had her home burnt down by Inkatha s u p p o r t e r s at Siyanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1989. M T H I YANE, Pam Louis (34), a PAC support e r, was shot dead by named perpetrators, allegedly ANC s u p p o r t e r s, in KwaMashu, Durban, while part i c i p a t i n g in a voter education exercise on 3 Febru a ry 1994. He was allegedly suspected of being a member of the KWAZU L U P O L I C E. M T H I YANE, Sibusiso Augustine (31), an ANC s u p p o r t e r, was shot and injured in Gezinsila, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 1 May 1992. He was taking p a r t in a Workers' Day march when IFP supporters fire d at the crowd, killing his brother and injuring two others. M T H I YANE, Thembi Gladness (32), an ANC support e r, was abducted, shot and injured by IFP supporters on 8 May 1994 in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on her way back from a rally at the FNB stadium. The perpetrator accused her and a friend of being ANC support e r s . M T H I YANE, Ti m o t h y , suff e r e d severe burns when a bus carrying workers was bombed by members of C O S A T U in Empangeni, Natal, on 6 June 1988. The attack occurred during a two-day national stayaway. M T H I YANE, Toho (56), had her rondavels in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down on 7 May 1994, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters following the AP R I L 1994 E L

E C T I O N S. M T H I YANI, Sikumbuso , a UDF support e r, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g, on 28 November 1987. Two other UDF supporters were killed in the attack. MTHLANE, Thembinkosi , was shot at by IFP members during political conflict at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 17 December 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). MTHOBI, Thomas , a former MK operative, was killed by MK members in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1987 or 1988. Mr Mthobi, a former bodyguard to ANC Pre s i d e n t, OR Tambo, was believed to have defected from the ANC and become an a s k a r i. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the incident ( A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 3 3 6 ) . MTHOLE, Rosetta , was injured when a hand gre n a d e exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg ,

V O L U M

Reference 278 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 5 6 6

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 WA, 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 TA, Manani , was killed by members of the SAP in Cofimvaba, Transkei, during the NT L O N Z E M A S S A C R E i n December 1962. M T U Y E D WA, 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 Lawaai kamp, George, Cape, in April 1986, during clashes between police and Lawaai kamp 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 PO 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 AP 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 WA, 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 CR A D O C K F O U R.

V O L U M

Reference 279 - 0.01% Coverage

## GE601

NDLOVU, Fredricka, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 June 1992. Ms Ndlovu was an IFP organiser and her daughter was a member of the KWAZULU POLICE. NDLOVU, George Themba (aka 'Michael Tette') (29), an MK operative from Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead on 8 December 1981 in an ambush by members of the SAP Special Task Force and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch, on the border between South Africa and Swaziland. A fellow MK operative was also killed in the ambush. The car with the two bodies in it was then set alight. 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). NDLOVU, Giveway Cosmos (12), was killed on 19 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 in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre. NDLOVU, Gladwell Thamsanqa (32), had his house burnt down on 27 March 1990 in Ezibomvini, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR. NDLOVU, Gom Thinabantu Eunice (33), lost her house and

## Reference 280 - 0.01% Coverage

### 7 Victim findings: Summaries

NGEMA, Thembisile (52), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in June 1993. NGEMA, Thomas, was injured 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). NGEMNTU, Mary Zinyelwa (44), a member of the United Women's Congress, was detained without trial in 1985 and September 1986 in Cape Town. She was detained under SECTION 29 in October 1987 and severely beaten during interrogation by named and other Security Branch members. Ms Ngemntu was charged with furthering the aims of the ANC and sentenced to an effective one year's imprisonment. NGEMNTU, Ndoda (15), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, in May 1991, during a COSAS campaign highlighting their dissatisfaction with the Department of Education and Training. NGENALISILE, Ndabayakhe, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993. NGENDANE, Selby Themba (62), a PAC supporter, was shot dead by other PAC supporters on 4 October 1990 in Umtata, Transkei, in a serious internal dispute in the organisation. NGENDANE, Zanoxolo Gladman (52), a member of the South African Prison Services, lost his house in an arson attack by members of the SAP on 15 May 1993 in Burgersdorp, Cape, allegedly because his son was a member of COSAS. NGEPE, Nontsikelelo, a civilian, was traumatised when the vehicle in which she was a passenger was hijacked at gunpoint by APLA operatives at Herschel, near Lady Grey, OFS, on 19 November 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134). NGESEKI, Mthuthuzeli Use (32), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, in 1992. NGESI, Makurutu Peter (43), was shot and injured in September 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP and IFP supporters, during intense political conflict on the East Rand.

NGESI, Msawenkosi Ellery (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 April 1991. NGESMAN, Khwaza Reuben (34), 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 B I S H O M A S S A C R E. Two

P A G E 6

#### Reference 281 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 6 7 0

N K W A N YANE, Jamba (50), an IFP supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters at Empangeni, Natal, in 1993. NKWENG, Florina Tabudi (23), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. NKWENG, Mosima Jessy (49), 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. NKWENG, Nkabane Julia (23), 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. NKWENKWE, Nkanyiso (14), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 March 1988. N K W E N YANE, Donald, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 11 March 1991 during conflict between the IFP-supporting hosteldwellers and ANC-supporting residents. NKWINIKA, Theron Mdunwazi (21), an MK operative, was severely beaten by members of the Gazankulu Police after his arrest on 20 June 1990 in Gravelotte, Gazankulu. He was detained after a meeting of the Tzaneen Education Crisis Committee at the local stadium. NNETE, Thebeli Jonas, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during 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). NNINA, Lipuo Sophia (45), had his house burnt down in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during violent clashes between two brothers fighting over the chieftainship of Maboloko. Violence erupted after President Mangope appointed a chief who was not accepted by the community. NOBADULA, Mzukisi Melvin, died in police custody on 11 December 1977 in Port Elizabeth. He was being held in custody as a potential state witness in the trial of PEBCO leader, Thozamile Botha. Scars and burn marks were found on his body. NOBANGELA, Fuzile Elvis (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP during a student boycott at Mzamomhle, Burgersdorp, Cape, on 19 May 1993. Police allegedly mistook Mr Nobangela for one of the boycotters. N O B A TANA, Vuyo Aubrey (16), was shot dead 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. N O B A VU, Nontanganyani (63), a PAC activist, was beaten, stoned and stabbed by named ANC supporters in February 1994 in King William's Town, Cape. Ms Nobavu was travelling in a car when she was dragged

V O L U M

#### Reference 282 - 0.01% Coverage

Magret

(12), was shot and

injured by members of the SAP while at primary school in Bultfontein, OFS, on 28 February 1990. A protest march was underway in the area, and marchers allegedly fled into the yard of the primary school

when police opened fire, hitting both marchers and pupils. NXAKO, Wette, was severely injured when the truck he was driving was set alight by the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO in Zwede, Port Elizabeth, on 13 October 1985, during protests in the area. He died four days later in hospital. NXANXA, William, was tortured, by members of the AWB in Ottosdal near Lichtenburg, Tvl, on 1 September 1990. NXASANA, Ndovela, (43), was severely beaten at Lusikisiki, Transkei, in June 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. NXASANA, Treman (17), 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 in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre. NXASANE, Tamsanqa Vivian (33), was abducted by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 1 July 1991 and was severely beaten and sprayed with tear gas before being left by the roadside. NXAZONKE, Victoria Badikazi (33), suffered

#### Reference 283 - 0.01% Coverage

#### GE746

RAMALEPE, France Ngoako, a student activist, died after being sjambokked by named members of the Lebowa Police in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, after a protest march in the area on 17 October 1985. He was certified dead the following morning after being found in the veld. RAMALEPE, Ngoako Chris (29), a SANSCO member, was severely beaten by members of the Lebowa Police after his arrest in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, on 23 March 1986. He was arrested after attending a student meeting demanding a free and democratic education system. RAMALEPE, Reuben Matome, a COSAS member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, on 23 March 1985. RAMAN, Boyce (32), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP-supporting passengers who hijacked his taxi between Estcourt and Mooi River, Natal, on 27 September 1991. The perpetrators accused Mr Raman of transporting 'comrades'. RAMANGO, Ernest, was killed by North-east Transvaal Security Branch operatives in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1987. Mr Ramango was sedated and placed on a landmine, which was then detonated. Four North-east Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/110). RAMAOKA, Raisibe Meriam (44), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. RAMARA, Kolobe Maria (51), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. RAMARA, Mosima Francina (43), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. RAMARA, Ramaesela Agent, lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. RAMARUMO, Jack May, 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 community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094). RAMASEGA, Patrick Alpheus (16), was arrested on 8 January 1991 at Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, and held for eight months. During his detention he was severely beaten with sjamboks, canes and wire by members of the Bophuthatswana Police. Mr Ramasega was accused of conspiring against the Bophuthatswana government and participating in resistance to the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana.

#### VOLUME

#### Reference 284 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 7 6 6

1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. 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. SEDIBE, Glorius 'Glory' Lefoshie (aka 'September' or 'Lucas Seme'), a senior MK commander, was abducted by V l a k p l a s 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 re c ruitd to work for V l a k p l a s and later for SADF Military Intelligence. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commanders of the Eastern Transvaal and of V l a k p l a s, w e r e granted amnesty for the abduction (AC/2001/094). SEDIBE, Sareta Sarah (50), an ANC support e r, was s e v e r e l y assaulted and thrown out of her home, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, by IFP supporters on 1 Marc h 1991. Alexandra was tense after numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly A N C - s u p p o r t i n g r e s i d e n t s . S E D I N Y A N E, Nthabiseng (41), lost her home in an arson attack by alleged followers of Chief Tshajwa on 11 December 1976 in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana. T h e r e was conflict in the area between Chief T s h a j w a 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 S O W E T O U P R I S I N G. SEDUMEDI-ZINGENI, Boshalala Mar t h a , fell and bro k e 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 part y. This decision resulted in an extensive re c ruitment campaign in hostels. Hosteldwellers who refused to join the IFP were targ e t e d . SEDUTLA, Lambert Mangopo (18), was shot and i n j u r e d by members of the SAP in 1990 in Wi n t e r v e l d , 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 Wi n t e r v e l d 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 occurre d during growing tension between IFP and ANC s u p p o r t e r s . Police were accused of being partial and failing to protect the community against indiscriminate a t t a c k s . SEEMA, Charlie Charles Steven (30), a member of the Dobsonville Civic Association, was beaten, tort u r e d and detained for 14 days by a named and other members of the Municipal Police in Dube, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g , in July 1990 for erecting a shack on a c o u n c i l l o r ' s land without perm i s s i o n . SEEMA, Edward , had his home burnt down on 2 F e b r u a r y 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by s u p p o r t e r s of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seema resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South A f r i c a .

V O L U M

#### Reference 285 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

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 . SIMPSON, WM, 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. SINAM, Sandile Wellington (38), a member of the Ciskei Police, was detained and tortured by named members of the Ciskei Police at the Seymour police station, Ciskei, on 12 August 1992. While on duty he was held up by three armed men who stole rifles from the police station. He reported this, but was suspected of having been involved with the robbers and was therefore detained. SINAMA, Bhekisisa (19), was shot in the leg by members of the ISU during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 November 1993. SINAMA, Ntshwenca (37), an ANC supporter, was executed in Pretoria, on 6 July 1962. He was arrested two years earlier during conflict over the implementation of the Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities Acts in the area. Mr Sinama was held at Bizana, until found guilty and sentenced to death at Kokstad Supreme Court. S I N AYIDA, Mziwabantu Thompson (25), was killed by members of the SAP during political conflict in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 15 April 1985. SINCUBA, Zion Jeremia, was injured in a bomb explosion caused by ANC supporters near the Pass office in Durban in 1981. Although he was reportedly a bystander when the blast occurred, Mr Sincuba was accused of planting the bomb, and was tried in Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court. SINDANE, Bangiswane Emily (53), was injured in a shooting by SAP members on 25 June 1985 in Lynneville, Witbank, Tvl. Ms Sindane was at a parents' meeting to address the detention of a number of school children when police allegedly opened fire because the parents refused to move to another venue. SINDANE, Bhelizitha Jones (49), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 24 December 1991. SINDANE, Bonga, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, during political conflict in the area on 2 December 1991. SINDANE, Busisiwe Khanyisile (31), an ANC supporter, had her home in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters during May 1990. SINDANE, Manel Mtshiselwa (78), was killed in a landmine explosion in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 25 March 1986. The mine was allegedly planted by named MK members, and was detonated by the minibus Mr Sindane was travelling in.

P A G E 8

#### Reference 286 - 0.01% Coverage

D M A N C

Umkhonto weSizwe (ANC) Mandela United Football Club National Council of Trade Unions National Education Crisis Committee

A N C W L

#### Reference 287 - 0.01% Coverage

A R M A V F

N E H A W U National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union N O Y C O

N o u p o

#### Reference 288 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Glossary

During the pre-election period, the AWB and other right-wing organisations engaged in a bombing campaign with the aim of derailing the electoral process. The objective of these activities was to move towards 'overt h rowing' the National Party government and to establish a Boer republic (Boer republic) and V O L K S T A A T. Public areas such as taxi ranks, bus stops and railway stations were targeted, as were

private residential and business premises of those associated with the ANC or the unfolding democratic order. State property was also targeted, especially following the announcement that the Group Areas Act was to be repealed and schools opened to all. A number of formerly 'white' schools were bombed. The campaign involved many acts of sabotage, some of which led to the loss of life. Rodora roadblock killings : Four people, including two children aged nine and 13, were killed by an AWB gang who set up a roadblock outside Ventersdorp, at the so-called 'Rodora crossing', on 12 December 1993, after being told by their Western Transvaal commander that the 'revolution' was to start that day. According to amnesty applicants, the victims were ordered out of their cars and told to sit on an embankment on the side of the road. They were then questioned as to their political affiliations and particularly asked whether they were members of the ANC. The applicants searched several cars for weapons and assaulted and later shot the occupants of two cars. They cut off an ear of one of the victims to show to their commander, who was not present at the time. Nine members of the AWB, who had been convicted for the killings and attempted killings, applied for amnesty. Amnesty was granted to only one applicant. Russian gang : see AMARUS. S. I. A. N. S. Sarmcol strike : In 1985, workers at the British Tyre and Rubber (BTR) Sarmcol factory in Mpophomeni, outside Howick, Natal, went on strike in support of demands for the recognition of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU). Management claimed the strike was illegal and, in March 1985, fired all 970 workers. Following an Inkatha rally in the area on 5 December 1986, four prominent MAWU members were abducted and three of them killed (See MAWU ABDUCTION S.). The killings set in process a lengthy period of political conflict in the area. In March 1998, 13 years after the initial strike, the Appeal Court ruled in favour of the 970 dismissed strikers. school boycotts : School boycotts originated in the Western Cape in April 1980 and spread to several other regions in South Africa. Grievances initially concerned the standard and quality of education but these grew into wider political protest. Street protests and police actions resulted in widespread violence. In the Cape, police shootings led to over 40 deaths. In the Orange Free State, police made use of force and firepower to break up crowd demonstrations, often resulting in injury and, in some cases, death. In Natal, boycotting pupils in KwaMashu defied Chief Buthe's calls to return to school, resulting in

PAGE 9

Reference 289 - 0.01% Coverage

GE931

clashes between pupils and Inkatha supporters. These boycotts allegedly led to an increased exodus of youth from the country to join the ANC. Towards the end of 1985, the UDF adopted a campaign to make the townships ungovernable. Educational institutions and trade unions became key sites of revolutionary activity. School boycotts and strikes were transformed into scenes of violent conflict and bloodletting. A state of emergency was declared in July and extended in October. It continued until the first democratic election in 1994. Sebatakgomo movement : a resistance organisation aligned to the ANC in the 1960s section 29 of the Internal Security Act No 74 (1982): a piece of legislation created to allow for indefinite detention for the purposes of interrogation. Detainees were held in solitary confinement. Many detainees were tortured while held under section 29. See STATES OF EMERGENCY. self-defence units (SDUs) : armed self-defence units set up in the early 1990s by the ANC to protect their base organisations - protection units (SPUs) : IFP self-protection units trained at Mlaba camp in 1993 and 1994 seven-day war : A week of intense political conflict in the Pietermaritzburg area, which started in a confrontation between UDF and Inkatha supporters when the latter were returning from a Durban rally funded by the Security Police. UDF youths stoned the buses carrying Inkatha supporters on 25 March 1990. Inkatha supporters retaliated by conducting attacks in the wider Edendale and Vulindlela areas near Pietermaritzburg. In the next seven days, Inkatha attacks in these areas escalated, resulting in the

deaths of an estimated 200 people and the displacement of over 20 000 people from their homes. Security forces either assisted the attackers or refused to intervene to protect those under threat. Sharpeville massacre : On 21 March 1960, 69 people died when police opened fire on unarmed marchers protesting against the Pass Laws at Sharpeville, Tvl. The march formed part of an anti-Pass campaign organised by the PAC. That same day, a similar march took place in Langa, Cape Town, resulting in three deaths from police shootings. A national state of emergency was declared on 24 March, lasting until 31 August. Nearly 12 000 people were detained. Just over a fortnight after the massacre, the ANC

## Reference 290 - 0.01% Coverage

### E 7 Victim findings: Glossary

the township of Alexandra, Johannesburg, after community structures had successfully expelled town councillors from the area. On 15 February of that year, the killing of a student activist set off a spiral of violence. Residents clashed with police when police attempted to disperse the funeral gathering on 17 February. The conflict continued unabated for six days, resulting in around 27 deaths. sjambok : a long whip, originally of rhinohide Sofasonke Party: an anti-ANC group backed by Lebowa President Nelson Ramodike. In 1989 Sofasonke members attacked residents of villages around Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, whom they believed to be opposed to the Lebowa government. Sonkombo arson attacks : A series of arson attacks that took place on 16 and 20 March 1994 and were carried out by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KZP, on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold at Sonkombo in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in the run-up to the April 1994 elections. ANC supporters also attacked the homes of IFP supporters on the same days. Approximately 58 deaths were recorded. Hundreds of refugees, from both sides of the conflict, were evacuated from the area by peace monitors and members of the ISU that month. Soweto uprising : On 16 June 1976, police opened fire on approximately 10 000 school students in Soweto during a protest against the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. The shootings provoked extensive unrest and protest throughout Soweto, spreading over the following months to several other regions in South Africa, particularly Cape Town. Around 575 people were killed, 390 in the Transvaal and 137 in the western Cape. Over 2000 people were injured. Arrests, deaths in detention and trials followed the revolt, and the first members of the 'Class of 76' left South Africa for training in armed resistance. spaza shop: a general supply store, locally-run in urban township and rural areas. Special Constables : Known colloquially as 'kitskonstables' (instant constables), 'blue lines', or 'bloppakke', Special Constables were recruited from urban and rural areas and were usually unemployed African men with few educational qualifications. Many were illiterate and some had criminal convictions. Training was conducted in September 1986 at the SAP's Koberg facility outside Cape Town and consisted of a six-week course, later increased to three months. The training was purely and involved only one seven-hour course in riot drill. The training presented the UDF and ANC as the enemy to be suppressed. By the end of the 1980s, approximately 8 000 Special Constables had been recruited, trained and deployed in urban and rural towns across the country where unrest was the strongest. In KwaZulu/Natal they were used to bolster Inkatha in areas around Pietermaritzburg and the Natal Midlands. Special Constables rapidly became associated with numerous violations both on and off duty, and were the subject of several interdicts. They were themselves victims of

## **Name: References to Bantu Education in Education References**

<Files\\SouthAfrica.TRC\_Report> - § 22 references coded [0.09% Coverage]

### **Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage**

were closed to black people.

1953 Bantu Education Act

34 The Bantu Education Act laid the basis for a separate and inferior education system for African pupils. Based on a racist notion that blacks needed only to be educated, in the words of Dr Verwoerd, "in accordance with their opportunities in life", the Act transferred the control of African schools from the provinces to a central Bantu Education Department headed by Dr Verwoerd himself.

35 In addition, state subsidies

### **Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage**

serving drink to African people.

49 One of the most iniquitous acts of apartheid was the separation of educational facilities and the creation of the infamous system of Bantu education. Mission schools which had provided some schooling to African people were closed down and generation after generation of African children were subjected to teaching that was deeply inferior in quality to that of their white counterparts.

6 Dumping Grounds, Christian Institute

### **Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage**

4 The Mandate PAGE 63

54 For example, during the earlier information-gathering phase of the Commission's work, the category that required most attention was that of 'severe ill treatment'. The ordinary meaning of 'severe ill treatment' suggests that all those whose rights had been violated during the conflicts of the past were covered by this definition and fell, therefore, within the mandate of the Commission. This view was expressed in the submissions of a number of organisations and groups representing, for example, victims of forced removals and Bantu education.

55 While taking these submissions

### **Reference 4 - 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 5 - 0.01% Coverage**

Education Act No 47: E

Formalised segregation of black education and laid the foundations for Bantu Education. Commenced: 1 January 1954 Repealed by s 45 of the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979

1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Education Act No 45: E

Empowered the Minister of Bantu Education to designate colleges for specified African ethnic groups. Black students were prohibited from attending the University of Cape Town or the University of Witwatersrand without a permit (Dugard 1978: 84). Commenced: 19 June 1959 Repealed by s 21 of the Tertiary Education Act No 66 of 1988

1959 Representation between Republic of

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

introduces reference books for Africans.

The Public Safety Act provides for a state of emergency to be declared. The Minister of Law and Order, the commissioner of the SAP, a magistrate or a commissioned officer can detain any person for reasons of public safety. A magistrate or the commissioner of police can ban meetings and gatherings. (The Act is passed in response to the civil disobedience campaign of the ANC and invoked for the first time after the Sharpsville Massacre on 21 March 1960.) The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act is passed. The Bantu Education Act introduces a system of education for African people designed to provide them only with skills that will serve the white economy. The Communist Party of South Africa dissolves and is reconstituted as the South African Communist Party (SACP).

1954

1955 1956

The Natives'

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

allied groupings The Soweto uprising

119 In 1975, a directive was issued by the Bantu Education Department to schools in the Transvaal that Afrikaans was to be used on an equal basis with English as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. In February 1976, two members of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board were dismissed for defying the order and by May a class boycott had been initiated at Orlando West Junior Secondary school after a circuit inspector turned down a request for a meeting with protesting students. By the end of the month the number of boycotting schools rose to six. During the same month the first violence broke out when an Afrikaans teacher at Pimville Higher Primary was stabbed and police were stoned when they tried to arrest a youth in connection with the assault. Education authorities responded with a warning that they would not hesitate to shut down boycotting schools, expel pupils and transfer teachers. The conflict continued to escalate. More schools went out on boycott, a number refused to write mid-year exams, and further acts of violence were reported.

120 Despite numerous warnings issued

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

of their parents and teachers:

Children ... were very dissatisfied with the situation of the Bantu education. Naturally when they turned to their parents their parents could not help them because I think I am right when I say 75 per cent of the parents of those children had no education, and were therefore very much intimidated by the police, by this whole state of South Africa that made them to be too frightened to approach the white people to say our children say they are not learning at school. So finally these kids took it into their hands, I suppose, to redeem themselves from that malady of lack of education.

123 The Action Committee gave

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

1976 and 28 February 1977.

168 The Cillie Commission found that 575 people died and that 2 389 were injured, and concluded that: "Bantu Education was not a cause of the riots. It was, to a certain degree, a cause of dissatisfaction; this dissatisfaction was to some extent stirred up and exploited by those bent on creating disturbances." It found the SSRC primarily responsible for the fact that the "riots" did not abate sooner. The Cillie Commission stated that the police force had acquitted itself well in executing its duties and could find no evidence that police had perpetrated deliberate and impermissible assaults on the protesters, or that they had used their firearms indiscriminately.

169 In his testimony to

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

and high schools in Soweto.

224 The student organisers had also matured politically and now unequivocally located their battle against Bantu Education within a broader struggle against apartheid. It was believed that the apartheid system was about to crumble and that the campaign against Afrikaans and the apartheid system as a whole could be won.

Sabotage campaigns

225 The students

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

African workers in certain areas);

c the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act; d the Bantu Education Act; e the Group Areas Act.<sup>15</sup>

86 Firms that required greater

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

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 Sharpville massacre (1960), the Durban strikes (1973) and the Soweto uprising (1976).

88 But, as the submission

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

in relation to trade unions.

96 Old Mutual's submission on the costs and benefits of apartheid was illustrative. On the negative side, the submission pointed to the lowering of economic growth (which constrained the market for life insurance), the Bantu education system which limited the pool of quality employees and the existence of exchange controls which limited their expansion overseas. Old Mutual offered only two possible 'positives': their acquisition of assets from Colonial Mutual of Australia when it disinvested in 1987 and the "marketing opportunities" created by the expansion of the homeland bureaucracies. On this latter score, however, Old Mutual reserved judgement as to whether this would have resulted in a net gain or loss compared to some other (non-apartheid) scenario.

97 Again, not all businesses

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> Several submissions made reference to the closing of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice and the taking of its land.<sup>27</sup> 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 Nokuphilia 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 16 - 0.01% Coverage

at the age of five."

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

52 In 1981, after his

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation PAGE 413

115 The vital role of faith communities in the field of education – helping to nurture a democratic culture and becoming more directly involved in formal teaching – was emphasised at the faith community hearing in East London: Mr Tom Manthata: Bishop, I'm not asking any new question. This has been raised by Brigalia when she was addressing the issue of poverty ... That is the issue of education and the moral decay. My simple question is: does the Anglican Church consider reviving or establishing schools at community level? Because that is where this country will begin to address the issue of moral decay. It is at that level that we can begin to address even issues of crime. Does the church begin to say we can revive church schools at community level? Bishop Michael Nuttall: Chairperson, I think that what Mr Tom Manthata has raised is of enormous importance. I am not sure what the pattern is throughout the life of our church, but certainly, I think there is a desire to move in this direction. We have recently, in the diocese that I come from, seen the establishment of half a dozen schools at local community level, initiated by parishes as a result of a synod resolution asking for exactly that to take place. Together with the foundation of two new bigger ventures than local community ventures, schools more like the ones that you have just mentioned. So we are following up on that tradition and the whole idea is to try and fill that vacuum that has existed ever since the Bantu Education Act came into being and we lost our schools for one reason or another as a result of that legislation and a sense of the need for the church to re-engage in a whole new creative way in the whole education process. And certainly, that will be one of the areas in which we will try to exercise our influence in regard to the spiritual and moral life of the nation.

May I just add in

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 2 1 1

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 C a t h c a r t, Cape, in Febru a ry 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, Sipho 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, Tatanana (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 POLICE Brutality. KOLOTI, Elvis Radimakatso (17), an

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

##### E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBOARSONATTA CKS. MAGWAZA, Zanele Angeline (42), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBOARSONATTA CKS. MAGWEBU, Mzwandile Joseph (27), was shot in the stomach in April 1986 by members of the SAP who were on patrol in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, after the burning of a local bottle store. MAGWENTSHU, Temba Todd Toto (26), 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 (AC/2000/076). MAGXAKI, Monwabisi Eric (27), was shot dead by named members of the SAP during political protest in Cookhouse, Cape, on 12 March 1985. MAHAMOTSA, Petros Papadi, was stabbed, hacked and stoned to death by 'comrades' in Leandra, Tvl, on 25 January 1986. He belonged to a group of pupils opposing class boycotts and disruptions during violent conflict in the area due to government attempts to forcibly remove the community. These attempts included attacks by state-sponsored vigilantes. MAHANA, Kundwani Lawrence (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by alleged members of the Venda Police in Makhado, Venda, on 18 March 1990. MAHANJANA, Bhungwayo, an IKONGOMBEBER, died a month after he was assaulted by members of the SAP at the Bizana police station, Transkei, during 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. MAHANJANA, Dan Gideon (41), a Democratic Unity Movement (DUM) activist, was arrested on 12 December

1970 at Bizana, Transkei, allegedly because of his involvement in the 1970 campaign against Bantu Education. While in detention, he was tortured in various ways by members of the SAP at MK A M B A T I F O R E S T police station, near Bizana. MAHAPO, Godfrey (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, while on an errand for his mother on 18 June 1976. The S O W E T O U P R I S I N G s p read to Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976. Twenty people were killed and 25 wounded by the police. MAHAPO, Herman, was stoned, beaten and burnt to death in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 9 September 1985 by 'comrades' accusing him of stabbing a UDF s u p p o r t e r living in the same area. MAHARAJ, Rajeshwar Raseh (27), an ANC supporter, was beaten by named members of the Security Branch when he was arrested on 3 May 1985. He was detained at a police station in Durban for 400 days, allegedly because of his political activities. MAHASA, Matsidiso Jane (21), an ANC supporter, was killed when she was run over, allegedly deliberately, by a police vehicle in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 11 February 1990. The group was celebrating Nelson Mandela's release from prison. Four other ANC s u p p o r t e r s were killed by the vehicle, which ploughed into the crowd. Thirty-one were injured.

P A G E 2

## Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

### E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during 1993. M ATYENI, Makhwenkwe (35), a PAC member, was detained in January 1962 by members of the SAP in East London. He was held for a year without being charged. M ATYENI, Mzwandile (39), was assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police at Phathikhala police station, near Seymour, Ciskei, on 6 January 1992, after being arrested at the meeting of the Kolomane Residents' Association. M ATYENI, Nelson, an IKO N G O m e m b e r, was shot by the members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L T. M ATYENI, Pinky (17), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in January 1992 at Kolomane police station in Seymour, Ciskei, after a community meeting. Mr Matyeni was accused of alerting people about police presence in the area. M ATYENI, Sipiwe, an ANC member, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP at Kolomane, Seymour, Ciskei, in November 1992, for organising a public meeting in the area to inform people about the ANC. M ATYHOLO, Zalisile Ernest (33), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted and then decapitated by named members of a group supporting the Ciskei government in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 14 November 1985. He was wanted by police for his role in assisting youths to skip the country into exile. M ATYOBENI, Mfundo, was assaulted by named ANC members in 1994 during conflict between ANC and ADM members at Mngqesha, near King William's Town, Cape. M ATYOBENI, Nothabeli Agnes, an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by other ANC supporters at Mngqesha, near King William's Town, Cape, in April 1994, after the perpetrators accused her of being an ADM member. M ATYOLO, Nokulunga, was shot on 11 December 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during political conflict on the East Rand which exploded in August 1990. M ATY WAT Y WA, Daweti (29), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by police on his arrest during a Poqo march to the police station in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Two Paarl residents were killed by the marchers and five marchers were shot dead. Mr Matyatywa was then convicted of sabotage and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town. After his release he was banned for six years. MAUMELA, Tshifhiwa Anthony (18), an ANC supporter, was detained, tortured and constantly intimidated by police in Sibasa, Venda, from 1977 because he addressed a march against Bantu education and openly criticised apartheid policies. MAUNYE, Simon Peter, a member of the SAP, survived an attempted armed robbery by MK operatives at the Emthonjeni police station in Machadodorp, Tvl, on 25 July 1990. The aim of the operations was to

P A G E 3

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 4 1 7

during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. MGOZA, Albert (60), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters at a bus stop in We m b e z i , KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 25 August 1993. MGQABUZANA, Sonwabo (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 31 May 1985 in Cradock, Cape during a state of emergency. The police were allegedly looking for his friend, a fellow activist, and shot Mr Mgqabuzana as he was returning to his house. See P O L I C E B R U T A L I T Y. MGQIBISA, Mantoni Mathews, was shot in the leg by Inkatha supporters in Pimville, Soweto, in July 1983 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC supporting residents. MGQOLOZANA, Simphiwe (19), was shot and injured and lost his home and shop in an attack by W I T D O E K E vigilantes 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. MGQOSINI, Fani David (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 December 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area. MGQUBA, Zola (29), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police on 1 May 1986 during a consumer boycott at Dimbaza, Ciskei. M G Q WANGI, Christopher (27), an ANC chairperson, was detained and severely tortured by members of the SAP at Newcastle, Natal, in March 1990 during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. MGUBANE, Peter, a local ANC leader, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters when the car in which he and two other ANC officials were travelling was ambushed near Ixopo, Natal, on 27 October 1992. He was part of an ANC delegation attempting to broker peace with the IFP. An ANC Midlands Executive Committee member was shot dead in the ambush. MGUBASI, Lulamile Andrew Mziwanele (38), was beaten and burnt to death by UDF supporters on 11 April 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape. M G U LWA, Marelana Horance (51), an Inkongomember and leader in Nonkulwana, was executed in Pretoria Central prison on 6 July 1962 for his role in resisting the introduction of the Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities Acts, and forced removals. MGUNGU, Papani John, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in a raid on Ethafeni Hostel, Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 September 1990. Mr Mngungu heard shots being fired at the hostel. He went outside to investigate and was subsequently shot. Tembisa was one of several Transvaal townships embroiled in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. MGUNI, Abram (18), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 1 May 1986 during clashes between youth and police that day. MGUNI, Mgcata, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pieter-

V O L U M

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Summaries

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. SIMPSON, WM, 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. SINAM, Sandile Wellington (38), a member of the Ciskei Police, was detained and tort

u red by named members of the Ciskei Police at the Seymour police station, Ciskei, on 12 August 1992. While on duty he was held up by three armed men who stole rifles from the police station. He reported this, but was suspected of having been involved with the robbers and was therefore detained. SINAMA, Bhekisisa (19), was shot in the leg by members of the ISU during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 November 1993. SINAMA, Ntshwenca (37), an ANC supporter, was executed in Pretoria, on 6 July 1962. He was arrested two years earlier during conflict over the implementation of the Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities Acts in the area. Mr Sinama was held at Bizana, until found guilty and sentenced to death at Kokstad Supreme Court. S I N AYIDA, Mziwabantu Thompson (25), was killed by members of the SAP during political conflict in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 15 April 1985. SINCUBA, Zion Jeremiah, was injured in a bomb explosion caused by ANC supporters near the Pass office in Durban in 1981. Although he was reportedly a bystander when the blast occurred, Mr Sincuba was accused of planting the bomb, and was tried in Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court. SINDANE, Bangiswane Emily (53), was injured in a shooting by SAP members on 25 June 1985 in Lynneville, Witbank, Tvl. Ms Sindane was at a parents' meeting to address the detention of a number of school children when police allegedly opened fire because the parents refused to move to another venue. SINDANE, Bhelizitha Jones (49), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 24 December 1991. SINDANE, Bonga, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, during political conflict in the area on 2 December 1991. SINDANE, Busisiwe Khanyisile (31), an ANC supporter, had her home in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters during May 1990. SINDANE, Manel Mtshiselwa (78), was killed in a landmine explosion in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 25 March 1986. The mine was allegedly planted by named MK members, and was detonated by the minibas Mr Sindane was travelling in.

## **Name: References to Black in Education References**

<Files\\SouthAfrica.TRC\_Report> - § 33 references coded [0.07% Coverage]

### **Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage**

people.

1953 Bantu Education Act

34 The Bantu Education Act laid the basis for a separate and inferior education system for African pupils. Based on a racist notion that blacks needed only to be educated, in the words of Dr Verwoerd, "in accordance with their opportunities in life", the Act transferred the control of African schools from the provinces to a central Bantu Education Department headed by Dr Verwoerd himself.

35 In addition, state subsidies to mission schools were first reduced and later stopped altogether. This meant that they were either forced into the state school system or had to close - which many (often the better) schools did. The result, in the short term, was the destruction of black mission education in South Africa - that sector of African education that had produced some of the country's finest minds and political leaders. It also stifled the development of a private African school sector by requiring that all non-state schools be registered with the then Native Affairs Department.

36 In the longer term

### **Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage**

Extension of University Education Act

38 This perversely named law, far from extending opportunities for tertiary education, actually had the opposite effect by denying black students the right to attend their university of choice. It imposed apartheid on the tertiary sector, making it illegal for the existing largely (in the case of the Afrikaans campuses exclusively) white universities to admit black students except with ministerial permission. It resulted in the creation of separate ethnic colleges for Indians, coloureds and Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa-speaking Africans.

39 This Act, which was

### **Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage**

2 Historical Context PAGE 34

46 Many of the killings and acts of torture documented in this report occurred precisely because of resistance to the day-to-day experience of life under apartheid. The sixty-nine people killed at Sharpsville were not armed Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres or even human rights' activists. They were just ordinary men and women protesting against the hated dompas. Countless, nameless people had their rights trampled trying to save their homes from apartheid's bulldozers. Hundreds died doing no more than demanding a decent education or instruction in a language other than Afrikaans. One did not need to be a political activist to become a victim of apartheid; it was sufficient to be black, alive and seeking the basic necessities of life that whites took for granted and enjoyed by right.

■ THE LAW AND ETHNICITY

47

### **Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage**

Act No 74 of 1982

1953 Black Education Act No 47: E

Formalised segregation of black education and laid the foundations for Bantu Education. Commenced: 1 January 1954 Repealed by s 45 of the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979

1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation

#### Reference 5 - 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 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Education Act No 45: E

Empowered the Minister of Bantu Education to designate colleges for specified African ethnic groups. Black students were prohibited from attending the University of Cape Town or the University of Witwatersrand without a permit (Dugard 1978: 84). Commenced: 19 June 1959 Repealed by s 21 of the Tertiary Education Act No 66 of 1988

1959 Representation between Republic of

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Training Act No 90: E

Repealed the Bantu (Black) Education Act No 47 of 1953 and the Bantu Special Education Act No 24 of 1964. Commenced: 1 January 1980

IN FORCE (as amended by

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

states) (RRS 1986: 344).

1987

11 June: State of emergency declared Regulations governed security, media and black education. Initial period of detention extended from fourteen to thirty days.

1988

24 February: The State

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

1995 IN FORCE: DEFENCE

1995

January: Compulsory schooling introduced on a gradual basis for black children in January starting with the enrolment in Sub A of all six-year-olds (RRS 1994/95: 267). In a draft white paper on education published in September 1994, it was proposed that children between the ages of five and fourteen be required by law to attend school. This differed from the existing provisions for other race groups: it had been compulsory for white and coloured children to attend school between the ages of six and sixteen years; for Indian children the upper limit was fifteen years of age (RRS 1989/90: 808).

1995 Internal Peace Institution Act

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Public Security Act No 30.

1964 Education Act No 2: Overrode South African apartheid schooling systems and provided for black schooling and subsidies. Commenced: 1 April 1965

1964 Transkei Authorities Act No

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

the South African security forces.

102 The liberation movements did not play a military role in the events that began on 6 June 1976. Although a limited number of ANC underground activists attempted to give some direction through the spread of propaganda, the youth involved in these events were influenced by Black Consciousness ideology on the one hand, while responding to genuine grievances on the other. The ANC did, however, benefit from the events of 1976 and 1977, as it was the only liberation movement able to absorb, train, educate and direct the thousands of youth who left South Africa as a direct result of these events. MK established its second battalion from these new recruits, who were sent to Angola for training in the newly established bases there.

103 In addition to military

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

in the Orange Free State

595 The Eagles began as a black youth project of the Department of Education and Training in conjunction with administration boards and community councillors in Orange Free State towns in the early 1980s. By the second half of the 1980s, the Eagles had established a significant presence in almost every Orange Free State town.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

valuable information.

South African Police

25 The SAP initiated certain special secret projects from November 1985, as directed by the SSC on 16 November 1985. From that year, Project Aristotle ran the National Students' Federation, which was financed

through a business trust until press disclosures led to its dissolution, with compensation paid to two agents who suffered losses resulting from their exposure as agents. Project Einstein ran a similar programme in the black tertiary education sector.

26 Project Romulus was aimed

#### Reference 14 - 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 15 - 0.01% Coverage

338

##### ■ 1976–1982 Historical overview

39 The 1976 Soweto uprising triggered a surge of student protests in centres around the Orange Free State, bringing young people into the frontline of anti-apartheid protest. A number of influential student organisations were formed during this period. 1978 saw the establishment of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) whose aim was to work, within a Black Consciousness framework, towards a common education and political system for all people. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed in June 1979 with the aim of striving for an education system that would meet the needs and aspirations of the post-1976 situation. In the Orange Free State, both organisations involved themselves in a range of community concerns, such as organising commemoration and funeral services for students shot by police and participating in marches to protest against removals, increases in rent and bus fares, and detention without trial. These activities often brought them into direct clashes with the police.

40 Early in 1980, boycotts started in black secondary schools in Cape Town and gradually spread countrywide. Although initial grievances concerned mainly the quality of education offered to blacks, it became clear that students were challenging not only the educational system but also the political system. Indeed, student organisations like COSAS promoted the idea that the struggle for quality and equality in education went hand in hand with all other struggles in society.

41 Students continued with sporadic protest and boycott actions and, in November 1980, the Department of Education and Training closed seventy-seven secondary schools across the country. Three of the five secondary schools for black pupils in Bloemfontein were amongst those that were closed indefinitely. Schools in that city had responded to the call for a schools boycott in April 1980, leading to several outbreaks of violence. Violence also broke out in schools in Onverwacht (later known as Botshabelo) at Thaba'Nchu in July 1980, where up to 600 pupils boycotted classes. Boycott action also occurred in schools in QwaQwa during 1980.



Reference 16 - 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 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Regional Profile: Transvaal PAGE 555

112 It took the government more than a year to quell the violence which grew rapidly from a locally based student protest against inadequate education to a wholesale rejection of apartheid by black communities across the country.

Overview of violations

113 Of

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

to the youth.

Township administration

149 Education was not the only source of dissatisfaction among township residents participating in the June uprising. Developments in policy for the administration of black areas were met with growing opposition in black townships.

150 In terms of the

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

them before that Cillie Commission.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION'S DECISION TO INTRODUCE AFRIKAANS AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN BLACK SCHOOLS WAS A DIRECT CAUSE OF THE CONFLICT WHICH LED TO THE PROTEST MARCH BY STUDENTS IN SOWETO IN 1976. THE FAILURE OF THE EDUCATION AUTHORITIES TO RECOGNISE THAT A CRISIS WAS DEVELOPING, DESPITE INTERVENTIONS BY COMMUNITY

LEADERS AND EVEN BY THEIR OWN BANTU COUNCILLORS, CREATED A RALLYING POINT FOR THE STUDENTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The Faith Community PAGE 68

Church. Conservative-evangelical organisations were also affected by the climate of the country. The Student Christian Association split into separate white (SCA) and black (SCM) organisations. While the Seventh Day Adventist Church was unified at its highest level, many of its structures became segregated – into racially divided Union conferences and secondary and tertiary educational institutions - as the church began to “pattern itself after the thinking of the politicians”.

43 Yet even churches which

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

The Faith Community

PAGE 89

116 The National Peace Accord was launched in September 1991, with heavy involvement from the SACC, with the aim of helping to create an ethos conducive to democratic transition. The Catholic Bishops Conference and the SACC, together with a coalition of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), launched Education for Democracy. This project worked at local levels to create awareness of constitutional governance and key political concepts. It was directed both at illiterate black people and urban white people. The latter had never experienced non-racial democracy and expected, on the whole, to retain their privileges in a new society. The Church Leaders Forum, representing a wide collection of denominations, met with government leaders and urged them on the path to a negotiated settlement. The group included traditional foes of the SACC, including Reverend Ray McCauley of the International Federation of Christian Churches and Professor Johan Heynes of the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>58</sup> After CODESA broke down, this forum worked to restart the negotiation process. The WCRP, SACC and the Catholic Bishops Conference formed the Panel of Religious Leaders for Electoral Justice to monitor the elections. The WCRP also sponsored the forum which brought monitors from other countries.<sup>59</sup>

117 Does all this mean

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

occurred frequently.<sup>31</sup>

#### ■ MEDICAL SCHOOLS

58 Medical schools played a significant role in perpetuating human rights abuses. Black people were systematically prevented from obtaining training in the health sciences and, even where this was allowed or provided for, received an inferior quality of education to that of white students. Medical schools failed to teach ethics and human rights. Professors in medical schools held dual appointments with both the state and the medical schools, leaving them vulnerable as health professionals with dual obligations. Finally, with a few exceptions, medical faculties did not speak out about the unethical nature of apartheid medicine and its adverse effects on training and patient care.

Admission for training in the

#### Reference 23 - 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 24 - 0.01% Coverage

The Health Sector

PAGE 132

Disparities in the education of black and white medical students

63 Although the various South

#### Reference 25 - 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 26 - 0.01% Coverage

by default rather than design.

90 Up until the time of the Commission, the training of mental health professionals adopted a largely Eurocentric paradigm, resulting in a style of mental health care that was inaccessible and inappropriate for many South Africans. While transformation was occurring in some academic sectors, change was still absent

in others. Likewise, the types of psychometric tests used for assessment purposes (such as IQ tests) still tended to be appropriate only in a western culture. In South Africa, they were used as a way of excluding black candidates from, for example, educational institutions and employment opportunities.

91 In the same way

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

a question at the hearing:

MASA was so wrapped up in its white, male, elitist, educated, professional world as individuals and as a collective organisation and as part of a broader society from which doctors were drawn, that it failed to see the need to treat all people as equal human beings. Perhaps the same could be said of other groupings in society. MASA allowed black and white people to be treated differently, and this is the form of human rights violations for which it stands disgraced.

112 The written submission added

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

on the health of children.

141 Academic institutions, even those that did admit black medical students, failed to provide equal educational opportunities to black and white students.<sup>51</sup>

142 Education in respect of

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Rehabilitation Policy PAGE 192

Education

107 The standard of black education was appalling and this aspect of the legacy of apartheid is likely to be with us for a long time to come. Education is ripe for reform and the possibilities for its transformation are exciting. However, one of the effects of the past is that it has resulted in a strong culture of often pointless conflict around education matters. The desire to learn in a disciplined environment no longer seems to prevail.

Assistance for continuation of studies

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

and misdeeds of the past.

56 The Commission should, for example, have investigated those who administered black municipal and local government structures of the apartheid period. Similarly, educational institutions (in particular universities) and state-funded research bodies such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the Human Sciences Research Council and the Medical Research Council should have been subjected to the same scrutiny as the business, legal and other sectors.

Its failure to deal with

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE POLICY OF APARTHEID RESULTED IN THE DELIVERY OF INFERIOR, INADEQUATE EDUCATION TO BLACK CHILDREN AND DEPRIVED THEM OF THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP IN MIND AND BODY. THIS DEPRIVATION CONSTITUTES A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE BANNING BY THE GOVERNMENT

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation PAGE 407

in Israel. Many of our projects, I mention this not, God forbid, to make a political point! I mention it because the state of Israel has expertise in things like water conservation, solar energy and all forms ... helping at the moment seventeen African countries, and we feel very proud that the Israelis want to help us with some of our projects. And they are helping us with this Agricultural Education Centre at Rietfontein. Two weeks ago 100 000 spinach seedlings (I love spinach because it's good ... spinach gives you energy Mr Chairman!) – spinach seeds were planted, and we are all helping with this exercise. We have very many educational projects. We have enrichment programmes which SADTU [South African Democratic Teachers' Union] and COSAS [Congress of South African Students] have co-operated with us. Sometimes they have requested, sometimes we have gone to them. Our King David Schools in Johannesburg and the schools in Cape Town are helping in the townships with computer literacy programmes. It's where I'm computer illiterate, but the youngsters, bless them, have to be computer literate. And we're helping in East Bank High School for example, in Alex, with many adult education programmes. Basic literacy courses. Ossac is a black adult education school in Killarney, run in the Oxford Synagogue. We get over 100 every evening. The ages range from 20 to 60. There are domestic workers, security personnel, shop assistants, and unemployed people. They do the IEB tests in English and Maths, and we have a 95% success rate, and there is nothing more joyous in the world than seeing somebody over fifty who has been denied an education actually coming every night and studying, and the glow on that person's face when they hold their certificate. It is wondrous to behold. We are encouraging education in many ways. Our Union of Jewish Women has programmes in Soweto in HIPPI (home instruction for pre-primary youngsters which is geared to the mothers) and MATAL (upgrading the qualifications of pre-school teachers). We are using the expertise of ORT, which is an international Jewish organisation, and we have at Midrand a college of Science and Technology, which is again wonderfully successful. We are doing things for employment and there is a very wonderful lady called Helen Leiberman, in the Cape, who does Ikamva LaBantu, it's making toys and bead decorations, and they are sold all over the world – in Paris, London and New York. And it's a way of getting [people], including blind people, who can be taught how to string the beads and by the touch on a colour system, and it's a marvellous thing. We have sporting activities, Maccabi goes in, and we have soccer in Soweto and they love it. And we have cultural activities. We have joint choral concerts. We have the black choir of Soweto, the Johannesburg Jewish Choir and something called

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

## **Name: References to Employment - Job in Education References**

<Files\\SouthAfrica.TRC\_Report> - \$ 59 references coded [0.14% Coverage]

### **Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage**

the 'architect' of apartheid, said:

The school must equip the Bantu to meet the demands which the economic life will impose on him ... What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? ... Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life ...7

50 Indian and coloured people

### **Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage**

some stages it does matter...

What would be ideal reconciliation for you? That is that the many people who do not have education are reached. Reconciliation starts with building up these people who are uneducated. Employ those who are unemployed. Train those who are not trained. Develop those who are not developed.4

Reconciliation and redistribution

24 The

### **Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage**

Concepts and Principles PAGE 121

abuses taking place. The Commission's recommendations on issues such as human rights training for the security forces and human rights education in schools and universities were crucial in this regard. For example, the implementation of the Commission's recommendations on the reform of the security forces may help to restore trust between the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the majority of South Africans. Such trust is essential if the security forces are to act as guarantors of human rights for all South Africans.

70 Thus, although the Commission

### **Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage**

the work of the Commission.

29 European Union funding also made possible the employment of paid South African interns from educationally underprivileged backgrounds.

30 Overseas applicants showed extensive

### **Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage**

OF THE COMMISSION Statement taking

23 Statement takers acted as the front line of the Commission's work with communities. Working in teams of up to five, their formal job description entailed only the recording of stories of gross human right

violations. Yet statement takers often had to run education workshops, negotiate with local leaders, organise venues and take statements from those who arrived at hearings.

24 Statement taking fell under

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Education Act No 47: E

Formalised segregation of black education and laid the foundations for Bantu Education. Commenced: 1 January 1954 Repealed by s 45 of the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979

1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation

#### Reference 7 - 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 8 - 0.01% Coverage

of 1991 1979 Venda independence.

1979 Education and Training Act No 90: E

Repealed the Bantu (Black) Education

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

1964. Commenced: 1 January 1980

IN FORCE (as amended by Educators Employment Act No 138 of 1994): EDUCATION

1979 Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Bophuthatswana. Commenced: 20 December 1985

1985 Security Clearance Act No 40: Required security clearance of people as a prerequisite to their employment in certain educational or training institutions and certain parastatal bodies. Commenced: 20 December 1985

1986 Internal Security Amendment Act

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

the South African security forces.

102 The liberation movements did not play a military role in the events that began on 6 June 1976. Although a limited number of ANC underground activists attempted to give some direction through the spread of propaganda, the youth involved in these events were influenced by Black Consciousness ideology on the one hand, while responding to genuine grievances on the other. The ANC did, however, benefit from the events of 1976 and 1977, as it was the only liberation movement able to absorb, train, educate and direct the thousands of youth who left South Africa as a direct result of these events. MK established its second battalion from these new recruits, who were sent to Angola for training in the newly established bases there.

103 In addition to military

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

the 'tyranny of the comrades'".

71 Special constables, also known colloquially as 'kitskonstabels' (instant police), 'blue lines', or 'bloupakke', were recruited from urban and rural areas, and were usually unemployed African men with few educational qualifications. Many were illiterate and some had criminal convictions. Training for special constables commenced in September 1986 at the SAP's Koeberg facility outside Cape Town. Initially only six weeks, the training course was later increased to three months. The training was perfunctory and involved only one seven-hour course in onlusdril (riot drill). The Commission received evidence from former special constables that the training, given by senior Security Branch officers, presented the ANC/UDF as the enemy to be suppressed.

72 Although trained for three

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

known as the 'Gugulethu Seven'.

403 Mbane claims to have informed both Bellingan and Liebenberg that these were merely youths rather than hardened 'terrorists' and that only one of them – Rasta Piet – was trained. Liebenberg allegedly informed Mbane that he should see to their training. Over a period of two months, the youths received basic training in military combat work from Mbane and political education from Eric Maluleke.

404 The plan was to

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

in the Orange Free State

595 The Eagles began as a black youth project of the Department of Education and Training in conjunction with administration boards and community councillors in Orange Free State towns in the early 1980s. By the second half of the 1980s, the Eagles had established a significant presence in almost every Orange Free State town.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

ANC and its communist surrogates".



241 Inkatha employed many strategies to undermine support for the ANC and/or the elections: IFP supporters occupied stadiums booked by the ANC for the holding of election rallies; busloads of IFP supporters were brought into ANC strongholds; voter education campaigns were disrupted, and whole households of ANC supporters were massacred.

242 It was at this

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

necklaced' in Queenstown's Mlungisi township.

199 On 17 November, a report-back meeting on negotiations with the Department of Education and Training, the Queenstown municipality, the East Cape Development Board and the Queenstown Chamber of Commerce was called by the residents' association of the local Mlungisi township. The meeting, held at Nonzwakazi Methodist Church and attended by over 2 000 people, was disrupted by police.

200 It is estimated that

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

the Cradock Youth Association (Cradoya).

279 On 29 November 1983, Mr Matthew Goniwe was notified that he had been transferred to Graaff-Reinet. Assuming this to be a politically motivated transfer, Goniwe refused to accept the move. The Department of Education and Training (DET) then claimed that he had 'dismissed himself'. When the DET refused to revoke the transfer, a school boycott started in February 1984 in support of Goniwe. By 18 March, it was supported by around 7 000 students from all seven Lingelihle schools; it ran for over fifteen months and became the longest school boycott in the country.

280 On 26 March 1984

#### Reference 18 - 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 19 - 0.01% Coverage

all other struggles in society.

41 Students continued with sporadic protest and boycott actions and, in November 1980, the Department of Education and Training closed seventy-seven secondary schools across the country. Three of the five secondary schools for black pupils in Bloemfontein were amongst those that were closed indefinitely. Schools in that city had responded to the call for a schools boycott in April 1980, leading to several outbreaks of violence. Violence also broke out in schools in Onverwacht (later known as Botshabelo) at Thaba'Nchu in July 1980, where up to 600 pupils boycotted classes. Boycott action also occurred in schools in QwaQwa during 1980.

42 Disturbances, protests and boycotts

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

known as the Gugulethu Seven.

The askaris started by fixing Christopher Piet's faulty AK-47, then got the youths to write their biographies, as was standard practice in the liberation movements. Mbane claims that he handed these biographies to Bellingan and the latter conceded at his amnesty hearing that this may have been so. Mbane and Maluleke were reporting to Bellingan and Liebenberg on a regular basis and informed both Bellingan and Liebenberg that these were merely youths, not hardened 'terrorists'. Mbane said he specifically informed them that 'Rasta' Piet was the only one among them with any training. Mbane was tasked to train the youths and gave them basic training in military combat over two months while Eric Maluleke provided political education.

When their training was complete

#### Reference 21 - 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.<sup>16</sup> 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

#### Reference 22 - 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 23 - 0.01% Coverage

is entrusted to those judges.

15 Legal education and training had been largely uncritical of unjust legal dogma and practice. Those few academics who had dared to speak out had received

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

speaking out about these violations.

18 While it is easy to criticise district surgeons, it must also be appreciated that the conditions under which they had to work made it difficult for them to uphold human rights. They were given no specific training for work in the prisons, no continuing medical education and no independent avenues to report abuses. They were generally isolated from the rest of the profession and sometimes

4 Since the primary mandate

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

occurred frequently.<sup>31</sup>

■ MEDICAL SCHOOLS

58 Medical schools played a significant role in perpetuating human rights abuses. Black people were systematically prevented from obtaining training in the health sciences and, even where this was allowed or provided for, received an inferior quality of education to that of white students. Medical schools failed to teach ethics and human rights. Professors in medical schools held dual appointments with both the state and the medical schools, leaving them vulnerable as health professionals with dual obligations. Finally, with a few exceptions, medical faculties did not speak out about the unethical nature of apartheid medicine and its adverse effects on training and patient care.

Admission for training in the

Reference 26 - 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 27 - 0.01% Coverage

pigs to test new drugs.

Education, training and research  
89 As with other health

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

by default rather than design.

90 Up until the time of the Commission, the training of mental health professionals adopted a largely Eurocentric paradigm, resulting in a style of mental health care that was inaccessible and inappropriate for many South Africans. While transformation was occurring in some academic sectors, change was still absent in others. Likewise, the types of psychometric tests used for assessment purposes (such as IQ tests) still tended to be appropriate only in a western culture. In South Africa, they were used as a way of excluding black candidates from, for example, educational institutions and employment opportunities.

91 In the same way

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Torture, Cape Town, reported that:

Most ex-conscripts report that they, their peers and their community saw service in the SADF as a natural part of growing up and 'becoming a man'... The national education system consistently presented military training as a given part of the rites of passage of white men and the moral duty of anyone concerned with defending order and morality (Christianity) against the forces of evil and chaos (Soviet-inspired Communism)...

My recent experience with ex

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

on the Namibian/SWA Border

32 Mr Liebenberg, socialised as a typical white, Afrikaans-speaking male during the 1970s, described his training as an infantryman and the difficulties he experienced coping with his role as the eighteen year old commander of a platoon of thirty people, most of whom had an education below standard eight (grade ten). In his testimony he stated that:

What most of us were

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

post-traumatic stress disorder.<sup>23</sup>

96 Child soldiers and activists who were exposed to or involved in extensive acts of violence may have become desensitised to suffering. Many have been deprived of opportunities for physical, emotional and intellectual development. After the conflict was over, it was difficult to take up life as it was before, especially where there was a lack of education, training, decent living conditions and jobs. Effective social reintegration depends on support from families and communities.

Disillusionment

97 Most activists anticipated

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

in and out in hospital.

113 Wonder's case reflects the complex and multiple layers of abuse and human rights violations suffered by South Africa's youth. Wonder's education was disrupted prematurely. He was forced to leave his family, which he missed so much that he risked his life to see them again. This led to his being shot, detained and tortured – another trauma added to others he had experienced, such as the loss of his friends and relatives in the conflict. The constant pain of his wounded leg was a nagging reminder of the losses and suffering he had to endure. The cost of his sacrifice was exacerbated through comparison with his brother who completed his secondary education and was pursuing tertiary training.

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 9 Special

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

of their detention and torture.

11 The consequences of participating in the violent activities of the BMW – prolonged detention, brutal torture and imprisonment with common criminals – will be felt by the individuals concerned, their families and friends and the community of Bonteheuwel for decades. Those BMW members who came to the Commission all displayed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. They reported similar symptoms in comrades who chose not to approach the Commission. Most had to discontinue their education and many had not been able to resume it. Because of this, they are unemployed or have low-skill, low-wage jobs. Some have turned to drugs and alcohol to obliterate their painful memories. Others have transferred their 'skills' of violence and armed conflict to gangsterism. Violence against family members is not uncommon, and many find long-term, trusting relationships impossible to sustain.

12 BMW members were teenagers

#### Reference 34 - 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 35 - 0.01% Coverage

of affected youth into society.

109 Specific accelerated adult basic education and training (ABET) programmes should be established to meet the needs of youth and adults who are semi-literate and have lost educational opportunities due to human rights abuses.

Building and improvement of schools

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

included in mainstream educational programmes.

112 Mainstream educational facilities should provide skills based training courses in order to respond to the needs of mature students and to help them find employment.

Housing Housing provision

113 It

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

perpetrators – at times as both.

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.

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 6 Findings

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

complex one.

Perpetrators as victims?

53 A further problem of perspective is the thorny question of whether perpetrators may also be viewed as victims. Although one may wish to have a clear-cut position on perpetrators, it is possible that there are grey areas. Perpetrators may be seen as acting under orders, as subjects of indoctrination, as subjected to threats, as outcomes of earlier doctrinaire education. In the most pernicious situation, askaris (former ANC cadres who were 'turned', frequently through torture, threats and brutality, into state agents) are themselves transformed into killers and torturers. Military conscripts could view themselves in part as victims of a state system. Kitskonstabels (special constables) could see themselves as victims of poverty, in need of a job.

54 To understand these potential

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AND MAINTAINED.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT GOVERNMENT ACCELERATE THE CLOSING OF THE INTOLERABLE GAP BETWEEN THE ADVANTAGED AND DISADVANTAGED IN OUR SOCIETY BY, INTER ALIA, GIVING EVEN MORE URGENT ATTENTION TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION, THE PROVISION OF SHELTER, ACCESS TO CLEAN WATER AND HEALTH SERVICES AND THE CREATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES. THE RECOGNITION AND PROTECTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC RIGHTS ARE CRUCIAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINING OF A CULTURE OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

IN REGARD TO THE CREATION

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR.

HUMAN RIGHTS CURRICULA BE INTRODUCED IN FORMAL EDUCATION, SPECIALISED EDUCATION AND THE TRAINING OF LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL. THESE CURRICULA MUST ADDRESS ISSUES OF, AMONGST OTHERS, RACISM, GENDER DISCRIMINATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

THE GOVERNMENT GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

YOUTH OF FORMERLY DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES.

THE GOVERNMENT GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPOSING AN APPROPRIATE GRADUATE TAX ON THE SALARIES OF EMPLOYED GRADUATES OF TERTIARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AS A MEANS OF PROVIDING A SCHOLARSHIP FUND FOR STUDENTS.

The environment 46 The Commission

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

IN THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S COURT.

Training and education

53 The effective administration of

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

FUNCTION BE AVOIDED IN FUTURE.

PUBLIC EDUCATION (AND TRAINING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES) WITH REGARD TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE REGULATION OF GATHERINGS ACT, CONCERNING RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN RESPECT OF GATHERINGS, BE CONTINUED AND EXPANDED, ESPECIALLY FOR ELECTIONS, PUBLIC HOLIDAYS AND OTHER REGULAR PUBLIC EVENTS.

ANY PERSON OR PARTY WHO

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

73 The Commission recommends that:

PROFESSIONALISM AND MOTIVATION BE ENHANCED, AND SUSCEPTIBILITY TO CORRUPTION AND UNLAWFUL PRACTICES BE MINIMISED, BY PROMOTING EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES THAT ENCOURAGE MORE EDUCATED, LITERATE AND PROFESSIONAL CANDIDATES TO APPLY FOR EMPLOYMENT AND TO REMAIN IN EMPLOYMENT WITH THE SAPS. PARTICULARLY, IMMEDIATE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO SALARY ISSUES TO ENCOURAGE BETTER CANDIDATES TO APPLY FOR AND REMAIN IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE SAPS.

ALL POLICE OFFICERS BE IMBUED

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

but again only a step.

In terms of the way forward, there is much that we have done to make sure that the wrongs perpetrated in the past by doctors can never occur again, but there is much that remains to be done. We intend to participate fully in the work of the proposed over-arching Health and Human Rights Organisation. We propose to enlarge and to strengthen the office and the activities of our ombudsman, our public protector. Our peer review system has already been sharpened and structured much more effectively than it ever was before. We are currently engaged in a programme designed to promote structured ethics education in all the medical schools in this country, and we are planning formal structured training for prisons' health service personnel. However, in all these efforts, we still find ourselves hampered by the huge baggage of past wrongs that the Association has had to drag along with itself and from which it has found it impossible to free itself. It will only be through the process of truthful disclosure and reconciliation that we will finally be freed from the burden of this baggage.

58 In a written submission

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

##### CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation PAGE 407

in Israel. Many of our projects, I mention this not, God forbid, to make a political point! I mention it because the state of Israel has expertise in things like water conservation, solar energy and all forms ... helping at the moment seventeen African countries, and we feel very proud that the Israelis want to help us with some of our projects. And they are helping us with this Agricultural Education Centre at Rietfontein. Two weeks ago 100 000 spinach seedlings (I love spinach because it's good ... spinach gives you energy Mr Chairman!) – spinach seeds were planted, and we are all helping with this exercise. We have very many educational projects. We have enrichment programmes which SADTU [South African Democratic Teachers' Union] and COSAS [Congress of South African Students] have co-operated with us. Sometimes they have requested, sometimes we have gone to them. Our King David Schools in Johannesburg and the schools in Cape Town are helping in the townships with computer literacy programmes. It's where I'm computer illiterate, but the youngsters, bless them, have to be computer literate. And we're helping in East Bank High School for example, in Alex, with many adult education programmes. Basic literacy courses. Ossac is a black adult education school in Killarney, run in the Oxford Synagogue. We get over 100 every evening. The ages range from 20 to 60. There are domestic workers, security personnel, shop assistants, and unemployed people. They do the IEB tests in English and Maths, and we have a 95% success rate, and there is nothing more joyous in the world than seeing somebody over fifty who has been denied an education actually coming every night and studying, and the glow on that person's face when they hold their certificate. It is wondrous to behold. We are encouraging education in many ways. Our Union of Jewish Women has programmes in Soweto in HIPPI (home instruction for pre-primary youngsters which is geared to the mothers) and MATAL (upgrading the qualifications of pre-school teachers). We are using the expertise of ORT, which is an international Jewish organisation, and we have at Midrand a college of Science and Technology, which is again wonderfully successful. We are doing things for employment and there is a very wonderful lady called Helen Leiberman, in the Cape, who does Ikamva LaBantu, it's making toys and bead decorations, and they are sold all over the world – in Paris, London and New York. And it's a way of getting [people], including blind people, who can be taught how to string the beads and by the touch on a colour system, and it's a marvellous thing. We have sporting activities, Maccabi goes in, and we have soccer in Soweto and they love



it. And we have cultural activities. We have joint choral concerts. We have the black choir of Soweto, the Johannesburg Jewish Choir and something called

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 9 Reconciliation

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 1 0 5

a judicial decision restoring the dignity, reputation and legal and social rights of the victim and of the persons closely connected with the victim; apology, including public acknowledgment of the facts and acceptance of responsibility; judicial or administrative sanctions against persons responsible for the violations; commemorations and tributes to the victims; inclusion of an accurate account of the violations that occurred of international human rights and humanitarian law in training and in educational material at all levels. Preventing the recurrence of violations by such means as (1) Ensuring effective civilian control of military and security forces; (2) Restricting the jurisdiction of military tribunals only to specifically military offences committed by members of the armed forces; (3) Strengthening the independence of the judiciary; (4) Protecting persons in the legal, media and other related professions and human rights' defenders; (5) Conducting and strengthening, on a priority and continued basis, human rights training to all sectors of society, in particular to military and security forces and to law enforcement officials; (6) Promoting the observance of codes of conduct and ethical norms, in particular international standards, by public servants, including law enforcement, correctional, media, medical, psychological, social service and military personnel, as well as the staff of economic enterprises; (7) Creating mechanisms for monitoring conflict resolution and preventive intervention.

Decisions of international human rights

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

was \$950 000 per year.

c Educational benefits to the children of the disappeared and killed included full coverage of tuition and expenses for university training up to the age of 35 years. The total cost to the state was \$1.2 million per year.

d C h i l

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

n a l l y.

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 50 - 0.01% Coverage

E 1 6 1

9.

It is this assessment that must form the basis of our future growth as a nation. Poverty and the economic implications of the AIDS epidemic make economic considerations important in the rehabilitation process. The line between victims and non-victims is often obscure; hence it may be ethically problematic to provide victims with preferential access to services such as education, housing and employment. It is, moreover, common knowledge that many public sector services – such as health, welfare and education – are woefully under-resourced in South Africa. Wishing that things were different will not make these problems go away. Again, attempts to give preference to victims in these services could potentially meet with resistance because there is not, in any case, enough to go around.

10. Despite this, prefer

#### Reference 51 - 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 52 - 0.01% Coverage

was completed by February 2001.

61. The value of this project was that any number of variables related to an individual victim or applicant could now be isolated. For example, it is now possible for the Department of Housing to request all the names, identification numbers, addresses and verbatim comments related to a housing recommendation made by the RRC. This applies equally to other departments and reparations are as follows: education, medical, mental health, symbolic, welfare and employment.

INTERIM REPARATION STATEMENT

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

part of his statement follows:

We have the highest respect for your Truth and Reconciliation Commission and process. We recognise that, if this process had not been a pre-negotiated condition, your democratic free elections could not possibly have occurred. Therefore, and believing as Amy did in the absolute importance of those democratic elections occurring, we unabashedly support the process which we recognise to be unprecedented in contemporary human history. At the same time we say to you, it's your process, not ours. We cannot, therefore, oppose amnesty if it is granted on the merits. In the truest sense it is for the community of South Africa

to forgive its own and this has its basis in traditions of ubuntu and other principles of human dignity. Amnesty is not clearly for Linda and Peter Biehl to grant. You face a challenging and extraordinarily difficult decision. How do you value a committed life? What value do you place on Amy and her legacy in South Africa? How do you exercise responsibility to the community in granting forgiveness, in the granting of amnesty? How are we preparing prisoners, such as these young men before us, to re-enter the community as a benefit to the community, acknowledging that the vast majority of South Africa's prisoners are under 30 years of age – acknowledging as we do that there 's massive unemployment in the marginalised community; acknowledging that the recidivism rate is roughly 95 per cent? So how do we, as friends, link arms and do something? There are clear needs for prisoner rehabilitation in our country as well as here. There are clear needs for literacy training and education, and there are clear needs for the development of targeted job skill training. We, as the Amy Biehl Foundation, are willing to do our part as catalysts for social progress. All anyone need do is ask. A re you, the community of South Africa, pre p a red to do your part? (Cape To w n hearing, 9 July 1997.)

V O L U M

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

liberation of the African masses.

299. Due to the logistical difficulties faced by APLA headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, t a rget selection was left to local commanders. However, evidence presented to the Commission revealed that, while internally-trained cadres were in a position to carry out better reconnaissance and thus avert detection and arrest, they faced the disadvantage of not having received the political education available to cadres in the exile camps. Consequently, strategic errors were made by these locally-trained operatives, for which the APLA leadership accepted full re s p o n s i b i l i t y. However, the Commission was given no details of these erro r s .

300. The Amnesty Committee heard

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 5 9 2

1 7 . 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 gro s s 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 c reation of the Bantustans, for example); b the knowledge they had

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 2 5 5

MACHANE, Kholeka Maggie (50), was shot in the left breast by members of the SAP in Postmasburg , Cape, on 18 June 1993. MACHEDI, Mpho Jacob, was stabbed to death by ANCYL supporters in Sharpeville, Ve reeniging, Tvl, on 10 June 1992 because he was suspected of being a police inform e r. MACHETE, Marupini

Alpheus (25), a COSATU member, was severely beaten and tortured in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in 1984 by members of the SAP for belonging to a union. Trade unions were perceived as a threat to the state and some employers allegedly cooperated with the police in harassing union members. MACHETE, Simon (46), 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 (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 2 9 4) . MACHIMANA, Adolf (27), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by named perpetrators in Khujwana, Tzaneen, Tvl, on 13 June 1992. He was protesting with community members and a fellow teacher against the appointment of a new principal. The bodies of both Mr Machimana and the teacher were found on the Tzaneen-Lydenburg road. MACHIMANE, Ludick (22), was shot dead by members of the Gazankulu Police in Nkowankowa, Gazankulu, on 20 February 1990 during a rally and workers' stayaway to protest against the educational policies of the Chief Minister of Gazankulu. MACHITJE, Jonas Mpati, was one of four people shot dead by named perpetrators in an ambush in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 10 October 1992. Among the dead was well-known Phola Park community leader, Prince Mhlambi. The Goldstone commission later implicated a police informer in a disinformation campaign against the Phola Park Residents Committee which Mr Mhlambi headed. MACHOBA, Debra, an executive SASO member, was repeatedly detained and tortured by Security Police from July 1976 to December 1978. She was kept in solitary confinement in May 1976 because of SASO's role in the SOWETO UPRISING and was banned for five years in December 1978. MACHOBANE (MORARE), Themba Duke (31), a South African teaching in Botswana, 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. His six-year-old nephew, a citizen of Lesotho, who was staying with him at the time, was also killed. In all, 12 people were killed and six were wounded in the operation. See GABORONER AID. MACHOBANE, Frank, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during community action against town councillors in the VALLURISING. He was allegedly walking with his brother and two friends when police opened fire, killing him and wounding his brother in the cheek.

## VOLUM

### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

## GE428

Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETUSEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from Vlakplaas were granted amnesty for the incident (A C / 2 0 0 1 / 2 7 6) . MIYA, Mamthembu Pumzile (38), was detained by members of the SAP on several occasions in 1962 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Her husband was shot dead by the police during the revolt. MIYA, Mbhekiswana Ephraim (59), was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Carisbrook, Ixopo, Natal, on 2 April 1992, allegedly for refusing to join the IFP. His son was also killed in the attack. MIYA, Mbusiso, an ANC supporter, was detained in January 1977 along with four other ANC supporters, and taken to Fisher Street police station in Durban, where he was severely beaten by members of the SAP while under interrogation about his political activities. MIYA, Mduduzi Aubrey (28), 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 in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre. MIYA, Mlungisi, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members during political conflict at Amahlongwa Reserve, Umkomaas, Natal, on 18 October 1990. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (A C / 1 9 9 9 / 0 0 1 5) . MIYA, Mpotsane Albert (31), was severely beaten by a named and other members

of the SAP on 1 April 1985 in Makeneng, Cape. M I YA, Msolwa , was imprisoned for two years in 1962 in Bizana, Transkei, for his involvement in the P O N D O L A N D R E V O L T, and was killed by members of the SAP who shot him when they visited his home after his r e l e a s e . M I YA, Mthokozisi Johan , an IFP support e r, was shot dead on 28 March 1994 when the bus in which he was travelling was ambushed in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in political conflict during the run-up to the A P R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. Three people were killed and 18 injured during the attack. M I YA, Phillip (43), was hacked to death with a p a n g a and thrown from a train near Denver station, J o h a n n e s b u r g, on 16 December 1990. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in T R A I N V I O L E N C E initiated by g r o u p s opposed to a democratic transition. M I YA, Qatisa Alfred (52), an IFP support e r, was i n j u r e d in a hand grenade attack by ANC supporters on a shop on 23 March 1993, and shot by ANC s u p p o r t e r s on 17 April 1994 in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, during the run-up to the A P R I L 1994 E L E C T I O N S. M I YA, Simiso Edmund , was beaten to death in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an off i c e r

V O L U M

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 9 3 1

clashes between pupils and Inkatha supporters. These boycotts allegedly led to an increased exodus of youth f r o m the country to join the ANC. To w a r d s the end of 1 9 8 5, the UDF adopted a campaign to make the townships ungovern a b l e . Educational institutions and trade unions became key sites of r e v o l u t i o n a r y activity. School boycotts and strikes were transformed into scenes of violent conflict and bloodletting. A state of emergency was d e c l a r e d in July and extended in October. It continued until the first democratic election in 1994. Sebatakomo movement : a resistance org a n i s a t i o n aligned to the ANC in the 1960s section 29 of the Internal Security Act No 74 (1982): a piece of legislation created to allow for indefinite detention for the purposes of interrogation. Detainees w e r e held in solitary confinement. Many detainees w e r e tort u r e d while held under section 29. See S T A T E S O F E M E R G E N C Y. self-defence units (SDUs) : armed self-defence units set up in the early 1990s by the ANC to p r o t e c t n e i g h b o u r h o o d s s e l f - p r o t e c t i o n units (SPUs) : IFP self-protection units trained at Mlaba camp in 1993 and 1994 seven-day war : A week of intense political conflict in the Pieterm a r i t z b u r g area, which started in a c o n f r o n t a t i o n between UDF and Inkatha support e r s when the latter were r e t u r n i n g from a Durban rally funded by the Security Police. UDF youths stoned the buses carrying Inkatha supporters on 25 March 1990. Inkatha supporters retaliated by conducting attacks in the wider Edendale and Vulindlela areas near P i e t e r m a r i t z b u r g. In the next seven days, Inkatha attacks in these areas escalated, resulting in the deaths of an estimated 200 people and the displacement of over 20 000 people from their homes. Security forces either assisted the attackers or r e f u s e d to intervene to protect those under t h r e a t . Sharpeville massacre : On 21 March 1960, 69 people died when police opened fire on unarmed m a r c h e r s p r o t e s t i n g against the P A S S laws at Sharpeville, Tvl. The m a r c h formed part of an anti-Pass campaign org a n i s e d by the PAC. That same day, a similar march took place in Langa, Cape Town, resulting in three deaths f r o m police shootings. A national state of emergency was d e c l a r e d on 24 March, lasting until 31 August. Nearly 12 000 people were detained. Just over a f o r t n i g h t after the massacre, the ANC

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Glossary

the township of Alexandra, Johannesburg, after community structures had successfully expelled town councillors from the area. On 15 February of that year, the killing of a student activist set off a spiral of violence. Residents clashed with police when police attempted to disperse the funeral gathering on 17 February. The conflict continued unabated for six days, resulting in around 27 deaths. **sjambok**: a long whip, originally of rhinoceros hide **Sofasonke Party**: an anti-ANC group backed by Lebowa President Nelson Ramodike. In 1989 Sofasonke members attacked residents of villages around Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, whom they believed to be opposed to the Lebowa government. **Sonkombo arson attacks**: A series of arson attacks that took place on 16 and 20 March 1994 and were carried out by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KZP, on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold at Sonkombo in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in the run-up to the April 1994 elections. ANC supporters also attacked the homes of IFP supporters on the same days. Approximately 58 deaths were recorded. Hundreds of refugees, from both sides of the conflict, were evacuated from the area by peace monitors and members of the ISU that month. **Soweto uprising**: On 16 June 1976, police opened fire on approximately 10 000 school students in Soweto during a protest against the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. The shootings provoked extensive unrest and protest throughout Soweto, spreading over the following months to several other regions in South Africa, particularly Cape Town. Around 575 people were killed, 390 in the Transvaal and 137 in the western Cape. Over 2000 people were injured. Arrests, deaths in detention and trials followed the revolt, and the first members of the 'Class of 76' left South Africa for training in armed resistance. **spaza shop**: a general supply store, locally-run in urban township and rural areas **Special Constables**: Known colloquially as 'kitson-stables' (instant constables), 'blue lines', or 'bloppakke', Special Constables were recruited from urban and rural areas and were usually unemployed African men with few educational qualifications. Many were illiterate and some had criminal convictions. **Training** was conducted in September 1986 at the SAP's Koberg facility outside Cape Town and consisted of a six-week course, later increased to three months. The training was purely and involved only one seven-hour course in riot drill. The training presented the UDF and ANC as the enemy to be suppressed. By the end of the 1980s, approximately 8 000 Special Constables had been recruited, trained and deployed in urban and rural towns across the country where unrest was the strongest. In KwaZulu/Natal they were used to bolster Inkatha in areas around Pietermaritzburg and the Natal Midlands. Special Constables rapidly became associated with numerous violations both on and off duty, and were the subject of several interdicts. They were themselves victims of

## **Name: Refereces to Justice in Education References**

<Files\\SouthAfrica.TRC\_Report> - § 4 references coded [0.01% Coverage]

### **Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage**

#### REPORT OF THE AUDITOR-GENERAL

46 The Auditor-General was requested to provide the Commission with a report of the auditing of all secret funds utilised by the previous Government for the period 1960 to 1994. The report indicated that, in accordance with a decision of the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee, dated 10 February 1994, all documentation on the completed auditing of secret funds had been returned to the departments concerned. This made it necessary for the Auditor-General to gain the co-operation of: the National Department of Defence; the NIS; the Department of Justice; the SAPS; the Department of Foreign Affairs; the South African Secret Service; the Department of State Expenditure; the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology; the Department of Sports and Recreation, and the Department of Education.

47 A number of departments

### **Reference 2 - 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 3 - 0.01% Coverage**

The Faith Community

PAGE 89

116 The National Peace Accord was launched in September 1991, with heavy involvement from the SACC, with the aim of helping to create an ethos conducive to democratic transition. The Catholic Bishops Conference and the SACC, together with a coalition of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), launched Education for Democracy. This project worked at local levels to create awareness of constitutional governance and key political concepts. It was directed both at illiterate black people and urban white people. The latter had never experienced non-racial democracy and expected, on the whole, to retain their privileges in a new society. The Church Leaders Forum, representing a wide collection of denominations, met with government leaders and urged them on the path to a negotiated settlement. The group included traditional foes of the SACC, including Reverend Ray McCauley of the International Federation of Christian Churches and Professor Johan Heynes of the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>58</sup> After CODESA broke down, this

forum worked to restart the negotiation process. The WCRP, SACC and the Catholic Bishops Conference formed the Panel of Religious Leaders for Electoral Justice to monitor the elections. The WCRP also sponsored the forum which brought monitors from other countries.<sup>59</sup>

117 Does all this mean

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

although several qualified such admissions.

36 Yet, for all that this was the overwhelming pattern of the law and lawyers' conduct under apartheid, there were always a few lawyers (including judges, teachers and students) who were prepared to break with the norm. These lawyers used every opportunity to speak out publicly and within the profession against the adoption and execution of rules of law that sanctioned arbitrary official conduct and injustice. They explored the limits of their forensic skills in defending those on trial for offences in terms of such legislation, or in arguing for the invalidity of vague or unreasonable administrative action. They worked ceaselessly to prepare the cases of those targeted by the state, often in trying conditions and for little material reward. They advised and educated those in the community most vulnerable to official excesses, such as the rural poor and workers, through advice offices and religious bodies. They challenged their students to confront the relationship between law and justice and to translate their ideals into practice. They forswore the comforts of commercial practice for the sake of the upliftment of those excluded from all forms of power. They exercised their judicial discretion in favour of justice and liberty wherever proper and possible.

37 These actions demanded courage



## **Name:** References to Training in Education References

<Files\\SouthAfrica.TRC\_Report> § 33 references coded [0.07% Coverage]

### **Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage**

Concepts and Principles PAGE 121

abuses taking place. The Commission's recommendations on issues such as human rights training for the security forces and human rights education in schools and universities were crucial in this regard. For example, the implementation of the Commission's recommendations on the reform of the security forces may help to restore trust between the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the majority of South Africans. Such trust is essential if the security forces are to act as guarantors of human rights for all South Africans.

70 Thus, although the Commission

### **Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage**

Education Act No 47: E

Formalised segregation of black education and laid the foundations for Bantu Education. Commenced: 1 January 1954 Repealed by s 45 of the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979

1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation

### **Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage**

of 1991 1979 Venda independence.

1979 Education and Training Act No 90: E

Repealed the Bantu (Black) Education

### **Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage**

Bophuthatswana. Commenced: 20 December 1985

1985 Security Clearance Act No 40: Required security clearance of people as a prerequisite to their employment in certain educational or training institutions and certain parastatal bodies. Commenced: 20 December 1985

1986 Internal Security Amendment Act

### **Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage**

the South African security forces.

102 The liberation movements did not play a military role in the events that began on 6 June 1976. Although a limited number of ANC underground activists attempted to give some direction through the spread of propaganda, the youth involved in these events were influenced by Black Consciousness ideology on the one hand, while responding to genuine grievances on the other. The ANC did, however, benefit from the events of 1976 and 1977, as it was the only liberation movement able to absorb, train, educate and direct

the thousands of youth who left South Africa as a direct result of these events. MK established its second battalion from these new recruits, who were sent to Angola for training in the newly established bases there.

103 In addition to military

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

the 'tyranny of the comrades'".

71 Special constables, also known colloquially as 'kitskonstabels' (instant police), 'blue lines', or 'bloupakke', were recruited from urban and rural areas, and were usually unemployed African men with few educational qualifications. Many were illiterate and some had criminal convictions. Training for special constables commenced in September 1986 at the SAP's Koeberg facility outside Cape Town. Initially only six weeks, the training course was later increased to three months. The training was perfunctory and involved only one seven-hour course in onlusdril (riot drill). The Commission received evidence from former special constables that the training, given by senior Security Branch officers, presented the ANC/UDF as the enemy to be suppressed.

72 Although trained for three

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

known as the 'Gugulethu Seven'.

403 Mbane claims to have informed both Bellingan and Liebenberg that these were merely youths rather than hardened 'terrorists' and that only one of them – Rasta Piet – was trained. Liebenberg allegedly informed Mbane that he should see to their training. Over a period of two months, the youths received basic training in military combat work from Mbane and political education from Eric Maluleke.

404 The plan was to

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

in the Orange Free State

595 The Eagles began as a black youth project of the Department of Education and Training in conjunction with administration boards and community councillors in Orange Free State towns in the early 1980s. By the second half of the 1980s, the Eagles had established a significant presence in almost every Orange Free State town.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 3 The

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

necklaced' in Queenstown's Mlungisi township.

199 On 17 November, a report-back meeting on negotiations with the Department of Education and Training, the Queenstown municipality, the East Cape Development Board and the Queenstown Chamber of Commerce was called by the residents' association of the local Mlungisi township. The meeting, held at Nonzwakazi Methodist Church and attended by over 2 000 people, was disrupted by police.

200 It is estimated that

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

the Cradock Youth Association (Cradoya).

279 On 29 November 1983, Mr Matthew Goniwe was notified that he had been transferred to Graaff-Reinet. Assuming this to be a politically motivated transfer, Goniwe refused to accept the move. The Department of Education and Training (DET) then claimed that he had 'dismissed himself'. When the DET refused to revoke the transfer, a school boycott started in February 1984 in support of Goniwe. By 18 March, it was supported by around 7 000 students from all seven Lingelihle schools; it ran for over fifteen months and became the longest school boycott in the country.

280 On 26 March 1984

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

all other struggles in society.

41 Students continued with sporadic protest and boycott actions and, in November 1980, the Department of Education and Training closed seventy-seven secondary schools across the country. Three of the five secondary schools for black pupils in Bloemfontein were amongst those that were closed indefinitely. Schools in that city had responded to the call for a schools boycott in April 1980, leading to several outbreaks of violence. Violence also broke out in schools in Onverwacht (later known as Botshabelo) at Thaba'Nchu in July 1980, where up to 600 pupils boycotted classes. Boycott action also occurred in schools in QwaQwa during 1980.

42 Disturbances, protests and boycotts

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

known as the Gugulethu Seven.

The askaris started by fixing Christopher Piet's faulty AK-47, then got the youths to write their biographies, as was standard practice in the liberation movements. Mbane claims that he handed these biographies to Bellingan and the latter conceded at his amnesty hearing that this may have been so. Mbane and Maluleke were reporting to Bellingan and Liebenberg on a regular basis and informed both Bellingan and Liebenberg that these were merely youths, not hardened 'terrorists'. Mbane said he specifically informed them that 'Rasta' Piet was the only one among them with any training. Mbane was tasked to train the youths and gave them basic training in military combat over two months while Eric Maluleke provided political education.

When their training was complete

#### Reference 13 - 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 14 - 0.01% Coverage

is entrusted to those judges.

15 Legal education and training had been largely uncritical of unjust legal dogma and practice. Those few academics who had dared to speak out had received

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 4 Institutional

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

speak out about these violations.

18 While it is easy to criticise district surgeons, it must also be appreciated that the conditions under which they had to work made it difficult for them to uphold human rights. They were given no specific training for work in the prisons, no continuing medical education and no independent avenues to report abuses. They were generally isolated from the rest of the profession and sometimes

4 Since the primary mandate

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

occurred frequently.<sup>31</sup>

##### ■ MEDICAL SCHOOLS

58 Medical schools played a significant role in perpetuating human rights abuses. Black people were systematically prevented from obtaining training in the health sciences and, even where this was allowed or provided for, received an inferior quality of education to that of white students. Medical schools failed to teach ethics and human rights. Professors in medical schools held dual appointments with both the state and the medical schools, leaving them vulnerable as health professionals with dual obligations. Finally, with a few exceptions, medical faculties did not speak out about the unethical nature of apartheid medicine and its adverse effects on training and patient care.

Admission for training in the

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

pigs to test new drugs.

Education, training and research

89 As with other health

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

by default rather than design.

90 Up until the time of the Commission, the training of mental health professionals adopted a largely Eurocentric paradigm, resulting in a style of mental health care that was inaccessible and inappropriate for many South Africans. While transformation was occurring in some academic sectors, change was still absent in others. Likewise, the types of psychometric tests used for assessment purposes (such as IQ tests) still

tended to be appropriate only in a western culture. In South Africa, they were used as a way of excluding black candidates from, for example, educational institutions and employment opportunities.

91 In the same way

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Torture, Cape Town, reported that:

Most ex-conscripts report that they, their peers and their community saw service in the SADF as a natural part of growing up and 'becoming a man'... The national education system consistently presented military training as a given part of the rites of passage of white men and the moral duty of anyone concerned with defending order and morality (Christianity) against the forces of evil and chaos (Soviet-inspired Communism)...

My recent experience with ex

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

on the Namibian/SWA Border

32 Mr Liebenberg, socialised as a typical white, Afrikaans-speaking male during the 1970s, described his training as an infantryman and the difficulties he experienced coping with his role as the eighteen year old commander of a platoon of thirty people, most of whom had an education below standard eight (grade ten). In his testimony he stated that:

What most of us were

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

post-traumatic stress disorder.<sup>23</sup>

96 Child soldiers and activists who were exposed to or involved in extensive acts of violence may have become desensitised to suffering. Many have been deprived of opportunities for physical, emotional and intellectual development. After the conflict was over, it was difficult to take up life as it was before, especially where there was a lack of education, training, decent living conditions and jobs. Effective social reintegration depends on support from families and communities.

Disillusionment

97 Most activists anticipated

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

in and out in hospital.

113 Wonder's case reflects the complex and multiple layers of abuse and human rights violations suffered by South Africa's youth. Wonder's education was disrupted prematurely. He was forced to leave his family, which he missed so much that he risked his life to see them again. This led to his being shot, detained and tortured – another trauma added to others he had experienced, such as the loss of his friends and relatives in the conflict. The constant pain of his wounded leg was a nagging reminder of the losses and suffering he had to endure. The cost of his sacrifice was exacerbated through comparison with his brother who completed his secondary education and was pursuing tertiary training.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

of affected youth into society.

109 Specific accelerated adult basic education and training (ABET) programmes should be established to meet the needs of youth and adults who are semi-literate and have lost educational opportunities due to human rights abuses.

Building and improvement of schools

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

included in mainstream educational programmes.

112 Mainstream educational facilities should provide skills based training courses in order to respond to the needs of mature students and to help them find employment.

Housing Housing provision

113 It

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR.

HUMAN RIGHTS CURRICULA BE INTRODUCED IN FORMAL EDUCATION, SPECIALISED EDUCATION AND THE TRAINING OF LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL. THESE CURRICULA MUST ADDRESS ISSUES OF, AMONGST OTHERS, RACISM, GENDER DISCRIMINATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

THE GOVERNMENT GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

IN THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S COURT.

Training and education

53 The effective administration of

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

FUNCTION BE AVOIDED IN FUTURE.

PUBLIC EDUCATION (AND TRAINING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES) WITH REGARD TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE REGULATION OF GATHERINGS ACT, CONCERNING RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN RESPECT OF GATHERINGS, BE CONTINUED AND EXPANDED, ESPECIALLY FOR ELECTIONS, PUBLIC HOLIDAYS AND OTHER REGULAR PUBLIC EVENTS.

ANY PERSON OR PARTY WHO

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

but again only a step.

In terms of the way forward, there is much that we have done to make sure that the wrongs perpetrated in the past by doctors can never occur again, but there is much that remains to be done. We intend to participate fully in the work of the proposed over-arching Health and Human Rights Organisation. We propose to enlarge and to strengthen the office and the activities of our ombudsman, our public protector. Our peer review system has already been sharpened and structured much more effectively than it ever was before. We are currently engaged in a programme designed to promote structured ethics education in all the medical schools in this country, and we are planning formal structured training for prisons' health service personnel. However, in all these efforts, we still find ourselves hampered by the huge baggage of past wrongs that the Association has had to drag along with itself and from which it has found it impossible to free itself. It will only be through the process of truthful disclosure and reconciliation that we will finally be freed from the burden of this baggage.

58 In a written submission

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 1 0 5

a judicial decision restoring the dignity, reputation and legal and social rights of the victim and of the persons closely connected with the victim; apology, including public acknowledgment of the facts and acceptance of responsibility; judicial or administrative sanctions against persons responsible for the violations; commemorations and tributes to the victims; inclusion of an accurate account of the violations that occurred of international human rights and humanitarian law in training and in educational material at all levels. Preventing the recurrence of violations by such means as (1) Ensuring effective civilian control of military and security forces; (2) Restricting the jurisdiction of military tribunals only to specifically military offences committed by members of the armed forces; (3) Strengthening the independence of the judiciary; (4) Protecting persons in the legal, media and other related professions and human rights' defenders; (5) Conducting and strengthening, on a priority and continued basis, human rights training to all sectors of society, in particular to military and security forces and to law enforcement officials; (6) Promoting the observance of codes of conduct and ethical norms, in particular international standards, by public servants, including law enforcement, correctional, media, medical, psychological, social service and military personnel, as well as the staff of economic enterprises; (7) Creating mechanisms for monitoring conflict resolution and preventive intervention.

Decisions of international human rights

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

was \$950 000 per year.

c Educational benefits to the children of the disappeared and killed included full coverage of tuition and expenses for university training up to the age of 35 years. The total cost to the state was \$1.2 million per year.

d C h i l

#### Reference 31 - 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 32 - 0.01% Coverage

part of his statement follows:

We have the highest respect for your Truth and Reconciliation Commission and process. We recognise that, if this process had not been a pre-negotiated condition, your democratic free elections could not possibly have occurred. Therefore, and believing as Amy did in the absolute importance of those democratic elections occurring, we unabashedly support the process which we recognise to be unprecedented in contemporary human history. At the same time we say to you, it's your process, not ours. We cannot, therefore, oppose amnesty if it is granted on the merits. In the truest sense it is for the community of South Africa to forgive its own and this has its basis in traditions of ubuntu and other principles of human dignity. Amnesty is not clearly for Linda and Peter Biehl to grant. You face a challenging and extraordinarily difficult decision. How do you value a committed life? What value do you place on Amy and her legacy in South Africa? How do you exercise responsibility to the community in granting forgiveness, in the granting of amnesty? How are we preparing prisoners, such as these young men before us, to re-enter the community as a benefit to the community, acknowledging that the vast majority of South Africa's prisoners are under 30 years of age – acknowledging as we do that there's massive unemployment in the marginalised community; acknowledging that the recidivism rate is roughly 95 per cent? So how do we, as friends, link arms and do something? There are clear needs for prisoner rehabilitation in our country as well as here. There are clear needs for literacy training and education, and there are clear needs for the development of targeted job skill training. We, as the Amy Biehl Foundation, are willing to do our part as catalysts for social progress. All anyone need do is ask. Are you, the community of South Africa, prepared to do your part? (Cape Town hearing, 9 July 1997.)

VOLUME

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

E 7 Victim findings: Glossary

the township of Alexandra, Johannesburg, after community structures had successfully expelled town councillors from the area. On 15 February of that year, the killing of a student activist set off a spiral of violence. Residents clashed with police when police attempted to disperse the funeral gathering on 17 February. The conflict continued unabated for six days, resulting in around 27 deaths. sjambok: a long



whip, originally of rhino hide Sofasonke Party: an anti-ANC group backed by Lebowa President Nelson Ramodike. In 1989 Sofasonke members attacked residents of villages around Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, whom they believed to be opposed to the Lebowa government. Sonkombo arson attacks : A series of arson attacks that took place on 16 and 20 March 1994 and were carried out by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KZP, on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold at Sonkombo in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in the run-up to the April 1994 elections. ANC supporters also attacked the homes of IFP supporters on the same days. Approximately 58 deaths were recorded. Hundreds of refugees, from both sides of the conflict, were evacuated from the area by peace monitors and members of the ISU that month. Soweto uprising : On 16 June 1976, police opened fire on approximately 10 000 school students in Soweto during a protest against the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. The shootings provoked extensive unrest and protest throughout Soweto, spreading over the following months to several other regions in South Africa, particularly Cape Town. Around 575 people were killed, 390 in the Transvaal and 137 in the western Cape. Over 2000 people were injured. Arrests, deaths in detention and trials followed the revolt, and the first members of the 'Class of 76' left South Africa for training in armed resistance. spaza shop: a general supply store, locally-run in urban township and rural areas. Special Constables : Known colloquially as 'kitskon-stables' (instant constables), 'blue lines', or 'bloppakke', Special Constables were recruited from urban and rural areas and were usually unemployed African men with few educational qualifications. Many were illiterate and some had criminal convictions. Training was conducted in September 1986 at the SAP's Koberg facility outside Cape Town and consisted of a six-week course, later increased to three months. The training was purely and involved only one seven-hour course in riot drill. The training presented the UDF and ANC as the enemy to be suppressed. By the end of the 1980s, approximately 8 000 Special Constables had been recruited, trained and deployed in urban and rural towns across the country where unrest was the strongest. In KwaZulu/Natal they were used to bolster Inkatha in areas around Pietermaritzburg and the Natal Midlands. Special Constables rapidly became associated with numerous violations both on and off duty, and were the subject of several interdicts. They were themselves victims of

## **Name: References to Unfair - Unjust in Education References**

<Files\\SouthAfrica.TRC\_Report> - § 11 references coded [0.04% Coverage]

### **Reference 1 - 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.<sup>17</sup> 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

### **Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage**

for past human rights violations.

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.<sup>31</sup>

30 Speech in National Assembly

### **Reference 3 - 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 4 - 0.01% Coverage**

is entrusted to those judges.

15 Legal education and training had been largely uncritical of unjust legal dogma and practice. Those few academics who had dared to speak out had received

VOLUME 4 CHAPTER 4 Institutional

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

although several qualified such admissions.

36 Yet, for all that this was the overwhelming pattern of the law and lawyers' conduct under apartheid, there were always a few lawyers (including judges, teachers and students) who were prepared to break with the norm. These lawyers used every opportunity to speak out publicly and within the profession against the adoption and execution of rules of law that sanctioned arbitrary official conduct and injustice. They explored the limits of their forensic skills in defending those on trial for offences in terms of such legislation, or in arguing for the invalidity of vague or unreasonable administrative action. They worked ceaselessly to prepare the cases of those targeted by the state, often in trying conditions and for little material reward. They advised and educated those in the community most vulnerable to official excesses, such as the rural poor and workers, through advice offices and religious bodies. They challenged their students to confront the relationship between law and justice and to translate their ideals into practice. They forswore the comforts of commercial practice for the sake of the upliftment of those excluded from all forms of power. They exercised their judicial discretion in favour of justice and liberty wherever proper and possible.

37 These actions demanded courage

#### Reference 6 - 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 7 - 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.<sup>4</sup> This contributed to a situation that made possible the gross human rights violations of the past.

12 Many white children, on

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Children and Youth PAGE 275

The unjust education system resulted in many of our fellow students leaving school to join the work force and others leaving the country to join the liberation movement in exile. The culture of learning and teaching was reduced to non-existence by the regime ... The absence of educational and recreational facilities in our schools and communities affected our academic achievements and growth development as young people.

106 The education of many

#### Reference 9 - 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 deprivation, 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 10 - 0.01% Coverage

was not a white person:

I say to the PAC and APLA and to the applicants, you killed the wrong person. Rolande was also joined in the struggle against the injustice for the apartheid system particularly in education. You simply ended her life as if she was a worthless piece of rubbish. You say you did so to liberate Azania. I say you did so for your own selfish and criminal purposes. You prevented Rolande from helping rebuild our broken nation which, if you had simply waited another few months, in fact came to pass when we had free elections.

Your commander Brigadier Nene stated

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

G E 7 6 6

1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. 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. SEDIBE, Glorius 'Glory' Lefoshie (aka 'September' or 'Lucas Seme'), a senior MK commander, was abducted by V l a k p l a s 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 re c ruit ed to work for V l a k p l a s and later for SADF Military Intelligence. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commanders of the Eastern Transvaal and of V l a k p l a s, w e r e granted amnesty for the abduction (AC/2001/094). SEDIBE, Sareta Sarah (50), an ANC support e r, was s e v e r e ly assaulted and thrown out of her home, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, by IFP supporters on 1 Marc h 1991. Alexandra was tense after numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly A N C - s u p p o r t i n g r e s i d e n t s . S E D I N Y A N E, Nthabiseng (41), lost her home in an arson attack by alleged followers of Chief Tshajwa on 11 December 1976 in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana. T h e r e was conflict in the area between Chief T s h a j w a 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 S O W E T O U P R I S I N G. SEDUMEDI-ZINGENI, Boshalala Mar t h a , fell and bro k e 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 part y. This decision resulted in an extensive re c ruitment campaign in hostels. Hosteldwellers who refused to join the IFP were targ e t e d . SEDUTLA, Lambert Mangopo (18), was shot and i n j u r e d by members of the SAP in 1990 in Wi n t e r v e l d , 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 Wi n t e r v e l d 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 occurre d during growing tension between IFP and ANC s u p p o r t e r s . Police were accused of being partial and failing to protect the community against indiscriminate a t t a c k s . SEEMA, Charlie Charles Steven (30), a member of the Dobsonville Civic Association, was beaten, tort u r e d and detained for 14 days by a named and other members of the Municipal Police in Dube, Soweto, J o h a n n e s b u r g, in July 1990 for erecting a shack on a c o u n c i l l o r ' s land without perm i s s i o n . SEEMA, Edward , had his home burnt down on 2 F e b r u a r y 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by s u p p o r t e r s of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seema resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South A f r i c a .